

PERSPECTIVES OF A NEW WORLD AND THE TASK
OF THE WORKING CLASS. .

Addressing a huge gathering of workers at the Subodh Mullick Sq, Calcutta on the occasion of the open session of the ninth annual Conference of the tramway workers, S.A.Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC exhorted the workers saying: " Today is the day of establishing unity of all and forging of greater consolidation of the workers and ~~the~~ the people. The whole world is before the working class; let the working class win it through their own might."

S.A.Dange explained the new perspectives of the present day world and the academics of various socio-economic systems and posed a question as to which way shall our country adopt in the situation obtaining today in the world.

Following are the extracts from his address:

CALCUTTA TRAMWAY WORKERS CONFERENCE

Following detailed discussions regarding the problem of transportation in Calcutta and allied problems, the ninth conference of the Tramway workers in Calcutta, held on May 4 and 5, adopted resolution to remove this bottleneck through workers concerted contribution. To ~~RELEVE~~ solve these problems from the side of the workers, resolution was adopted to form a Transport Workers Federation which will effectively deal with these aspects.

In the open rally on May 5 at the Subodh Mullick Sq, S.A.Dange, Somenath Lahiri, MLA, Dhiren Mazumder, Sisir Mitra and Ramaprasad Bagchi, addressed a big gathering of workers, and exhorted them to establish unity among the transport workers and forge mutual collaboration between themselves and the public at large.

Speaking on this occasion, S.A.Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC, said: " Before the workers today remains only one ~~xxxx~~ path; the path towards progress with universal fraternity with the people in the world over. The old world exists no more, no more can one remain dissociated. The old world has ~~to~~ changed to new and from the old remnants has emerged a new consciousness. Humanity so long tied with the earth has today won the sky and the space. This is a victory of mankind, victory of the workers, of socialism and of Soviet Union.

S.A.Dange said: " Capitalism has immense resources but what capitalism does with that wealth ? Its only endeavour is to ignite flames of war; to prohibit other from achieving sovereignty. That's the only reason a puny Cuba has to face the American invasion. But the real ~~is~~ joke is that despite all its wealth and resources, capitalism is actually powerless; the giant America could not inflict serious wound on puny Cuba by its attack, just as before the Anglo-French concerted attack on Egypt ended in a fiasco.

" The reason for all these is the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist ~~Union~~ Republic. In its mighty strength, ~~the~~ imperialism is bewildered; through its strength resurgent Africa- the land of former slaves, rises up with head held high; our India achieved freedom as a result of this strength.

He said: " The Soviet Union is a great protector for preservation of independence of the newly liberated countries. But despite that certain countries try to keep the old order of the old world by selling out its own independence. One example in this is Pakistan, where America has established its base resulting in the weakening of the country. What shall our country do ? Should we by our own choice loose freedom ?

Deatiling the various trends in various fields of activity in our country, S.A.Dange said: " In Bombay, the transportation and electric supply systems are national properties. What couldn't Calcutta do what ~~the~~ Bombay could do ? Why till today in electric supply, tramways etc., still are in foreign hold ?

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Referring to/the various trends he said: During the period of First Five Year Plan, the Congress Government had immense confidence regarding England and America. But through the lesson learnt by experience, they had to change their mind during the Second Plan. The Soviet aid came in the form of Bhilai. Immediately the ~~other~~ Western countries came forward with offers of help but the character of these types of help differed a lot.

"Today we can see, production is steady in Bhilai and fetching profits, whereas the Rourkela plant built by the West German firms is suffering from impediments of constant faults and mechanical disorders. Failure of power generator in the Durgapur Thermal Power station has become rule.

"The situation is so because the Soviet Union assists to consolidate the economic strength and independence while behind the Western aid smirks the mentality of profits. For this profit, the Western capitalists sabotage the industrialisation of our country in various ways. In this connection, we should learn/^{a great} lesson from the crisis of power failure in Calcutta.

"Similar example can be had in the ~~field~~ field of oil production. In the interest of profits, the vested interest even goes to the extent of distorting science. The ~~British~~ British-US-German concerns so long had been telling us in the name of science that there is no oil in the sub-terrenean level of our country. This was pure lie and it has been so proved in the discovery of immense oil wealth through the help of Soviet Union in our country.

S.A.Dange said: " This is the pattern of the new world. One country achieves independence; Soviet Union renders assistance towards development of its strength ~~of~~ and economic base - new country is born with new people, new strength and new industry. The working class welcomes the birth of these new countries, new people and new industry and furthers its struggle ~~for~~ the interest of its class and through that wins recognition and respect. The Indian working class also through its struggle and sacrifice has obtained the respect and human dignity.

~~The problems exist~~ It is no use to go about weeping over the problems that exist today. Its not the day to weep. Today is the day of establishing unity of all and forging of greater consolidation of the workers, of the people. The whole world is before the working class; Let the working class win it through their own might."

(S. A. Dange)

S.A.DANGE ON GENERAL BUDGET

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"In the not-too-distant future, there is bound to be definite confrontation of the actual possessors of politico-economic power in the country, the large business interests, the top administrative and professional groups and the political parties supported by them with the mass of the people, and such a confrontation would have very serious results for the plan and for stability and order in the country. Such a situation could be avoided only if political leadership becomes more intelligent and perceptive. The present crisis is essentially a moral crisis. If those in power can regain moral authority, which they can do only by showing some convincing overt signs of their sincerity and sacrifice for planned development of India on democratic lines, the mixed economy may still prove practicable.

"If not, the last abortive strike of the central government employees may prove to have been only the first in a series of disturbances and conflicts that may shake the country."

This prophetic warning of the eminent economist, D.R.Gadgil, Chairman of the Panel Economists of the Planning Commission, was quoted by S.A.Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, while speaking on the general budget in the Lok Sabha on March 14.

S.A.Dange characterised the budget as an "anti-people budget" and said that "the common man, to the Finance Minister, is a tax-paying machine"; and if "he has to live, then, he must live for taxes; otherwise, he must not live."

Dange said that the Budget in a planned economy should try to shift incomes in a particular direction. When the whole of society is engaged in putting forth its maximum effort in industrialising the country and in strengthening its economy, the pertinent question that must arise always in framing the budget would be how this development and its fruit.

its fruits are being shared.

Production has increased; national income has increased; the per capita income has increased, and so, in the sphere of production and the outlook for the economy, the achievements are quite sizable and are of a type of which everybody in the country including the Government and the ruling party should be proud. Some of the industries that are being built and have been built during the Second Plan have enabled us to break the blockade which was being imposed on us or which we had inherited historically from the previous conditions of subjection.

But the relevant question is: What is happening to the fruits of development? If we look at the fruits of development, do we continue the direction in which they are being cornered, or are we going to change the direction?

The fruits of this development are mostly being cornered by those who own industry in the private sector, and even amongst them, by those who have monopoly hold on the economy of the country.

~~Gen~~ S.A.Dange continued:

The development of monopoly capitalism in this country during the First Plan and the Second Plan, particularly in the Second Plan, has been already noted by several economists.

In fact, the Panel of Economists, headed by Professor D.R.Gadgil pointed to this danger. The Panel pointed to three or four dangers, the first among which was that if monopoly capital seizes hold of the economic bases of development of the country, then the fruits of development will not flow to the people but will harm them.

Secondly, development in the direction of monopoly capital will not lead to the desired results which we want to bring about through planned economic development.

Thirdly, there will be inflation in the price structure in the country; and, fourthly, There will be political complications unhealthy for democracy.

Has this development come about in the economy of the

country? It has. Does the Budget in any way try to correct it? It does not.

S.A.Dange pointed out that indirect taxation which in 1948 was 50 per cent of the revenue, went up to 67.3 per cent in 1960 and it is now about 69 per cent in this Budget.

When the point is raised that this indirect taxation is biting the common man and generally that section of the population which is least fitted to be taxed so heavily, the reply of the Finance Minister is that consumption must be restricted.

It is accepted that the objective of the Plan is to raise standards of living. And the moment a man's standard of living just goes up a little, then the Finance Minister says that 'since his standard of living is going up, he must pay me a price for taking the standard of living up' and that price must be such that his standard of living must come down.

It was not a chance that as soon as the Budget was published, the prices started soaring up. When this was pointed out to the Finance Minister, he said: 'There might be some shopkeepers who do that but I am not responsible for it, society should look into the matter'. Now, if society does start looking into the matter, the simple result would be that society would go at those profiteers who are doing this thing, and there would be a veritable civil war, ~~and~~ which certainly is not what the Finance Minister.

The Budget, in its total effect, is thus an anti-people budget. The Finance Minister frankly stated that taxes are meant to restrict consumption. Kill consumption, where it starts to rise and kill it by taxation. So, I do not know whether to call it a killer's Budget or a builder's Budget, because the Budget is supposed to build up the economy of the people. Instead of that - it does not do that - it wants to kill consumption.

Does the Budget in any way help to reduce the price level? No. In fact, the Finance Minister made a theoretical statement that in a developing economy price rise is inevitable. He does not say what kind of developing economy, socialist or capitalist.

Is price rise inevitable even in a capitalist economy? If he goes into the history of the development of England, which was the first capitalist country to lay down the foundations of a capitalist economy in the world, he will find that when tremendous development was taking place, prices were falling and not rising. In India, continuously prices are rising and never falling.

If you again pay attention to the development of the capitalist economy, you will find that since the last 20 years, after 1930 and particularly after the Great Depression and the starting of the war, prices have continuously been rising throughout the capitalist world, the reason being that monopoly has seized hold of the machinery of money supply, banking, the whole governmental apparatus and the main sources of production.

Therefore, we can say that prices rise continuously when monopoly capital seizes hold of the economy, and that is exactly what is happening slowly in our country.

Continuing, S.A.Dange asked the Finance Minister to show any socialist economy where prices have risen when planned economy started. There is not one single example.

This abstract statement of the Finance Minister is meant to condition the people in the belief that if they want development, price rise is inevitable, and thereby he wants to demoralise them from struggling against the rise in prices.

It was stated that because of deficit financing, price rises take place. In the last year, Dange said, deficit financing was at the lowest, almost nil, very little. Production was the highest. Why then did prices rise.

Then you will find that in the sphere of banking,

more than necessary money has been poured into the system, and the banks have been the greatest criminals in the rise in prices in the last year.

The Economic Survey frankly admits that speculative tendencies appeared, there was too much money in the market, in the private sector, and that it vitiated the price structure.

Every year on the budget, I draw his attention to the fact that this banking system in this country ought to be taken over by the State, because it is the greatest criminal vitiating our price structure and money structure. He has always been telling me that it is not possible to do so, not healthy to do so and that it is my particular mania.

But there is this perpetual mania in the Economic Survey exhibited by the banks, that they pump money into the system and hold society to ransom and price rises take place.

What is the cure for this in the Budget? None.

~~The Budget is a definite step towards the right direction for the~~
~~xxxxxxx~~ There is, in fact, a greater encouragement for converting reserves into bonus shares by reduction of tax for floating bonus shares.

The Budget is definitely weighted in favour of the richer classes.

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Dange pointed out that that/the Gross Fixed Capital formation of Rs.390 crores, Rs.280 crores have been provided for buildings and other construct and only Rs.110 crores for machinery and equipment. Is this ratio healthy for the economy.

He criticised the Government move to create a free port in Kandla. It would result in nothing but smuggling and an indirect reflection on the development of other ports and certain other industries.

Such measures are carried out on the one side and on the other side, when people want some share of the gains of development, they are denied that share in the

name of taxation and further development.

For example, the fact is that for every one rupee paid to the worker, he produces Rs.2.39 as net addition to value. That is the way in which the working class is reproducing its wages. When the Finance Minister wants to tax, my suggestion would be: bring out all your sources of taxation from the Rs.2.39 net value added. You need not go around casting your net wide on indirect taxes through excise duties, ~~and so on~~

The Finance Minister claimed that indirect taxation is unavoidable even in a capitalist society. He should know that indirect taxation in socialist countries goes on falling. Why? For this reason that the main instruments of production, that is, the main sources of production are nationalised and the surplus of that production enters the Budget, and thereby reduces indirect taxation.

If the State Sector in this country were to enlarge, if the main lines of production were to be transferred to the State Sector, then the surplus from the State Sector should enter into the Budget and the part played by indirect taxes would go down.

That is just simple arithmetic and simple financial theory. And that is why in the Soviet Union now taxes on income are being abolished and taxation on commodities is going out very soon.

In the Third Plan, credit of Rs.450 crores is taken as surplus from State Sector undertakings. If the State Sector were to expand, this could be expanded to Rs.1,000 crores and thereby reduce the necessity of indirect taxation.

But this involves a certain policy ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ which will not allow monopoly capital to grow, a policy which will not allow two families in this country to control a capital block of Rs.700 crores.

The money in the hands of the poor man is going on decreasing; but the money in the hands of the monopoly capitalists increases. And yet the Finance Minister says that he is taxing both equitably.

It is a well-known fact that real wages are falling and have fallen in the last two years. And yet, when the real wages have fallen and the prices have risen and the profits have gone up, yet the ~~poor~~ rich are not taxed more.

Corporate taxation does not yield income as much as it should or even on the basis of given taxation. Yet the Finance Minister claims that the Budget is an equitable Budget and it lays down the burden equitably on all sectors of society. I challenge his claim.

The Budget cannot evoke any enthusiasm so far as the common man is concerned. Neither the working class nor the peasantry will be enthused by seeing the Budget which is framed in this way.

S.A.Dange demanded that when the Budget is introduced, there should be a certain omnibus provision that until the taxes proposed become effective, ~~there~~ no price rise will be legal. When the proposals are made, the prices shoot up for two months or a more. Perhaps prices may stabilise or come down later; but in a period of one month or 15 days, hundreds of thousands of rupees are drawn from the purses of the poor people.

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Dange then quoted Prof.D.R.Gadgil showing how the the economy is getting disturbed, how the moral influence of the older leadership which inherited the great traditions of the national movement is not able to control this development from going in the wrong direction. And the warning that if corrective steps are not taken, the last strike of the /central government employees "may prove to have been only the first in a series of disturbances and conflicts that may shake the country."

Dange concluded: "This is the fear expressed by an eminent specialist and economist. And this is the hope that I am expressing, the hope that the Finance Minister will help the country to avoid such a calamity."

FIFTEEN YEARS' SWEEP OF FREEDOM

by

S.A.DANGE,
Vice President, WFTU

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When the invitation for the London Conference came from the British TUC, there was quite an argument in the Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) whether we should at all attend such a conference. India was under the heel of the British and thousands had been sent to jail for demanding independence, by the British rulers, in the name of winning the war against fascism. What interest had we in a Conference of Trade Unions, which would merely talk of war against fascism while one of the partners in such a conference was carrying on a war on the Indian people who were themselves against fascism? Ultimately, however, a delegation was agreed to and the late Mr.N.M.Joshi, General Secretary of the AITUC, and myself, its President, set out on the voyage in a naval convoy. Mr.Joshi, however, turned back from Port Said on hearing that the Conference was postponed. I went ahead with the idea of doing something in London to have the Conference recalled and reached there in June 1944.

The London Conference was at last held in February 1945 and was followed by the Paris Conference, in September 1945 which founded the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Were those, who opposed the participation of the AITUC, justified by history and the role played by the WFTU in the last fifteen years?

For years, since the foundation of the AITUC in 1920, attempts were being made to draw it into international affiliation, for no working class in any country can fulfil its tasks of national liberation and socialism without international solidarity. But the AITUC had found itself unable to join any International.

The International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), with its headquarters at Amsterdam, had failed in its duty both to the European working class in the face of the attack of fascism and to the working class of semi-colonial and dependent countries, like India, China, Latin America, etc., in their movements for independence from imperialism.

Hence, when a new International was proposed, many amongst us in India naturally asked - what good is it for us? The IFTU had even refused to pass a resolution for independence of the colonial countries. Will the WFTU be any different?

The very complexion of the Paris Conference showed that the WFTU was of a new international working class. The large number of delegates from Africa and Asia, the workers from the newly-born socialist countries were on the platform confidently asserting the independence of their countries, not only from fascism but from the imperialist countries, whose trade union leaders were in the conference but did not very much relish the talk of independence of "their" colonials. When we, from India, China, Indonesia spoke, neither Citrine of the British TUC nor Hillman of the CIO relished it very much.

Sir Walter Citrine of the British TUC chided everyone of us with the question—"Have you money for affiliation, have you membership? The British TUC is tired of feeding these internationals." "We want sterling, not slogans," was his favourite slogan.

But, in the end, the WFTU, unlike the dead IFTU, endorsed the demand for freedom of all peoples.

And, fifteen years after this, our WFTU has shown that its championship of the cause of the oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, strengthened by the support from the Socialist countries and the trade unions of countries like France, Italy, etc., has borne fruit. Since 1945, the face of the world has changed a great deal. The WFTU is no longer what it was in Paris. Though it is regrettable that the American and British TUC, who never relished this new sweep of the working class, have left it, yet the WFTU has grown stronger and mightier. It has become a true weapon of socialism, peace and democracy and the independence of all colonial and dependent countries. That is why the AITUC, which had refused the request of Purcell and Halsworth of the British TUC to affiliate to the IFTU, which they had come to secure in our Congress in 1927, willingly went to London and Paris in 1945 and has remained firm in its fold for the last fifteen years. Our independence and that of other countries which has flowered in these years perfectly justifies our first step. The WFTU alone is that international solidarity of the working class, which fulfils both

its national and international tasks and places it on the road to fight for better standards of life and living.

New Delhi, India,
September 19, 1960

With the year 1960 ending and four years of the Second Five Year Plan nearing end, after thirteen years of independence, the Indian working class will make a review of its conditions and the issues before them in the 26th Session of its premier 40-year-old organisation, the All-India Trade Union Congress, at Coimbatore in early January (5 to 12), 1961.

The national income of the country has risen from Rs.8,670 crores to Rs.12,480 crores (26.9%) from 1948-49 to 1958-59. The progress in the industrialisation of the country, especially heavy industry, as enunciated in the Second Plan has, though not exactly to the schedule and utmost efficiency, though accompanied by corruption and wastage, gone ahead. Bhilai steel plant is almost complete. In Rourkela, two furnaces are in operation and Durgapur has also started with its first furnace. Bhopal Heavy Electricals is on its way to completion. The Hindustan Machine Tools, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Heavy Machine-building Plant and Foundry Forge Plant near Ranchi and other plants have either started production or expanded during this period. The defence ordnance factories have produced tractors and are going ahead with the production of trucks. Manufacture of railway coaches at Integral Coach Factory and loco material at Chittaranjan is helping us to be self-sufficient to some extent in our requirements. Plants assembling cars in India have done roaring business. Cycle manufacture has gone up in the country and we are exporting cycles,

fans and sewing machines. Textile production has gone up and so has sugar and cement. Engineering industry as such has registered marked increase in the number of factories as well as production. Production of coal, iron ore, chemicals and tea have gone up during last three years.

Though it is a fact that there was a possibility of greater increase in production in these industries, if only bureaucratic management in the Public Sector and sole profit motive in the private sector were not to be the main feature of production relations, it is nonetheless a fact that production during these three years has gone up towards the fulfilment of plan targets. Exports of some of the articles does not necessarily indicate reaching of reasonable prices or sufficient production for our domestic use. The general index of industrial production stood at 151.9 with base 100 in 1950.

The patriotic sense of the working class in raising production and working for the fulfilment of the plan targets has fully expressed itself in this progress. Wherever the Plan target of production is still lagging behind ~~xx~~ as in coal, it is solely due to the mismanagement of the Government in Public Sector and lack of proper efforts and understanding on the part of employers in private sector.

The productivity of the worker in jute industry has gone up from 126.6 to 138.7 from 1956 to 1958 and for the same period, in sugar and cotton textile industry from 162.5 to 163.0 and 104.1 to 106.1 respectively.

The employment index for the same period has gone down from 100.5 in 1956 to 89.3 (in jute) and from 112.9 in 1956 to 107.0 in 1960 in cotton textiles. In coal mining, between 1956 and 1959 index of production rose from 114.9 to 137.1; index of productivity rose from 114.7 to 132.5 while the index of employment rose only from 100.1 to 103.4. Index of production as well as productivity has generally gone up while the index of employment has in some cases gone down and in others not risen commensurate with the rise in production.

Index of Profits has risen from 150.8 in 1955 to 160.7 in 1958.

What did the Indian worker gain for his work and what was his share of the rise in national income, production and productivity?..

In this socialist pattern of society that is being built by the bourgeois government, even the Prime Minister does not know where does this increase in national income go. Who are the real beneficiaries of this progress?

Not the working class!

The Union Labour Minister, Shri G.L.Nanda, speaking in Lok Sabha on April 11, 1959, admitted:

"Between 1939 and 1947, the standard of living of the workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they just recovered lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

The trend of declining real wages continues. The

index of real earnings of factory workers has gone down from 144.9 in 1955 to 132.7 in 1958, though money earnings had gone up from 159.4 to 176.8 during the same period. The continuous rise in the All-India Consumer Price Index, for food and general, from 105 in 1956 to 125 and 127 respectively in 1960 clearly shows that increase in money wages which workers in certain industries won by fighting struggles and facing bullets has not compensated them for the increased cost of living index.

The Government has miserably failed to maintain prices of food, cloth, sugar and other articles of necessity as well as house-rent.

It is true that in some of the industries, to certain extent, either through agreements, awards or settlements, the money wages have gone up ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ during this period. Often these settlements are as a result of bitter struggles as in Jamshedpur, W. Bengal plantations, Calcutta tramways, Bhilai, port and dock, etc. Even for the implementation of unanimous decisions of the Wage Boardⁱⁿ ~~of~~ Cotton Textile, workers had to resort to strike in South India, W. Bengal, Rajasthan and in other areas, agreement was arrived at only at the last minute before the strikes were to take place as in Bombay, Delhi and U.P. Still in some centres, the recommendations have not been implemented. The Cement Wage Board report has still not been implemented in all its aspects in majority of the factories. On the report of the Sugar Wage Board, the Government decision is awaited.

These Wage Boards take a very very long time to give the recommendations and then for their implementation, workers have to move with the strength behind them. It has taken more than a year ~~for this~~ from the date of decision to even announce the personnel of the Plantation Wage Board and quite a few months in the case of jute. The Bank Tribunal was appointed only after a strike by the State Bank employees and an all-India token strike by all bank employees. The Jute Wage Board, in the past few months, has not been able to give even the interim relief so badly needed. The Wage Board is being denied to metal and engineering workers and coal miners.

The Wage Boards, though from different angles, have not implemented the agreement at the 15th Indian Labour Conference regarding minimum wages. The worst was the recommendation of the Central Pay Commission, against which for the first time in the history of our TU movement, all Central Government employees, belonging to railways, defence (civilian), P&T, civil aviation, Audit and Accounts, etc., fought a glorious battle of five days from July 12 to 16, 1960, against unprecedented odds. Though immediately the demands were not conceded by the Government and victimisation on unheard of scale was launched, the attention of the whole nation was diverted to the problem of rising prices and the need to check it.

Wage Board reports have often been in the nature of a package deal for a specific period, bringing along with slight wage rise, increased workload and some other liabilities also.

Retrenchment as a result of closure of factories, due to mismanagement specially in textiles, was very much evident during 1958-59. Taking over of some of the mills by the Government, though after so many months during which workers suffered badly, to some extent saved the position in some cases. The effect of recession in the capitalist world in 1957-58 had some effect in India also in closure of specially manganese mines and some of the engineering and foreign concerns. Rationalisation and introduction of automatic looms also resulted in the number of workers mainly in jute and cotton textiles going down. The provisional figures of employment in registered factories all over India has come down from 34,12,985 in 1958 to 28,82,016 in 1959. Total number of applicants on the live register of the Employment Exchange has increased from 11,83,299 in 1958 to 15,87,851 in August 1960. This only just shows the trend. Employment of women workers specially in jute industry is continuously going down.

Tripartite conventions have helped the working class to have agreements on national level either in these meetings or as a result of the same specially in coal, plantations, petroleum, etc. Decisions regarding verification procedure, moral binding on employer to recognise the union in the absence of statutory provision of the same, provision of grievance procedure, setting up of Wage Boards, with minimum wages, norms, etc., are some of the positive gains. Nonetheless, the employers and the Government as an employer try to emphasise only such parts of these agreements in the Code of Discipline which bind down the workers to certain

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obligations and repudiate others which bind them and are helpful to the workers. It is partly because of the fact that the TUs have no proper consciousness and apparatus to utilise the Code in their favour, while the employers and the Government are better placed in this respect.

Working class movement has been able to get certain amendments in the T.U. laws benefitting them. Removing distinction between adult and minor for the purposes of Workmen's Compensation Act, amplification and widening of the term 'mines' in Mines Act, applying the Provident Fund Act to concerns with 50 employees, advances for purchasing or construction of houses by workers from Provident Fund, the Motor Transport Bill, Plantation Labour Bill preventing fragmentation of estates, All-India Maternity benefit Bill, Kerala Industrial Aid Rule 158 providing aid to victimised employees, Kerala Industrial Estt' National Holidays Act, 1959, and in certain States, ~~enforcing Minimum Wages Act on Shop Assistants and beedi workers~~ enforcing Minimum Wages Act on Shop Assistants and beedi workers, were advantageous to the workers. The Kerala Industrial Relations Bill giving right of recognition by statute was circulated by the popular Government of Kerala but has been dropped by the subsequent Congress-PSP-Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

Minimum wages for Agricultural workers are not being fixed by the State Governments and the Centre is granting them extensions every time.

Extension of the ESI Scheme and Provident Fund scheme to newer industries and regions has been going on. As a result of our continuous agitation over the working of the ESI Scheme, the Mudaliar Committee was appointed and has submitted its report. It has made a scathing criticism which was upto now voiced only by the working class and certain good suggestions made specially about construction of hospitals and including families. Employers are still paying less share in the scheme besides a number of cases of default of depositing collections from workers as well as their own share with the ESI Corporation. Our efforts to raise the rate of Provident Fund rate from 6-1/4 to 8-1/3 per cent was not entirely successful and the Government in certain industries is inquiring through a tripartite committee the capacity of the industry to bear this increased share. The AITUC held that no such inquiry is necessary and boycotted these inquiries. In 17th Indian Labour Conference, we succeeded in getting unanimous decision about doubling the rate of compensation of accidents. Government has not yet brought this amending bill. The Industrial Housing Scheme is by far still unsatisfactory. Rent of Government quarters is high. Cooperative societies of workers do not get sufficient encouragement and the employers on the whole are not very keen on discharging their responsibilities in this respect. Only construction of houses by the Government has taken place in some centres.

The working class movement has made further strides during this period. The ~~number of unions submitting returns~~ membership of unions submitting returns in 1957-58 was 29,08,443. While upto date figures are not available, it is clear that

membership of trade unions have risen appreciably. The AITUC membership which was 9,47,239 at the time of the Ernakulam Session (December 1957) has gone up to 16,80,480 in 1959-60. The AITUC has entered new industries of steel, mines in West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, Engineering and in Calcutta port and dock and consolidated itself in plantations in W.Bengal and Tamilnad. This has been a period of some progress in new fields and more organisation at all levels despite shortage of cadre felt throughout. There have been long-term agreements benefitting the workers - sometimes by ourselves, at others with INTUC unions as a result of pressure exerted and our agitation. Big struggles on industrial level as well as on State and nationwide scale have taken place. The plantation and jute workers' strike in W.Bengal, strikes of textile workers in Tamilnad, Bengal and Rajasthan, bank employees' strike, Central Government employees' strike, the July 25, 1958 /general strike in Bombay, July 14 and 16, 1960 and 42-day strike in Calcutta Tramways in Aug-Sept. 1958, Jamshedpur, W.Bokaro, Premier Automobiles, Bombay, Madura Textiles, all-India port and dock strike, can be mentioned as some of them. There are many others.

Along with HMS and UTUC and other industrial federations, a day was observed on March 27, 1958, all over India. This unity was again exhibited in the Central Government employees' strike in the call for general strike in their support on July 14, 1960 and later for the observance of the "TU Rights Day" on September 2, 1960. At State level, plantation strike of September 15, 1958 in W.Bengal, the

Calcutta tramway strike, textile token strike in Tamilnad and West Bengal, some of the token strikes in Calcutta and Bombay General Strike on 25th July 1958 was fought jointly with the HMS and UTUC elements and in the first two, along with INTUC unions also. In tripartite committees often, there has been unanimity between all workers' representatives. The united union of textile workers of Bombay is an important event. Some industrial federations could maintain their unity with HMS, other independents and AITUC elements working together. The INTUC during this period has been more busy with disruption in the trade union organisations by forming rival unions and federations such as defence, banks, petroleum, in HMS and lately in the P&T, though not with any spectacular success to themselves. Nonetheless, these disruptive activities of the INTUC have hampered the working class.

Even INTUC and HMS both affiliated to the ICFTU could not work together. Their differences have widened and the continuous efforts of various ICFTU delegations to patch them up have not yet yielded result.

The UTUC was split into two continues to be so.

Experience shows that we have to continue working for TU unity from below in struggles, bringing in the unorganised workers into the fold of our trade unions and at the same time never to miss the opportunity of giving united calls for action from the top.

With the growing struggles and the disruptive activities of specially the INTUC, Central and State Governments have been trying their best to amend their laws to curb TU rights. We succeeded in fighting back some of these. The power of Registrar of Trade Unions were to be expanded giving him the free hand to interfere in the day-to-day functioning of trade unions. This was fought back in the 17th Indian Labour Conference. The check-off system suggested by the Bihar Government and the legal ban on strike by hospital employees demanded by W.Bengal Government was rejected in the 16th Indian Labour Conference and later, with united agitation in W.Bengal and the bill had to be withdrawn. In Madhya Pradesh, some of the provisions of the Industrial Relations Bill and the TU Bill were very retrograde and a satyagraha movement forced the Government to make some concessions in the Assembly. Still the efforts of the State Governments to extend the provisions of the Bombay Industrial Relations Act through amendments continue. In some places, the Code of Discipline is tried to be used in refusing adjudication or interfering in the strike struggles. the latest bill of banning strike in "essential services" and removing 'outsiders' is still pending and not given up in spite of unanimous opposition by all the working class organisations in the country and even some employers and State Governments. Some favourable amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act agreed upon in a sub-committee of the Standing Labour Committee appointed for the purpose in 1959 is lying in the cold storage of the Government. Certain decisions of the Supreme Court without taking into

consideration the social goal and deciding strictly on bourgeois social laws have taken away from the working class certain gains made through struggles.

The scheme of joint management council, the National Productivity Council, workers' education and works committee are designed to be utilized by the bourgeoisie and its Government for their own interests at their sweet will against the workers. Participation by the genuine representatives of the working class in them sometimes helps to check the utilization for this purpose. Our efforts to utilise ~~the~~ them for working class interests have to be continued, though a very difficult one with perseverance. Setting up of Negotiating Machinery in certain Public Sector concerns was a step forward but without a statutory status, this by itself could not go much forward in even stabilising relations between the employers and the trade unions of the employees. As Bourgeoisie have often sold us junks in the industrial and commercial field, they tried the same in exporting Whitley Council in the TU field. What is going to be its actual form 'to suit Indian conditions' is yet to be seen.

This has been the lot and problem of the Indian working class during the last three years. The ~~year~~ Third Five Year Plan is before the nation. What does it offer to the working class?

With the cost of living index continuously rising which fact the economists of almost all shades of opinion have forecast and the Government being unable to check rise in

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prices, a firm assurance from the Government in the remaining period of the Second Plan and in the Third Plan period is required not only to maintain the real wages at 1947 level but to ensure that if workers have to play their important role in the reconstruction of the country and its economy, their share in the progress and gains be reasonably assured. It is very essential that D.A. in every industry and of all the workers is linked with cost of living index. Wages are periodically revised through ~~tripartite~~ bipartite or tripartite negotiations. The policy of rise in wages only with the rise in productivity is given up. Wage Boards are set up and function speedily and more industries are covered. The decisions of 15th and 16th Indian Labour Conferences regarding minimum wages and rationalisation are not defied or acted upon in letter and spirit. ~~The~~ Working hours in hazardous work like mines are reduced. Machinery for the implementation of labour laws is strengthened. A Committee of the Parliament comprising of MPs from all political parties is set up to continuously watch the progress and implementation of labour laws in Public Sector undertakings. This will also help checking ~~corruption~~ and wastages.

The key to increase in production is industrial relations between the workers through their trade unions and the management. A trade union owing allegiance of majority of workers to be determined through secret ballot should be compulsorily recognised by the employer, irrespective of the fact to which national TU centre the union is affiliated. The policy of discrimination against the AITUC in respect of recognition and representation in Committees such as

ESI, Central Advisory Council of Industries and in tripartite committees of States, ILO delegations, grant of passport to AITUC nominees and visas to AITUC guests from abroad should be done away with.

Last but not the least is the task before the Indian working class of maintaining world peace and averting world war, along with the international working class and other sections of peace-loving people all over the world. Peace is paramount for India's progress. Nuclear war will be disastrous to mankind. Imperialists led by the USA are following the policy of maintaining colonies, helping colonial powers in the fight against the national liberation movements, setting up puppet governments and in the name of aid with strings to under-developed countries trying to get effective economic and political power in these countries to be utilized by them in favour of their policies of exploitation and preparation of world war. They are preventing unification of Germany, Korea and Vietnam. The bloody battle in Algeria, in Laos and Congo, imposition of treaty on Japan, refusal to seat Chinese People's Republic representatives in UNO and help to Chiang Kai-shek clique in ^{Taiwan} ~~Formosa~~, continued threat to the new Cuban regime, military pacts are all part and parcel of the same game. The Indian working class has been in the forefront of its own battle of independence. From its own experience, it knows the nature of imperialism. Active support to the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, running of campaign for world peace and against world war and support to the working class struggles of other capitalist and under-developed countries are the

international obligations without which our own progress will be in danger.

The Indian working class accepted the two-pillar policy of working for the reconstruction of our country and its economy and defending the working class interests at its last session in the year 1957 at Ernakulam. Defence of Public Sector against the attack by Private Sector was one of our key tasks.

From all the available accounts and the figures of production, it has fulfilled its patriotic tasks. If it could not do still better, it is because the bourgeoisie and the Government with its declared aim of establishing socialist pattern of society not only did not do justice with their cause in respect of their problems of living standards and working conditions but created obstacles and more often supported the employers in the Private and Public Sectors against the working class.

Production in almost all public sector undertakings has gone up, the hard core of the Second Plan has been saved from being pruned as suggested and insisted upon by the Private Sector, World Bank etc. Basis for heavy industry in the country is being laid on more or less correct lines. The work on oil refineries and new oil finds is still important. Not that our work is over. This is a continuous work and we have to defend and expand Public Sector in the years to come also.

The defence of workers' interests has been the mantram on which the TU movement and the AITUC is founded. This task is second to none and not dependent on any other consideration.

The AITUC is proud of the struggles it has led during the last three years for this cause. It was to tone up its organisation and keep itself always ready for the fight to defend real wages, against rising prices, new curbs on TU rights and victimisation. Higher level of struggles with better organisation, class consciousness and sense of solidarity is to be developed to face the coming attack of the employers.

Such are our achievements and the issues before the Indian working class which will be discussed and debated in the 26th Session of the AITUC for one week at Coimbatore in January 1961.

Forward to the 26th Session of the AITUC!

(Par)

INDRAJIT GUPTA ON INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (STANDING ORDERS) AMENDMENT BILL

New Delhi, December 14: Speaking on Industrial Employment Amendment Bill in Lok Sabha on Tuesday, Com. Indrajit Gupta said:

"As far as this Bill goes, there is nothing very much to say about it, and as far as it seeks to cover smaller units which were not covered hitherto, it is a good thing. But the trouble is, I feel, the Labour Ministry is not paying sufficient attention or, perhaps, is wishing to avoid at this stage the deeper implication of the whole question of standing orders".

He said: "As far as trade unions are concerned, I believe including the INTUC, there is a growing feeling in this country that the provisions of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act have become one of the major sources of industrial disputes and one of the major causes of aggravation of industrial discontent in this country."

"He further said that the Bill says: "that employers in industrial establishments should define with sufficient precision the conditions of employment under them and make those conditions known to the workmen. But with the passage of years, this Act has become what one might call a weapon in the hands of certain employers - and I should say a majority of employers - in the name of maintaining and enforcing discipline. In the name of enforcing and maintaining discipline this Act and the rules made thereunder, that is, the standing orders, are being increasingly utilised as a weapon for harrasing workmen for no fault of their own, for victimising them. This question therefore requires going into now much more deeply and it is not enough simply to bring forward a Bill of this kind in my opinion."

Indrajit Gupta pointed out that in the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, there is very clearly a recognition or admission of the reality to which he had referred, leading to amendment of the Industrial Disputes Act.

"But the trouble now, is that a number of recent pronouncements and judgements of the Supreme Court of India on disputes arising out of the standing orders in effect have now rendered absolutely invalid or have negated the value of these items in the Industrial Disputes Act."

"The Second Schedule of the Industrial Disputes Act apparently gives the workmen an opportunity to agitate such a matter before the labour court but now the Supreme Court steps in and by a number of judgments has held that even in such a case nothing can be gone into. The merits of the case, the evidence, nothing can be gone into. The merits of the case, the evidence, nothing can be gone into. All that the labour court or the tribunal can do is to see whether the management has dismissed a particular person in accordance with the procedure laid down under the standing orders and see if the procedure has been correct. This means that unless a more radical amendment of the Industrial Disputes Act itself and also of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act is effected, this type of a Bill which has come now is quite useless."

He said: "I think the root of the mischief as far as the day to day disputes are concerned, lies in the Model standing orders which have been framed by the Ministry itself. That is the real cause of the trouble. If I may take a little time over this, in these Model standing orders which the employers are expected to conform to, it is said, provided the Certifying officer is satisfied that any standing order submitted to him by an employer conforms to these rules, and they cover all the various things which have been indicated, he can certify it.

In fact, the circulation of the standing orders by the Certifying officer to the Unions concerned before he does the certifying, for their opinion, is simply restricted to this point. You cannot object on any other ground.

The only.....

The only objection you may be able to raise is that a particular clause or section of the standing orders does not conform to the Model laid down by the Government in this Act. You cannot question the fairness or reasonableness of any particular provision. On the Model standing orders, particularly on clauses 3, 4, 5 and 6 which deal with misconduct, how misconduct is defined, how misconduct will be treated, all the trade unions have been agitated for years together - all the unions.

The way this has been defined puts arbitrary powers in the hands of the employers and gives them unlimited discretion to carry out any sort of victimisation or punishment or impose the penalties which they please. I do not wish to take much time. For example, the following shall be treated as misconduct: There is a long list. The very first one, I may give as an instance. It says: wilful insubordination or disobedience to any lawful or reasonable order of a superior. Sounds all right. But the trouble is this. In another Act it is laid down that an employer cannot introduce any changes in the working conditions of his employees without going through a certain procedure. If a particular employer all of a sudden, introduces unilaterally some change in the working conditions to the detriment of the workmen in that particular factory, of course, the hon. Deputy Minister may say, you can catch him under the other Act if he does not follow the procedure laid down. That is true. In the mean time, suppose he introduces a certain change and the workmen concerned object to it and say, we think this is wrong, we do not want to abide by it, immediately, -- whatever remedy you may seek in the court will be later on -- under rule 3 (a) of the standing orders, for disobedience of any lawful or reasonable order of a superior, action can be taken."

"The major trouble with the Model standing orders is that there is a procedure laid down after you have charge-sheeted a man and brought charges against him, the procedure is that the prosecutor is also the judge. "The management charges the man with a particular offence. The only course laid down here is that an enquiry will be held by the management itself and the decision will be made. There is no appeal against that. Even at this so-called enquiry which is held by the management within its own closed doors, there is no provision for that accused workmen to be represented by or accompanied or assisted by even a representative of his union. Even that is not there in the Model standing orders."

"The hon. Deputy Minister knows that in one of the biggest industries of this country and the biggest earner of foreign exchange in our country, that is the jute industry, for the last 11 years, we have not been able to get at the employers to submit the statement as to the number of badlis, permanent, temporary, etc. workmen in different categories that they employed. Why? Because, they say, we are carrying out rationalisation. Since 1949 -- this is 1960 -- for 11 years, rationalisation and modernisation, they say, are being carried on, and therefore, we can never state at any single point of time how many of our workmen are permanent, how many are temporary, how many are badli, and so on. That is the kind of conformity with the standing orders and the applicability of these rules that we find in practice. The result of it in the jute industry is, that perhaps nearly half of the workmen employed out of two lakh workers are no longer permanent. Non-permanent people are working for years together. They never become permanent. They are always shown as casual or badli or temporary, etc. These are some of the things we find."

Concluding, Indrajit Gupta suggested that first or all the Industrial Disputes Act should be amended so that tribunals, labour courts and such like bodies are given that power which is now taken away by the Supreme Court decisions. "They should have the power to go into the merits and evidence of the cases referred to them. There is no danger of discipline breaking down because, after all, the power of referring these cases to the labour court or tribunal is kept securely in the hands of the Ministry. The cases cannot go to the tribunals automatically. So, when they do go, the tribunal should have some power which it has not got now."

"Secondly my suggestion is that these Model standing orders should at least be brought into conformity with the provisions of the agreed tripartite grievance procedure. In fact, I want to ask the Deputy Minister why those relevant provisions of the code of discipline and grievance procedure are not

bodily incorporated.....

bodily incorporated in the model standing orders. These model standing orders, I say, have no validity after that tripartite agreement. They should be scrapped wholesale and should be substituted by the provisions, principles and ideas behind the tripartite agreement.

"These are very important, basic questions. Simply saying that establishments employing less than 100 persons will now have the benefit of this Act is no good. That is all right, but the point is: Why are you asking us to imply approval of this Act and rules? We do not wish to give that approval." --FOC

SRI. S.M. BANERJEE ON INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT AMENDMENT BILL

New Delhi, December 14: Speaking on Industrial Employment Amendment Bill in Lok Sabha on Tuesday, Sri S.M. Banerjee said:

"It may be recalled that the standing orders were welcomed by the trade unions at a time when no orders existed to regulate the service conditions of the workers employed in various industries."

"But it passes my imagination as to why, before framing the model standing orders, the central trade union organisations, which represent more than about 30 lakhs of organised labour in the country, were not consulted. At least I know that the All India Trade Union Congress was not consulted. I remember that in 1953 some circulars were issued by the certifying officer or by the Labour Commissioner to the various employees' unions in the defence industries. We prepared a comprehensive draft suggesting various amendments, showing our approval or disapproval of the various provisions of the model standing orders, and submitted it to the certifying officer, the certifying officer being the Labour Commissioner. On an interview we found that the certifying officer was quite helpless and he was not able to accept any of our amendments, because, he said, he had no power to do so. He was simply to see that the model standing orders are implemented properly, and if there is any flaw in the implementation then the matter will be taken up by the Labour Minister. I would like to know from the hon. Dy. Labour Minister of the powers of the certifying officer."

Sri S.M. Banerjee pointed out that the standing orders were originally framed with the aim of giving workers a charter of liberty. But today we find that these orders are not properly discussed before they are framed and the labour unions are not given an opportunity to express their views.

He, therefore, asked whether the standing orders are likely to be discussed in a tripartite conference where the representatives of labour, employers, and Government are present so that the orders which adversely affect the employees can be considered in a sympathetic manner.

He welcomed its implementation in establishments where less than hundred persons work. "But the entire matter should be discussed in a tripartite conference" he reiterated. --FOC

COM. MOHAMMED ELIAS ON INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT AMENDMENT BILL

New Delhi, December 14: Speaking on Industrial Employment Amendment Bill, Com. Mohammed Elias said in Lok Sabha on Tuesday:

"This is the first time that an amendment is being sought to be made to the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act. In this Bill the Minister should have provided for new things which would suit the present conditions obtaining in our country."

Quoting from the instructions laid down in the Standing Orders regarding the procedure to be adopted in listening to grievances of employees, Com. Elias pointed out that the provisions laid therein were not being implemented. He stressed that while the need for maintenance of discipline was there, it was necessary to adhere to some sort of procedure to mitigate the workers grievances.

He said, "until and unless the procedure is evolved, the worker-management relation cannot improve. That is why with very great effort and the representatives of the management agreed to the procedure that I mentioned just now at the last Labour Conference.

"I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister -- he may bring this amending Bill and we may pass it -- to think over this. He should change the whole model standing order. We placed it before the West Bengal Government. They have not paid any heed to it up till now. If according to the decisions arrived at the last Labour Conference the model standing order is changed and this is incorporated in it, I think everybody will benefit from it -- both the management and the workers will benefit. The Government also will not have to spend much of their time in settling a dispute. The Government machinery will not have to spend much energy or effort to settle any dispute arising out of the present standing order.

"That is why I would request and indeed demand of the Government that they should change the present standing orders and constitute and frame these orders which have been unanimously accepted in the Labour Conference.

--FOC

COM BHUBESH GUPTA ON THE COMPANIES AMENDMENT BILL

New Delhi, December 14: Speaking on the Companies Amendment Bill in Rajya Sabha on Tuesday, Com. Bhupesh Gupta, said, "Four years ago we passed this voluminous Companies Act in this Parliament and many of us had the privilege of participating in the great debates that took place in both the Houses.

"Then some of the points were particularly highlighted in the course of the long debates that took place, like managing agents, inter-locking, concentration of economic power and so on. These were the special targets of attack from both sides of the House, Congressmen as well as Members belonging to the Opposition, barring of course, in both the Houses, some people connected with big money. They assailed the existing state of affairs in respect of each of them.

"Now after four years let us do a little stock-taking and see what things have happened in the country.

"In 1956, what were our complaints? What were our grievances? We were opposed to the state of affairs prevailing at that time as we are now, because it leads to concentration of economic power. We have to judge today, as we consider this Bill, whether the trend is one of concentration of economic power or the trend is one of dispersal of economic power. I do not say that overnight it will go; but what is the trend? At least let us judge from that angle. We opposed certain provisions of the old law because it gave rise to interlocking, malpractices, cornering of shares and so on. We have to judge today, as we take into consideration this amending Bill, whether these trends are essentially in existence, whether these trends of interlocking, cornering of shares, malpractices and so on are continuing. We were concerned, when we debated four years ago, with the interests of the small shareholder, the small businessman, even if he was a company-owner or running certain other business.

"We have to judge today whether the shareholders' interests are being protected against the endless and limitless manipulations of the tycoons of big business. We were interested at that time in ensuring that the company administrations would be such as would ensure proper justice to the worker, to the public and to the country. We are entitled to ask the Government in what manner in the course of the last four years they have fulfilled these obligations.

"As you know, there were 3944 managing agents in India and 5055 joint-stock companies and these controlled 48 per cent of the aggregate paid-up capital of the entire corporate sector in 1954-55, before the Companies Act came into being. What is the position today? Where do we stand? Where are these managing agents? Have they decontrolled them or are they carrying on

uncontrolled their malpractices, concentration of economic power, trickeries and profiteering? This is the question which I put to the hon. Minister and let him answer with facts and figures.

"Now, here even in the Company Law Report you will find that less new managing agents are being appointed. It is true. In the new ones, many managing directors are not there. Even in the latest report, 250 managing directors are there. But why are there treasurership and secretaryship? Now, the posts of treasurer and secretary are being utilised by the same set of people to maintain their vested interests and economic position. Are we satisfied just because the gentleman would not call them managing agents but would call them secretaries and treasurers? Were we quarrelling over names or we had something very vital in this matter to complain about? Now, this is the position. Everybody knows it and many people write to us. Here are the secretaries and treasurers. Now, they have become the benamdars of managing agents. Let him say something about it. Then, cornering goes on in all kinds and types and in different ways. Now, here for instance, who does not know Jessops, which produced the great Mundhra? Mundhra produced one lakh for the Congress election fund. I concede that. Now, who are buying the Jessop shares today? How many of you know it? Many people do not know it. Why should you bother about shares? I know and I have to bother and some of you have to. Rohtas are cornering Jessop shares in the expectation that some day that great company, Jessops, which produces vital things and mints millions in profit would be cornered by, well, that great name, the Jains.

"Now, there is the new fashion to take over the shares in order to control the company. Messrs. Sohanlal Pasricha, a stockbroker, takes over the shares, purchases a sugar concern, names, Balrampur Sugar Company, from Messrs. Begg, Sutherland and Company, paying Rs. 16/- for a share which actually costs Rs. 6/-. It is going on. This is another 'take over'. You will ask how it is that they are paying so much money when the shares are priced so low. There are reasons for it. They take over because they will have control over the reserve fund of the company that is taken over. Commission is paid as buying and selling agents. They also get a share and various other benefits accrue to them. They are more than compensated for the excess price which they pay for the share.

"This take-over deal has become a menace and the big business in Kanpur, Calcutta, Bombay and other places are indulging in this kind of take-over on a large scale with our bosses in the Government looking on. I do not know whether they have got enough powers to do anything against them. But what I am interested in is in pointing out that this is a serious menace to our economy because the way it is done, the whole thing, this take-over business ab initio is something which is wrong, which is corrupt, which promises nothing but malpractices and money creeping in. This is how it goes on. Now, that is another aspect. They are not doing anything about it. Interlocking goes on. Subsidiaries are there and you could see how soft the hon. Minister is towards the subsidiaries.

Then, distinction between private and public limited companies continues. Why on earth there should be a distinction? Just because it is fifty people they have the maximum control, which is provided under one set of laws. If it is 52, then it does not become private. What logic? From the public point of view, whether it is fifty or five hundred, there should be the same set of laws and all companies should at least come under the existing regulations that apply in the case of public limited companies.

"Then let me come to the other controversial item of contribution to the political funds. When I moved for consideration my Bill seeking to amend the Company Law, I spoke at length and gave reasons as to why contributions by companies to political funds should be stopped and banned. Sri Lal Bahadur replying to the debate, said that they took money from everybody, poor, rich and middle class, and so on. But it seems that they do not go to the poor people. I have not seen them at least in Calcutta coming and collecting money in the streets from the poorer sections of the people.

But I have heard Sir Biren Mookerjee saying that he had to give Rs. 2½ lakhs to the Congress election fund -- I have not heard it but

somebody who heard it told me -- because it had to be given in the interests of the company, and it was a kind of blackmail. Tatas gave money. Mundhra gave money and he messed up in such a poor way that he is in jail or has got so many cases pending against him. He may not give any more, or he may give to get out of it. It is a different matter. Anyway, this is the position. There is just a little restriction of Rs. 25,000 or five per cent. Five per cent of the profits of Tata Iron and Steel Company, how much does it come to? Five per cent of the profit of a tea shop is nothing, but five per cent of the profits of the Tata Iron and Steel Company comes to millions. This is the position.

Every Party in the country wants these things to be completely banned and let there be no mistake about it. One Party and one Party alone -- I do not blame every Party member -- the leadership of one Party, and one Party alone wants this arrangement for contribution to the political fund.

Why? They are supposed to be the biggest Party, they are supposed to have very great following in the country. Let them come and make their election fund out of the pennies and Naye Paise from the poor people rather than knocking at the doors of the millionaires and getting money from them and placating them after the elections. We see connections between the handsome contribution of Rs. 10 lakhs by the Tatas to the Congress election fund before the first General Election and the shooting of the workers in defence of Tatas' interests in Jamshedpur.

The Congress is taking so much; so you require a miniature war to be waged upon them in order to get them out of that position. And you are doing it, but I do not know with what success. Other political parties will not win them over. Let the trade war go on between the two. But we are not interested in this thing, we are interested in banning altogether this kind of thing. Even that is not being done. Then they come with an amending Bill and ask us to support them. All I can say, is, whatever little is done is done; we will support them as we do always, but I say with this kind of play with ideas, with this kind of false play with the people, with this kind of pretension to the people that we are doing something to restrict the concentration of economic power, well, in point of fact, you are building with both your hands monopolists. This is not good, this is not good morality, for public life and for political ideals. I need not say more.

Mr. Asoka Mehra in the other House said people's capitalism. Tigers may become vegetarian some day but capitalism will never become people's capitalism. It will remain carnivorous; it will become a money-taking institution, an exploitative institution. Therefore, let us not have the impression that we build a people's capitalism. It will be Mundhra's capitalism by the grace of the Congress Party or the Birlas' or the Tatas' capitalism nurtured so well by the kindly god-fathers of the Congress Party. Therefore, this has to be stopped and so long as the system private capital remains, our company law should be such as to put the maximum curb and restraint on the monopolistic anti-social operations of big business and help the growth of healthy trends even in the private sector. -- FCC

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

New Delhi, December 14: Here below are the texts of some of the resolutions passed at the Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held on December 2, 3, and 4, 1960 at Bombay. Apart from these the Conference adopted resolutions on Disarmament, Africa, Algeria, Portuguese Colonies in Africa, Racialism in South Africa, Kenyatta's release, United Nations, Goa, Palestine, Release of Makhan Singh and Cultural Exchanges.

Declaration on India's Policy of Peace and Non-Alignment: The Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity reiterates its whole-hearted adherence to the policy of peace and non-alignment, of national independence and co-existence, which has the overwhelming support of the Indian people. This policy is a policy of positive and dynamic action against the forces of war and reaction, colonialism and imperialism. It is a policy which in today's conditions, is in the best interests of our country and equally, enables India to make valuable, often vital, contributions for the relaxation of international tension, for the ending of colonialism and for peace. It is a policy which has won increasing appreciation all over the world and has helped to raise India's prestige in all countries.

This Conference sends its warm and affectionate greetings to Prime Minister Nehru and congratulates him on the programme for peace and independence put forward by him at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. This programme which calls, above all, for total universal disarmament and the ending of colonialism, will command the enthusiastic backing of all who stand for peace and freedom.

This Conference condemns the efforts of interested parties and persons to undermine this policy and to secure its reversal by dragging India into military pacts, directly or indirectly. The Conference particularly warns against the attempts by these forces to misrepresent, ridicule and attack the principled and wise stand taken on the most urgent issues of the day by Prime Minister Nehru and Sri V.K. Krishna Menon in the current session of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. This Conference declares its determination to oppose and frustrate all such sinister attempts, which draw their inspiration from imperialist sources.

The delegates participating in the Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity pledge themselves to do all in their power to win informed support for India's policy of peace and independence and to strengthen it still further. Every step taken by India for peace and against colonialism and neo-colonialism contributes to the greater glory of our Motherland and to the creation of a world from which war and imperialism have been banished for all time.

Resolution on India-China Relations: The Third National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity reaffirms the following resolution on India-China relations adopted by the National Council of the Association in September 1960, reiterates its full support of the policy pursued in regard to this question by Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India, and hopes that the border dispute be solved by peaceful methods, as early as possible:

"The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity has watched with increasing concern and greater anxiety further developments that have taken place on India-China borders since it met and passed its resolution in this connection in December 1959. It also regrets to find that the hopes that were expressed in that resolution yet remain unrealised and the rift between the two countries then pointed out not only remains but has become wider.

Whereas, therefore, good relations between India and China are admitted to be absolutely necessary for ensuring peace in the world, and they are also considered to be a symbol of new hopes and aspirations of many Asian and African nations who have either won their independence recently or are still struggling to gain it, it is highly desirable that these efforts are continued to be made both on governmental as well as non-governmental levels by the two countries, so that further deterioration in the situation is avoided and positive and effective steps should be taken to resolve this rift.

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY...
The Association is of the opinion that for improving the Sino-Indian relations, initiative in a large measure rests with the Chinese People's Republic, and it earnestly appeals to China that she may approach the whole question from the broader stand point and demonstrate by action that the preservation and promotion of India-China friendship and Asian solidarity have still the priority which they deserve in her foreign policy.

The Association expresses once again its warm appreciation of the policy pursued and the stand so far taken by the Prime Minister Nehru for the settlement of the dispute through peaceful negotiations, and for safeguarding the honour and integrity of our country and commends and fully supports the way he has dealt with an extremely difficult situation. The Association also wishes success to the Mission of officials engaged in finding an acceptable solution to the border problems between India and China which has been the cause of their strained relations.

As the Association has given its unstinted support to the foreign policy based on non-alignment and the Panch Sheel principles, pursued by Prime Minister Nehru, at this critical juncture, when this policy is being assailed and attacked in certain quarters, the Association again reiterates its belief in the intrinsic merit and efficacy of the non-alignment policy which has won India high regard all over the world and which is also in the best interest of our security and progress. The Association further pledges its full support to Prime Minister Nehru in his continued efforts to preserve and strengthen this policy and expresses the hope that there will be no deviation from this basic policy.

The Association calls upon all its branches and members also to continue to mobilise public opinion in support of this policy.

Resolution on Congo: The 3rd National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity has been greatly shocked by the news of the arrest of the Prime Minister Mr. Patrice Lumumba by Col. Mobutu's forces. This extremely provocative development raises fundamental issues and creates grave danger for the newly liberated countries of Africa and there is a great risk of the position of UN and its future being put at stake on this account.

It brings into sharp relief the inability of the UN to create conditions in Congo for effective functioning of its legally constituted Government and Parliament.

The latest developments have precipitated the crisis and created a dangerous situation. It is essential that the UN in its own interest and the interest of world peace should take immediate action to retrieve the position and check the destructive forces at work in Congo. They have been brought into play by the manoeuvre of the interested colonial powers and utilised to the detriment of the interests and independence of Congo and maintenance of world peace.

This Conference sends its warm greetings to Mr. Lumumba and the brave people of Congo in this hour of trial and assures them that the whole Afro-Asian Solidarity movement is with them in their arduous efforts to vindicate the honour and dignity of their country.

The Conference views with great satisfaction the fact that African and Asian peoples and their Governments have in an unmistakable manner lent their support to the freedom loving people of Congo.

The sinister move of the Belgian Government has been clearly exposed by the manner in which its forces have returned to Congo, interfered in her internal affairs, supported the disreputed forces and encouraged secessionist trends. Belgium has in its designs to maintain her hold on the mineral resources of Congo, particularly of Katanga and to continue the exploitation of the Congolese people; been assisted, it is clear, by other Western powers headed by the USA. This grave situation is accounted for the act of betrayal.

The UNO, owing to the manner in which it has executed its policies has made the withdrawal of Ghana, Guinea and UAR forces unavoidable and this has created difficulties for the members of the Indian Mission to execute their responsibilities properly. The position has been further aggravated by

Mr. Kasavubu having been seated in UN General Assembly without the sanction of the Congo Parliament and Government and against the wishes of other African Governments under the pressure of the Western Powers.

In this context the responsibility that devolves upon the people of India and her Government is very great indeed for the UN Mission in the Congo is headed by Indian representatives. This Conference, therefore, welcomes the stand taken by the Indian delegation under Prime Minister Nehru at the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly in support of the legitimate Parliament and Government of the Congo, a stand which genuinely reflects the sentiment of the people of India as also of the Afro-Asian world. Unfortunately Sri Rajeshwar Dayal's report, which could have helped to assess the real state of affairs in the Congo has been ignored by the UN.

This Conference, therefore, earnestly requests the Government of India to urge UN Assembly together with other Afro-Asian countries and freedom loving peoples of the world:

- to demand immediate release of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues,
- to ensure the unhindered functioning of the legally constituted parliament and Government of the Congo.
- to arrange for the immediate removal of the Belgian military or other personnel from the country, and
- to reconstitute the UN military command at the Congo with representatives drawn mainly from friendly African countries as proposed by President Nkrumah.

This Conference calls upon the people of India to build up a strong movement in support of the above demands.

CABLE SENT TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

Following is the text of the Cable sent by Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, the President, Indian Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity, to Mr. Hammarskjöld, the UN Secretary-General:

"Conference Afro-Asian Solidarity India deeply concerned report arrest Premier Lumumba by lawless elements. Request immediate action to secure release and ensure facilities for Parliament and his constitutional Government to function. Demand immediate cessation all UN aid to Mobutu, Tshombe and other illegal elements." --FOC

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH INDIA

Yugoslavia is the country with which India, after the proclamation of its independence, signed its first international trade agreement. Since then many efforts have been made to widen mutual economic exchanges, while the results achieved are reflected today in their volume and structure, as well as in the business concluded are now being carried out.

Trade and payment agreements between Yugoslavia and India, signed in 1949, 1953 and 1956, were based on mutual payments in pounds sterling. During the last few years, however, India has been experiencing ever greater difficulties in the balance of payments towards foreign countries, reducing to a minimum the volume of foreign exchange reserves which she must hold for the security of its currency. One of the first countries which came to India's help in this connexion, was Yugoslavia. She accepted the payment for her exports in Indian national currency, including transport of goods. This enabled India to pay the whole of its imports from Yugoslavia exclusively with its exports.

Trade and payment agreement which is now in force, was concluded on January 21, 1960. It expires on December 31, 1962.

The protocol, signed on October 26, has this year fixed the commodity lists for 1960 and these provide an overall increase of exports and imports by about 40 per cent.

Commodity Lists:

The Indian export list in Yugoslavia is characterized by the following basic products: cotton fabrics, yarn, woolen textiles, oil cakes, vegetable oil, spices, pepper, tobacco, tea, coffee, jute products, plant fibers, coconut straw, hides of all kinds, schellac, ores, iron and manganese, ferro-manganese, steel products, pig iron, chemi-

cals, products of Indian machine-construction, plastics, fresh and dried fruit, juices, concentrates and tinned goods, leather products, linoleum, textile machines, and equipment, products of national handicrafts.

The list of commodities exported from Yugoslavia to India basically contains the following articles: electro motors, transformers, and generators, electronic instruments, electrical equipment, isolators, various machines, diesel motors, building and transport equipment, cranes, excavators, machines for earthworks, machines for silos, ships, floating objects, machine tools for metal and wood, cinematograph projectors, cables, electrodes, non-ferrous metals and products, ferro-alloys, paper for writing and printing, artificial fibres and yarn, basic oil for lubrication, medicaments, vaccines, serums and other medical material, photo paper and films, cinema films, hemp and molassa, polyvinyl chloride and other basic-materials, butane gas bottles, films for showing, railway rails, ship diesel motors, optical lenses, bars for autogenous welding.

When the trade and payment agreement was signed in January 1960 the method of initial works for conclusion of an agreement on long-term economic cooperation was also agreed upon. It was agreed in a separate letter that the two Governments, with the object of realizing a long-term economic cooperation as early as possible, would take the following measures among others:

- study the possibility of long-term cooperation in regard to an increase in production, exports and imports of definite products;

- take measures for the advancement of technical cooperation between industrial organizations of the two countries;

- enable the sending of delegations with the object of examining the long-term economic cooperation in the field of production, exports and imports;

- on the basis of established possibilities of direct cooperation enter into concrete forms of cooperation in the field of production, exports and imports, hydraulic, geological and other activities, as well as industrial cooperation.

The realization of this letter is likewise taking a promising course. In the economic organizations and institutions of both countries various preparations and studies have been made. A delegation of Indian economic representatives has stayed in Yugoslavia, while early in 1961 a delegation of Yugoslav economic representatives will visit India.

Wide Scientific and Technical Cooperation:

Under the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation signed in January 1960, the following forms of cooperation have been envisaged:

- exchange and lending of technical documentation; exchange of personnel with the object of training and specialization; cooperation in the field of scientific research; exchange of experts for training, instruction and adopting of technical experiences of the other country; cooperation between technical organizations with the aim of designing, construction and management, especially in the field of power projects, transport and use of water resources, cooperation between productive enterprises in seeking the best technical solutions and achieving greater productivity.

The services extended mutually in the frames of this agreement will be paid for as a rule, but this will be

decided upon in each individual case. Other particulars have also been determined to help the implementation of this agreement.

Ratification of a credit agreement has recently been carried out. Under this agreement Yugoslavia grants a credit to India for financing the purchase of some big plants in the frames of the Indian third five-year plan. The credit amounts to 40 million dollars and should chiefly be used, by choice and in agreement between the Governments of the two countries, for the following projects: investment equipment, capital goods and ships. Special agreements will be concluded for each business to determine all the necessary particulars and conditions.

This credit will carry an interest of 3 per cent, payable half-yearly.

In cases where it is necessary to import parts or materials for the production of the agreed equipment, the parties to the agreement will be able to consider at the time of concluding the agreement, what part of the payment is to be effected in convertible currency.

Deliveries to India:

Yugoslav heavy industry, machine construction, electrical industry and shipbuilding, have received numerous orders and have carried them out to a considerable extent for the delivery of various equipment and building of big projects.

Last year Yugoslavia completed the delivery of switches and turntables for the Indian Railway Board, 5.500 units to a total value of about 6.5 million dollars. The manufacturers were "Ivo Lola Ribar" heavy machine tool factory, Beograd-Zeleznik, and the "Crveni Krst" bridge and switches factory, Nis. Although this was their first foreign

delivery under otherwise very strict Indian standards, these manufacturers very successfully completed their task and obtained very good references for new business in India. "Ivo Lola Ribar" is continuing its exports to India, primarily machine tools of the heavier type.

A group of Yugoslav enterprises - manufacturers of railway equipment - "Metalna" of Maribor, "Djuro Djakovic" of Slavonski Brod, "Dragoslav Djordjevic-Gosa" of Smederevska Palanka and "Crveni Krst" of Nis, delivered in the last few years about 15,000 tons of bridges and bridge supports for Indian railways. These include some big projects, such as the bridge over the Gandak river, weighing about 3,500 tons with 8 arches, each 83 metres long and valued at over 700,000 dollars.

The factory of turbines, ship motors, cranes and other objects of this type, "Litostrojj", Ljubljana, was the first to open the Indian market with the export of heavy cranes and elevators. Some of these were at one time the biggest in Asia as regards capacity. Over 60 cranes and heavy elevators of all types were exported.

The "Zenica Iron Works" successfully completed its delivery of 30,000 tons of railway rails for the needs of the Indian railways, to a value of 4.5 million dollars. Recently the iron works got an order for a new quantity of 55,000 tons valued at about 6 million dollars. The delivery should be completed in the first half of 1961.

The Yugoslav ship-yards have also opened the market of India with their business and deliveries. Last year a freighter was delivered. It was built in the "Uljanik" shipyard-Pula, and its capacity is 12,540 DWT. After a very successful trial voyage from Yugoslavia to Australia and back to India, the ship was delivered to the Indian buyer and was at that time the most up-to-date ship of Indian shipping.

Last year, two patrol boats, built in the "Trogir" shipyard were delivered to the Indian army authorities.

The Pula "Uljanik" shipyard, has concluded an agreement for supplying another ship to India for the tramper service, very similar in type to the first ship sold to that country. The capacity of the ship is 12,540 DWT, and its value is nearly 2.5 million dollars. The Indian Government's approval of this agreement is now awaited.

Among the deliveries for the Indian railways we must mention 12 locomotives for shunter service, built by the "Djuro Djakovic" wagon, locomotive and boiler factory at Slavonski Brod. The manufacture of these locomotives has been completed to the greatest satisfaction of the purchasers.

The "Metalna" metal construction factory in Maribor is building hydro-mechanical equipment for the Matatila dam, valued at 800,000 dollars. The equipment includes also equipment for long-distance commanding boards.

"Invest-Import" and "Ingra" on Indian Market:

A group of Yugoslav enterprises, headed by "Invest-Import" Beograd, as the holder of the agreement for Bihar State Electricity Board, has concluded a special agreement for the delivery of a complete thermal power station for twince 15,000 kilowatts totalling, for the equipment and assembly, about 4.2 million dollars. The boilers for this power station will be manufactured by the "Termcelectro" of Beograd, the steam turbines by "Jugoturbina" Karlovac, while the generator part is to be supplied by the "Rade Koncar" factory of Zagreb. Manufacture is evolving successfully, the first aggregate is to be set in operation early in 1962, while the electric power station will be completed by 1962.

Another important project which "Invest-Import" has concluded on behalf of the Yugoslav manufacturers group,

this time with the West Bengal Government, is the construction of the Durgapur-Calcutta gasline to a length of 120 miles (190 kilometres). The total value of the project is to run to about 7 million dollars. In the frames of this, the "Ingra" business enterprise of Zagreb will build a complete refinery plant as a component part of the project. The preparations are evolving favourably.

An agreement was recently signed also with the West Bengal Government under which the "Invest-Import" enterprises and "Ivan Milutinovic" of Beograd will undertake reclamation of land around the city of Calcutta where salt lakes and swamps are now widespread. This project will take about 7 years to complete, and its value will be about 15 million dollars.

The business association of the Yugoslav heavy industry and technical organizations of "Ingra" Zagreb, has concluded a frame agreement with the West Bengal Government for the drilling of 3,000 wells together with electric installations and distribution. It is reckoned that the total value of this project will run to about 40 million dollars. This is a very big undertaking. Along with 3,000 wells, the firm will build 5,000 kilometres of pipelines, 25,000 water ducts and 20 kilometres of open canals. The drilling of the wells will be carried out by "Elektrosond" of Zagreb. The pumps will be manufactured by "Litostroj" Ljubljana, with the participation of the Indian industry to a certain extent. For the power needed in driving pumps alone, an installed power of 120,000 kilowatts is necessary.

100 Million Dollar-worth of Business
concluded so far:

Some time ago it was announced that the Yugoslav manufactures have been entrusted with the delivery of equipment

for another power station in India. This is the Jaldhaka hydro power station the value of whose equipment will be nearly 500,000 dollars. The suppliers are member-enterprises of "Ingra".

Another big business project was recently entrusted to "Ingra" enterprises, above all to "Djura Djakovic", Slavon-ski Brod. It is the delivery of a boiler for the thermal electric power station Ramagundam, totalling 1.6 million dollars in value.

Besides the above mentioned projects, whose total value is about 100 million dollars, and which have been concluded against payment in cash, it is expected that an agreement for deliveries in the frames of a long-term credit of 40 million dollars will be concluded shortly. With this the value of business and services which the Yugoslav enterprises have concluded in India in the two-year duration of the rupee system of payment, will be considerably increased. It is to be expected that Yugoslav industry will conclude also the delivery of other plants under the third five year plan in India with normal payment conditions.

As a result of the introduction of the balanced principle trade the Indian exports to Yugoslavia are steadily increasing. It still consists to a great extent of the so-called traditional articles such as iron ore, manganese ore, cotton fabrics, tea, spices. During the last few years an ever greater percentage has been taken by the so-called new products such as linoleum, sewing machines, oil cakes, chemicals hides, plastic articles.

The need for balancing the growing Yugoslav exports by the Indian exports calls for a radical and all-round examination of every individual new product in Indian exports with the object of ensuring, in keeping with concrete possibilities;

its marketing in Yugoslavia. This will necessitate a very serious study of the commercial conditions which are standing in the way of a manifold increase in the export to Yugoslavia of basic Indian export articles. For this reason the necessary commercial agreements will probably be drawn up shortly for regulating the necessary long-term increases and establishing the mutual obligations for the solution of the existing problems.

YUGOSLAV EMBASSY, 13, SUNAR NAGAR, NEW DELHI
28th December, 1960.

Speech of

COMRADE Z. DAGWA,
Vice President of the
Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions

Dear Friends,

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to extend brotherly and warm greetings of the working people and the trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic to the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress and through this Session to the glorious Indian working class, and also to express our heartfelt thanks to Comrade S.A.Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC, for the kind invitation extended to the representatives from Mongolia enabling us to participate in this great gathering today.

I am equally happy to convey our deep thanks and appreciation to the working people of Coimbatore and the Chairman of the Reception Committee as well as to all those who have made this wonderful preparation for this conference and welcomed us to your glorious city.

The Mongolian trade unions always have had fraternal feelings towards the AITUC and have watched with admiration the heroic struggles waged by this militant organisation for the good of the toiling workers in this country and rejoiced at its success and achievements. Today, we feel happier still to attend this conference for the first time, as representatives of the Mongolian trade unions and be in your midst, the leaders and members of the militant trade unions of the AITUC. It is, I believe, will no doubt be of immense help to the further strengthening of the brotherly relations between the working peoples of our respective countries.

We have gone through and heard with attention the reports, including that of Comrade S.A.Dange, on the activities of the AITUC. We hope your deliberations and the decisions taken at this session will help further strengthen the struggle for trade union unity, for improving the working and living conditions of the Indian workers and for peace.

Since its inception in 1920 at the largest industrial city of Bombay, during these forty years, the All-India Trade Union Congress has made great advance in uniting and organising the forces of the working class in this sub-continent, to defend the interests and rights of the toiling workers and fought for the national independence of India.

Thanks to the heroic struggles for the liberation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialists and for improving the standards of living of the working class, the AITUC has become a mighty and militant organisation, fighting for the interests of the toiling masses.

The AITUC, we know well, is playing an important part in the national and international trade union movements. It is an active member of the one hundred and one million strong World Federation of Trade Unions and firmly supports the progressive activities of the WFTU.

The Mongolian Trade Unions, being a member of this

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lofty world organisation - the WFTU, the centre of the coordination of the international trade union movement, - are in full support of the noble activities of the AITUC and hope that the AITUC will achieve greater successes in the struggle for strengthening unity of the working people in this country and for the defence of their interests.

Today, under the circumstances of the increasing aggressive activities of the imperialists threatening the fate of humanity, the Mongolian trade unions actively favour the further cooperation among our sister trade unions. The Mongolian working people and their trade unions, together with all the progressive forces throughout the world, strongly condemn the shameful acts of the colonialists and imperialists in Algeria and in interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo, Laos and other countries and the attempts to bring their freedom and independence to naught.

Dear Friends, - May I take this pleasant opportunity of being present at your Session here, to say a few words about my country and about our working class and its trade unions at large? I think this would help, at least to some extent, in knowing something of each other's activities in this particular field.

Forty years back, in 1921, there was a people's revolution in Mongolia, which put an end to the internal oppressive forces and drove out the foreign colonialists and, thus, freedom and independence were brought to our country.

As a result of this Revolution, drastic changes took place in Mongolia. New branches of socialist industry and agriculture, equipped with modern techniques have come into existence and a new working class was born. Trade unions were organised. As you know, the conditions in which trade unions were organised and grew in our country were naturally different. And we work and labour in different conditions too.

At present, over 90% of the industrial and office workers are organised in trade unions. The trade union organisations are a mighty factor in the life and the development programme of the whole nation.

Trade unions in our country are always in support of the government policy and stand for carrying out every steps taken by it, because our government policy is aimed at raising the living and working conditions as best as possible.

Owing to the joint efforts of the working class and the people of Mongolia, the feudal backwardness in which we lived 40 years ago was done away with within a short historical period. Today we are building socialism, having escaped the capitalistic stage of development. We can say that socialism is making good progress in every field of life of the country.

Various branches of national industry, modern means of transport and communications are advancing today in our country. Now, 50% of the gross national product is output from industry alone. It may be mentioned that the active participation of the trade unions in these fields was an important factor in effecting the rapid transformation.

As far as agriculture is concerned, veterinary science, mechanised farming and modern agricultural techniques are now in common use in our country as against the nomadic animal husbandry which predominated formerly. The settlement of the nomadic rural population has started. The herdsmen

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are entirely different today. Until recently, in our agriculture, private ownership predominated but it has now been turned into big collective farms or cooperatives formed on a voluntary basis. In view of this change, in the field of animal husbandry, great progress has been made and the animal wealth of the country has increased. Now there are 27.9 heads of animal per capita in our country. Also the area under grain crops have been greatly expanded.

Thanks to 40 years of the tireless labour and efforts of our people, Mongolia has become an agrarian and industrial country.

There was a cultural revolution too and illiteracy among the adult population in the country was eliminated. Elementary and middle schools, specialised colleges and higher educational institutions were set up everywhere. Seven-year education and four-year schooling system has been introduced in towns and in villages respectively. Free education is provided to all. The higher educational establishments in our country turn out specialists for various branches of the national economy and culture. At present 137.6 people out of every 1,000 are able to study at one or another educational institution in Mongolia.

National arts, literature and science have advanced rapidly for the good of the people.

Every year witnesses an increase and advance in the well-being of the people. And public health service is organised well and medical science is in progress. There is hardly any corner or part in the country where no hospital or dispensary is functioning in Mongolia today. Medical service is free to all, and at present, there is one doctor for every 1,000 people of the population.

I must say that the disinterested and sincere assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was and is an important factor in the realization of these achievements attained by our country. With the further increased assistance from our friends, the Mongolian people are determined to advance their country in the direction of further development and prosperity. In the next five years, it has been stipulated that the advance in agriculture and industry should be at a tempo of rapid development, with a view to raise industrial output twice and the area under grain crops by three times. As a result, Mongolia will make great advances as an industrial and agrarian country.

The Mongolian trade unions organise the working people for the progress and advance of the nation and educate them in the spirit of high productivity and are responsible for further raising of the living standards and the cultural level of the people and in defence of their interests.

The trade unions in our country take an active part in the economic planning, and in introducing new production methods in industry and elsewhere. They participate in everything that might affect the interests of the workers, either directly or indirectly, such as fixation of working hours, wage level, or securing better living and working conditions, leave facilities, etc. Without the consent of the trade unions, no overtime work or work during holidays is allowed.

In our country, the duration of working hours in light or food industries is limited to 8 hours. Special food and clothing, and shorter working day of 7 hours, are provided

for the workers engaged in hard labour. Duration of the working time on the days before public holidays is limited to 6 hours. Social insurance is run by the trade unions in the country. Industrial and office workers are granted 14 to 26 days of paid leave every year. There is 80% discount in the cost of having rest at State-owned sanatoria or rest homes provided for the industrial and office workers. In case of maternity, three months' leave before and after the delivery is granted, with wages paid in full. And, in the case of old age or disablement, 100% of wages are paid to industrial and office workers.

The Mongolian trade unions, in cooperation with the All-India Trade Union Congress and other sister organisations, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions have tirelessly fought for international unity of workers, for peace throughout the world and against imperialism and the colonial yoke.

Our trade unions consider it essential to further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the workers the world over, for achieving universal disarmament, for a lasting peace and for peaceful coexistence, and in support of national independence movements, for protecting the interests of the working people and their trade unions.

Dear friends and comrades! In conclusion, I take the liberty, on behalf of the Mongolian trade unions to wish the All India Trade Union Congress every success in their work in defence of the interests of the glorious working people of your country and for peace throughout the world, and for the activities aimed at insuring the solidarity of international trade union movement.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Mongolia and India!

Long live the brotherly cooperation between the trade unions of India and Mongolia!

SALUTE TO COIMBATORE

By

Nikhil Chakravarty

Coimbatore-January 17: Imagine yourself watching an entire division of an army, 25 thousand strong, marching in measured steps along a four-mile route with clockward precision, carrying thousands of Red banners with TUC inscribed on them and lustily shouting slogans in chorus:

That was what I saw with my own eyes in Coimbatore on January 12 as I covered the procession and rally marking the grand finale of the 26th session of the AITUC. It was an unforgettable experience.

I have seen bigger processions during my 18 years of journalism and louder demonstrations, too. But never before have I been struck by such a remarkable combination of enthusiasm and orderliness, of militancy and discipline in a collection of 25 thousand men and women going in a procession.

In Delhi every year elaborate dress rehearsals ensure timing on the Republic Day Parade and other VIP celebrations. But in Coimbatore, this Trade Union procession had no rehearsals and yet the organisers calmly told me beforehand that it would take exactly two hours to cover the route, and precisely almost to the very minute, the huge procession clocked in at Chidambaram Park for a one-lakh strong rally after making a punctual start from its musterpoint four miles away.

This was an entirely workers' procession. They came in bulk from textile mills and plantations, as also from cement quarries, engineering works, handloom centres, from tanneries and beedi factories, from among municipal and motor transport workers.

What was, no doubt, its most conspicuous feature was the impressive turn out of 2,500 women workers, with a section of them putting on Red Saris, leading. No drooping spirits here nor scared looks, they held high the TUC banner and vigorously shouted slogans that put across all calls sent out by the AITUC Session itself, from "Hands Off Congo" to the demand for dearness allowance linked with cost of living index, from the fight for peace to the fight for a national minimum wage.

Thousands lined the streets to greet the procession. At some places rose petals were showered on it by men and women who have nothing to do with the trade union movement. Next day the people were talking about the procession in the town, that nothing like this had happened before, while the rally of one lakh which came as its culmination - addressed by Dange, representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions and leaders of the Soviet Trade Union delegation, was regarded as a record-breaking one for the city.

Labouring people in Coimbatore turned up in large numbers irrespective of their affiliations. While workers could persuade the managements in most of the mills to close for the afternoon rally, bosses at Varadaraja and Chandra Mills, where the Hind Mazdoor Sabha is active, refused to comply with the workers' request. But after lunch the workers in these two mills walked out in a body and not even a frame was running. Even HMS following came out and joined the rally. The two millowners are today looking a bit foolish before the other members of the Millowners' Association.

I heard that some outside friends of the Reception Committee were worried that the rally not coming off on a Sunday might have depleted attendance. The Coimbatore Textile Union leaders, however, were confident of the response to their call. "Any day is Sunday here once the union gives a call", one of them confidently told me and he proved himself to be right. I remembered what a famous trade union leader had said about Coimbatore's textile workers. Soon after addressing their union's "conference for three hours.....

hours in an alien tongue he had remarked that outside the Socialist world nowhere had he seen such long and strenuous speech being listened to by such a disciplined working class gathering.

I have sometimes heard it being said that a militant base of the working class does not command influence among the middle classes, that a trade union stronghold need not necessarily hold sway over the rest of the town. Coimbatore has belied such theorists. Here there was no hauteur of gentry against the powerful trade unions; in fact the worker in Coimbatore commands the respect of all sections of people, such being the approach and standing of his trade union leadership. It was, therefore, not surprising for the Coimbatore trade unionists - though it was certainly to me - to find the Secretary of the South Indian Millowners' Association and many leading citizens representing different professions, being present at the inaugural sitting of the AITUC session. A well-known industrialist of the place Sri G.D. Naidu lent one of his premises to the Reception Committee where the concluding sittings of the delegates' session and other functions could be arranged.

But really the entire responsibility of the AITUC's 26th session - the longest perhaps, was borne overwhelmingly by Coimbatore's workers at that. Reception Committee's entire collection of Rs.28 thousand for the meeting and session expenditure was from the workers and workers alone. And out of this, Rupees ten thousand came from other districts of Tamilnad, while a big sum of Rs.18 thousand was raised from Coimbatore District alone. The entire amount was raised from mill-gate collections on a single pay day early in December, such is the unswerving hold of the AITUC unions over Coimbatore workers.

The AITUC Nagar was set up in a park named after the memory of one of Tamilnad's greatest sons in freedom struggle, Chidambaram Pillai. In fitness of things, the Reception Committee arranged the staging of a drama depicting the great life-story of Chidambaram Pillai in the evening set apart for cultural programme. The production was by a leading drama troupe led by TKS Brothers.

No previous AITUC session had a "Nagar" of its own, complete with a Post Office, Fire-brigade, Hospital and Tea stalls. A big water reservoir was specially constructed, while the inevitable row of camp latrines added extra realistic touch to the temporary township. The beautiful pandal was named after the late Chakkarai Chettiar, former President of the AITUC.

Its front gate with the facade of a Muslim palace made with bamboo and palm leaves used to attract huge crowds, particularly in the evening, when coloured lamps would light it up showing the giant portraits of Louis Sallent, Dange, Mirajkar and Chakkarai Chettiar.

But the real glory of Coimbatore's hospitality, however, lies not in decorations and the magnitude of the pandal. It was seen in the finest volunteer corps that any trade union centre can claim in the country. Only a band of 115 dedicated volunteers ran the entire show. All of them are actual workers from local mills who took leave for the period of the session. With all discipline and sense of responsibility that a first class trade union life has imparted to them, these young enthusiasts could be often seen trying to get over the language barrier to talk about matters of common interest to the delegates. Strictest security measures were combined with excellent public-relations behaviour, and it is no mean credit to them that not a scrap of paper was missing during the conference lasting over eight days with nearly two thousand delegates, observers and staff attending.

And the same smartness, discipline and loyalty marked them when five thousand volunteers from different factories marched at the head of the procession, each carrying a TUC banner on a pole.

From the Reception Committee Chairman down to the youngest volunteer, every one of them worked day and night as one team. Dange in thanking them voiced the feelings of the delegates coming from outside when he specifically mentioned by name N.K. Krishnan and Parvathi Krishnan for the great

job done. There was no assignment that these two comrades left it for others to do. Practically every train by which delegates arrived was attended by the Reception Committee Chairman herself, with her volunteers, while N.K.K. as he is affectionately called by his comrades, could be seen personally checking up every item from fixing the programme for fraternal delegates to collecting tickets at the pandal gate on the evening of the cultural show. By such personal example, they could weld a team which indeed showed superhuman qualities.

The Reception Committee's ordeal came with rains on the very opening day of the session. Three hours before the inauguration, Coimbatore went through a heavy downpour which flooded a portion of the delegates' camp. Such a calamity would have dislocated any public programme but not so in Coimbatore's trade union stronghold. Scheduled procession started in time, flag hoisting was performed duly, and the session commenced as scheduled, drizzle once more breaking out into a downpour.

Unnoticed by the delegates present, the leaders of the Reception Committee arranged alternate accommodation for hundreds of delegates. A camp was quickly established at Perur five miles away and Krishnans drove 30 miles down to another town to hire buses immediately transporting delegates during the period of the session. This "operation Perur" was an amazing feat pulled off in a couple of hours as silently but swiftly as a commando action. Many delegates from Bombay and Calcutta have commented that even in their own cities with all facilities and resources at their disposal such a thing could not have been possible.

On the day of the cultural programme a cloud burst drenched the entire AITUC Nagar. Undaunted the Reception Committee refused to abandon the programme. Instead, they took step at a great financial loss, of cutting down the sale of tickets only upto the available covered accommodation and giving up the open-air enclosure. The crowd would try with all its might to see the play. The producers of the drama could not but praise it, for, it told them how the working class organisation could show respect for cultural standards at considerable sacrifice to themselves.

The team that worked with N.K.K. and Parvathi comes from actual working class stock. Reception Committee Secretary Chennayan is an ex-mill worker who is also the Secretary of the textile mill workers' union. Ganapathi who was in charge of the famous procession of January 12, prominent Captains of the volunteers like Suddian, Arogyasami, Vasudevan, Arumuga Mudaliar - are all from textile workers devoted to the work of the Union. And their excellent leadership explains why the local police had hardly any job to do when the crowds turned out for the inaugural day, cultural evening or final procession and rally.

The Control Room at the AITUC Nagar was manned by Joseph, a bank employee and Giri, organiser of the plantation union in the Nilgiris. I can hardly remember a single conference where efficiency and comradeship could go hand-in-hand in such equal measure as in the case of these two. And the same was true of the kitchen commandar K.M. Sundaram, leader of Motor Transport workers in Madras. Two lawyer friends of Coimbatore workers, Jayaraj and Marudhachalam did not spare any pains to look after the fraternal guests from abroad, no easy job at a provincial centre.

Behind all this success lies the powerful working class movement. It bears a glorious trade union militant action under the banner of the AITUC. The Reception Committee Chairman made references to those: In 1940, - at Tirupur, workers struggled for dearness allowance against the rising cost of living during war time. In 1946 textile workers fought a protracted battle against victimisation and in 1948 came 108-day long struggle against retrenchment and increased workload. And as late as 1947, the plantation workers at Valparai had to face Police bullets on the Republic Day, "such a record of struggle and sacrifice, of unrelenting fight in defence of their interests that the workers of Coimbatore can proudly claim today also; an index of their loyalty to the AITUC, for it is the AITUC unions which have stood at the forefront of these struggles in the last two decades."

Its significance.....

Its significance was evident from the fact that of the 13 flags hoisted in front of the AITUC Nagar to commemorate Tamilnad's memorable working class actions facing even martyrdom, as many as 11 represent Coimbatore's roll of honour. To pay homage to one such great action, Dange hoisted the TUC Flag on a crowded roadside in front of the Statens Textile Mill where 11 workers were shot dead by the Police in 1946 during a struggle against victimisation.

But the AITUC in Coimbatore does not live on past glories alone. The District Textile Millworkers' Union has today a membership of 15 thousand (a large number of which are women) starting from four thousand in 1954. Its actual influence extends over twice as many workers as it has membership. The Union has 25 offices and it actually owns 12 buildings. It runs a fortnightly journal and has in hand two industrial housing projects. With all its record of relentless struggle, it has often given lead in successful united actions, the latest being that for implementation of the recommendations of the textile wage board. According to the South Indian Millowners' Associations, this is the only union that can deliver the goods.

In the neighbouring plantations at Valparai, the first AITUC union was formed in 1952 - and today it has a membership of over 15 thousand.

Six miles away from the city of Coimbatore situated amidst the foothills of the Nilgiris, Madukkarai is Associated Cement's biggest factory in South India. When the fraternal delegates at the AITUC session paid a visit there, Parvathi Krishnan introducing union leaders said: "This is one of the unions run by workers and victimised workers of this very factory. This is an example of the new cadres that are coming up in the AITUC." The President of the Union Madheson and Secretary Ramaswamy, who incidentally was GOC of volunteers in the Reception Committee are victimised workers of the cement quarry.

Union's office building was constructed by the workers themselves, brick by brick, in their free hours, costing half the estimate.

How intensely interested the union members are in the world outside could be seen from Ramaswamy's speech greeting foreign delegates: "The presence of fraternal delegates at the AITUC session shows that the working class in its fight for peace, economic advance and social justice has got brothers throughout the world". Appropriately enough the leader of the delegation from the German Democratic Republic Bey Reuther said amidst cheers: "The same blood runs in the vein of every worker, whichever country he may belong to."

Souvenirs presented by fraternal delegates included three toy-bears. Immediately the Union President announced amidst applause that these would be awarded to the children of those members of the union who would raise the highest collection for the AITUC Building Fund. Tamilnad has so far donated the highest sum of money, and inside Tamilnad, the Coimbatore District heads the list.

Near Madukkarai, we passed a small place called Kolathupalayam where at a textile mill the INTUC had a strong hold only three years ago, so much so that at the time of the last General Elections, the polling agents of Parvathi Krishnan were actually kidnapped. But today it is the INTUC Union which has been reduced to a small minority and it is the AITUC union which is active and powerful there.

Driving down the road to Madukkarai, I could not but be moved by the picturesque landscape - a sheet of water spreading on one side and the Blue Mountains beckoning from the other. Along with this beautiful picture of nature I have carried back with me from Coimbatore another piece of beauty - the majesty of human dignity represented by her class conscious worker. Watching him at close quarters strengthens ones faith in the power and discipline and political role as leader of this great nation of ours.

THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF ECONOMICS

(PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT)

MYSORE-2, INDIA

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Phone : 1184

"Seetha Manohari"

Yadavagiri,

Mysore-2, INDIA.

February 10, 1961.

"A DECADE OF PLANNED ECONOMY: A Critical Examination of Indian Plans"

Dear Sir/Madam,

I have great pleasure in sending herewith full information (pages fi-vi) about this book which has just been published. I shall be grateful if you will very kindly consider the possibility of placing orders for the book. An Order Form and an addressed envelope are enclosed for your use. In this connection, I submit the following details :

Author: Prof. S. KESAVA IYENGAR,
Director, The Indian Academy of Economics,
Mysore-2, INDIA.

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President

INTRODUCTION

By

Dr C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR,
President, The Indian Academy of Economics

Two thoughts are uppermost in my mind after reading this lucid exposition of Indian Planning. Prof. S. Kesava Iyengar's plea that social costs have proved too heavy compared to the socio-economic progress achieved so far, certainly deserves serious examination by all concerned. Secondly, there appears to be little causal connection between research output and availability of funds for the purpose. Prof. Iyengar has, by his personal example in preparing this book, proved that lack of sympathy and non-availability of funds can be surmounted by sheer will power and application.

Of course, it would be unreasonable to expect all his readers to agree with the author on his views about the numerous problems dealt with in the book, but I am quite confident that a study of this book ought to prove highly useful in stimulating independent and purposeful thinking, untrammelled by prepossessions, prejudices or obsessions. It is a matter for congratulation that Prof. Kesava Iyengar has been able to achieve this landmark under the auspices of the Indian Academy of Economics, literally singlehanded. I very heartily congratulate him on adding this book to his previous publications which are well-known and widely read in India and abroad.

This volume has collected the latest available statistics, and Prof. Kesava Iyengar has shown great analytical power and handled the subject in an easy style throughout. I am sure that this book will be highly useful to all Universities, Research Institutes, Planners, Administrators, Legislators and Businessmen.

*"The Grove",
Madras,
January 5, 1961.*

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

form of loans (net of repayments) are estimated to have been transferred by the countries and agencies surveyed. Of this total, resources equivalent to 10.4 billion dollars, consisting of 8.2 billion dollars in grants and 2.2 billion dollars in loans (net of payments), were supplied on a bilateral basis. The principal contributors of bilateral economic assistance were the United States (5.6 billion dollars net), France (3.5 billion dollars net) and the United Kingdom (0.7 billion dollars net). Over one-half of the 1.2 billion dollars of assistance channelled through multilateral agencies was provided by the International Bank (0.7 billion dollars net). Net inflow of private capital to under developed countries stood at \$1,532 million (1956), \$2,222 million (1957), and \$1,185 million (1958). But, the main portion of private capital exports was to industrially advanced countries and a few high income countries. Canada imported private capital worth \$583, \$514, \$420 and \$500 million respectively during 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959.

A Study by the Reserve Bank of India of foreign capital investment in this country is valuable, more for the data than for the conclusions. Foreign capital invested in this country stood at Rs 570.6 crores at the end of June 1958 while the corresponding figures for the 2 previous years were Rs 541.7 crores and Rs 492.8 crores, apart from foreign funds invested in the Banking Sector. Out of Rs 570.6 crores, Rs 498.4 crores were private and Rs 72.2 crores official. According to the Reserve Bank of India figures, the paid up share capital of 775 important joint stock companies in India was Rs 436.21 crores in 1957 and Rs 461.53 crores in 1958. Although the bulk of paid up capital in Indian Industries must be much more than the amount owned by the 775 joint stock companies, it cannot be denied that even with mentionable repatriation of foreign capital after Independence, foreign investment on Indian productive concerns is quite a big proportion of total investment, the later figure itself being quite small compared to the scope for investment.

According to the Study, the annual average net investment of foreign private capital between 1948 and 1955 was Rs 20 crores. In 1956, import of foreign capital was Rs 43.1 crores, repatriated capital Rs 6.3 crores, and net additional investment Rs 36.8 crores. In 1957, corresponding figures were Rs 57.9 crores, Rs 9.1 crores and Rs 48.8 crores. In 1958, there was a definite decline, the respective figures standing at Rs 51.4 crores, Rs 24.4 crores and Rs 27.0 crores. Out of the repatriated Rs 24.4 crores, Rs 21.8 crores belonged to petroleum marketing concerns. On the other hand, in January-March, 1959, Rs 20.5 crores worth of foreign capital was imported, the Burma Oil Company of U.K. accounting for Rs 14 crores purchase of shares of the Oil India (Private) Ltd. Between 1956 and 1958, total foreign private capital imports stood at Rs 152.4 crores (Rs 72 crores from the International Bank for reconstruction and development).

From the view point of the foreign capitalist, 2 factors are pulling in opposite directions, the spectre of a socialist society necessarily involving

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ORDER FORM

To

Prof. S. KESAVA IYENGAR,
Director,
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INDIA.

Sub : Supply of "A Decade of Planned Economy :
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Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

Date.....

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Full address in Capital Letters.

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.....
.....

"The foreign troops, the Belgian troops, should be expelled from that country altogether. Mr. Hammarskjold must be removed from the post of Secretary-General. As long as he is there, nothing can happen. Mr. Hammarskjold, as the Secretary-General, has forfeited all his right to be there, and the only thing that we can do is to join with other countries in demanding his instantaneous and immediate removal from seat.

"I understand that a delegation from South Africa is visiting the capitals of the Commonwealth countries. The Prime Ministers' Conference will be held very soon in March. They demand -- well, we have met them -- that South Africa should be expelled from the Commonwealth. I think our Prime Minister is fully sympathetic to their cause -- we know it -- but action is needed. Therefore, in this case it is essential that this time the Prime Minister takes a very firm stand and presses for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth. It is important for inspiring those people who against overwhelming odds are fighting the policy of apartheid and racial white supremacy. It is important also for isolating the South African Government and the present State from the world public opinion.

"The Algerian National Government should be recognised. When we are in sympathy with them why can't we recognise them is something which I do not understand.

"About the question of Goa. Now Portugal is in trouble. Portuguese people are fighting. Internal troubles are there and the Government there is challenged within Portugal. Here is the time for us to take decisive action.

"As far as Indo-China relation is concerned, I do not want to say very much. All I can say is that with all our belief in negotiations, our considered view in this matter has been stated in a Resolution passed by the National Council of our Party now in session.

"In Jabalpur we have had very violent, ugly, riots. How is it that the minorities there are not guaranteed their rights? How is it that protection is not extended to them by the authorities there? It is a bigger question. The blame may be on the minorities' side also but the fact is that riots have taken place, very severe riots, in recent times. Jabalpur, Saugor, and other places became the scene of riots and many people were killed.

"In this connection all I would say is that according to my information the local authorities there behaved in a very irresponsible manner and failed to discharge their responsibilities and I would not go into it except that I would demand a judicial enquiry in this matter and the enquiry should be extended to the conduct of the police officials and other officials in Jabalpur and in the vicinities where riots took place because the point that I make is that there were complaints.

"It goes to the credit of both Hindus and Muslims in Jabalpur and the members of other communities, who are trying to repair the damage and restore peace. They had been doing it even during the riots. They should be given every encouragement and cooperation and their support should be enlisted by the Government.

"About the Assam situation, we were told that a Central Minister would go. Where is he? Who has gone? How long has he stayed there or was it mere words here? It looks as though when the Minister makes speeches, he wants to get away by making assurances which he knows at the time of making that they would not be fulfilled. I think the Government stands charged today for letting down Parliament in this matter in so far as they have not kept their promise. They have not kept their promise. Another promise that they have not kept is the one about enquiry. Why was not the enquiry -- over-all enquiry -- held? That promise was made. Why do they shirk their responsibility in this matter?

"As far as the West Bengal Government is concerned, so long as these refugees are there, the economic burden or financial responsibility should be

taken by the Central Government and the West Bengal Government should be given adequate cash to look after them.

"Everybody wants that when a foreign dignitary comes to this country, he or she, as the case may be, should be given all due reception. We are not opposed to it. Whatever dignity is there should be respected but a terrific wastage is taking place in the matter of receptions to the British Queen. Lots of money are being spent for this.

"I would like to know who are the people who criticised the Prime Minister saying that not enough is being done. Why this story then? On the contrary, the criticism is published in the press and otherwise that a lot of unnecessary wastage is taking place. It is not good.

"Then why was the British Monarch welcomed at a certain reception as the Head of the Commonwealth? For the life of me, I cannot understand it. The Prime Minister never welcomed the lady as the Head of the Commonwealth but why another dignitary, perhaps higher-up in the Constitutional sense, welcomed her as the Head of the Commonwealth? Was he advised by the Prime Minister, I would like to know? Why this servility? I cannot understand why there is this attitude of cringing before them.

"We are a Republic. Our status is the same as that of any other country. The Head of our Republic is as great as any other Head and his status is the same as that of any other. We do not recognise any Head over us. How is it that at a formal reception some people received him in this particular manner -- not as Madam but as the Head of the Commonwealth? Is it contrary to policy and one has to explain it.

"When the Royal Party went to Jaipur why was the Ministry bypassed? It is the Chief Minister of Rajasthan who should have been called upon to take charge of the matter. They were given a back seat and the Maharaja and Her Highness -- another Maharani -- flourished in the Royal palaces. It is right?

"Well, all this does not go well with our present position. It is against the republican spirit, against the democratic spirit, even when you receive a personality of that type. Therefore, I say we have shown wasteful servility and a tendency to hug the past and to ignore constitutional propriety to please Maharajas and so on. We are opposed to all this sort of things.

"I submit that in view of the changed situation, it would be a good thing and it would be a welcome gesture, it would be the right thing for public life, if the Government were to release all these long-term political prisoners who have suffered for so many long years in the silence of the prison and one would expect them to be released after such a long period of incarceration.

"About the economic situation, I do not want to say very much. I would only like to say that it is a highly complacent picture that the President has given us when he says that national income is rising. It is true that national income has risen to a very small extent.

"As for the distribution of the increased income, you do not require any committee to inquire into it. Everybody knows where it goes. You can find it out by looking round. The money is being grabbed by a very small section of rich people, the speculators, the profiteers, the industrialists, the monopolist and so on. Unemployment is growing and there is not much reference to it even. It is estimated that the Third Plan will start off with a backlog of seven million unemployed people and probably at the end of the Third Plan, there will be twice as many unemployed unaccounted for under this scheme.

"The last question I want to put to the Prime Minister about the victimisation of the Government employees. Still there are 600 to 700 people who remain under victimisation, dismissed, suspended. Why are they not being reinstated in their positions?" --FOC

DELHI WOMEN PROTEST AGAINST LUMUMBA'S MURDER -
DEMONSTRATION BEFORE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR'S
RESIDENCE

New Delhi, February 21: About 200 women, led by Janwadi Mahila Samaj leaders staged a demonstration in front of the residence of the Belgian Ambassador in New Delhi on Monday to protest against the brutal murder of Mr. Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues.

The women demonstrators assembled in Tilak Square and later marched to Ambassador's residence, shouting slogan like "Drive away Imperialists from Congo", "Avenge the murder of Congolese leaders", "Hammerskjold, Quit UNO."

The demonstrators made several attempts to meet the Belgian Ambassador who was away from his residence. A strong posse of female police, numbering about a hundred were guarding the Embassy.

The demonstrators, many of whom had babies in their arms, passed a resolution condemning the murder of Congolese leaders, and demanding punishment for the perpetrators of the crime. ---FCC

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CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY
.....

E C A F E
Seventeenth Session

9-20 March 1961

New Delhi

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Item No.5:

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ASIA

Statement of

MR.K. B. PANIKKAR,
Permanent Representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions



Sir,

Thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to make a few observations on behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions on this very important item on the agenda.

Permit me, Sir, to offer our condolences on the sad demise of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Minister for Home Affairs of the Government of India.

In our discussion over this item of the agenda, it is necessary, Sir, to highlight the important aspects of the economic situation in the countries of the region and the possibilities for rapid economic advance. The President of the Republic of India in his inaugural address drew attention to the fact that the per capita income in some of the member countries of the ECAFE is amongst the lowest anywhere and cited that in India, for instance, the average income per head per annum has been estimated at \$ 64 as against \$ 1864 in the USA. The reason for this backwardness is not difficult to find. In terms of percentage distribution of Mining and Manufacturing, the share of Asia in world production (excluding socialist countries) is only about 4.7 per cent. But if we leave out Japan, it is reduced to 2.55 per cent. Thus the less developed countries of Asia with a population of over 683 million people produce 2.55 per cent of the mining and manufacturing output of the capitalist world whereas the capitalist countries of continental Europe with an approximate population of 245 million produce 31.1 per cent. Arising out of this is the inescapable conclusion that unless the countries of the region embark upon industrialisation on a very big scale rapidly, the urgent and earnest desire of the Asian people to improve living standards, especially stirred by the achievement of political independence, could never be fulfilled. Nor could the countries of Asia take their due place in the comity of nations.

Whatever progress the countries have made should be viewed from this pressing need. During the past few years, many countries have taken some measures to improve the situation. An industrial consciousness is developing and the need for certain amount of planning is generally recognised. In certain countries, economic development plans for certain specific periods are formulated and put through. And encouraging results were also achieved. But are these efforts adequate to sustain a rapid and continuous growth of the economy and to make any perceptible change in the life of the common people? The answer would be not so encouraging. Hence a rethinking on the process and methods of planning for economic development appears imperative. Since the very concept of planning is related to efficient utilization of all available resources, only a deliberate process of speeding up those branches and sectors of key importance to the economy such as heavy industry, could provide an expanded and sustained growth. The process is best served by the State or Public Sector of the national economy and where the State has assumed such responsibilities, the practical results are quite sound and encouraging.

As we had pointed out on earlier occasions, the unfortunate aspect of the situation continues to be that the agrarian structure in the region still retains more or less the same moribund and outmoded feudal relations, blocking any progress towards increased investment and production. The great importance of this problem

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and the need to initiate effective actions for necessary institutional changes was stressed by us during the Fourteenth Session of the Commission. The ECAFE survey states that only through an increase in imports was per capita availability of cereals in 1960 maintained at the 1959 level. The retarding effect of the stagnation in agriculture is obvious and unless the countries take adequate steps for the development of the agricultural sector, mainly through land reforms in favour of the peasantry and other institutional changes, the problem of food cannot be solved and a rapid development of the economy could hardly be envisaged.

Though some slight improvement has been made during the past year in relation to foreign trade, the basic problems remain as grave as they were. The instability of prices and demands of primary commodities, deterioration of the position of primary products in world export trade, adverse terms of trade resulting in the widening gap between export earnings and needed import requirements and the consequent adverse balance of trade, etc., pose very serious problems before the countries of the region. The fact that within the present structure and relations of trade, there is little prospect for any large expansion of export of primary goods on long-term basis shows the gravity of the situation.

Naturally the question posed before the countries of the region is whether possibilities exist for readjusting the patterns and channels of trade, for serving effectively the needs of a fast rate of economic development.

If we care to look at some of the outstanding developments in the world, especially in terms of trade and trading possibilities, the first thing that strikes us is the very significant advances in the economy of the socialist countries and their astonishing rate of development. This development has helped to change the pattern of international trade considerably and the past dominance of the operators of traditional markets of international trade is being weakened. The emergence of the former colonies as independent entities with their ambitious development plans no longer conforms to the dictates of international monopoly capital.

Thus the monopolistic hold on world trade by the controlling authorities of traditional markets, based on vast colonial possessions, is no longer the decisive factor as was the case in the past, in the fate of these countries and their future development.

And the possibility of access to a market governed by the principles of equality and mutual advantage and conducive to the independent development of the economies of the countries of the region exists today.

If some of the international monopolies refuse to supply oil, today there is an alternate market one can look for. If sugar is refused by a buyer, one can look for an alternate and perhaps more sympathetic buyer today.

Such is the change in the world market and patterns of trade. Thus if the developing countries of the region approach trade problems with a sense of realism, there are certain possibilities which might offer beneficial results in overcoming some of the difficulties confronted by them provided they make efforts to readjust their trading policies.

In this connection, during the previous sessions of the Commission, we had emphasised the advantages of long-term bilateral trade agreements. The growing volume of trade on the basis of such agreements in some countries of the region reveals that in the given relations of international trade and adverse balance of

trade position, bilateral trade agreements, especially on the basis of non-convertible local currency stipulations could be of considerable benefit.

In their efforts for rapid economic growth, the countries of the region look for external aid and assistance. And such aid and assistance could certainly help to reinforce the national efforts, especially in the context of limited internal resources. But let us not forget that the type of foreign aid secured will have important bearing on the very development of the national economy itself.

And it is from this viewpoint that we are highly critical of the private foreign capital investments. Already the most lucrative sectors of the economy of the countries of the region are in their hands. The enormous amount of resources drained out of the countries of the region and the political and other pressures they are able to exercise are certainly not conducive to the independent development of the national economies. For instance, the U.S. private direct investments in the Far East has increased from 309 million dollars in 1950 to 1,028 million dollars in 1959. Profits on these investments amounted to 166 million dollars, representing a heavy charge on the limited resources of these countries. In Indonesia, for example, on U.S. investments of 163 million dollars, the profit was 54 million dollars - a profit rate of 34 per cent. There is no need to emphasise the fact that the countries of the region need exercise great vigilance because the formal retreat of imperialist powers in granting political freedom to their former colonies is being circumvented by their efforts to entrench and strengthen their position economically. And, in this effort, the private foreign capital fulfils the role of standard-bearers. What disastrous results such interventions could produce could be seen from the recent example of the Congo, leading to the brutal murder of the tallest of the African patriots, Mr. Patrice Lumumba. And let us not forget the lessons of Congo.

External aid, financial and technical, should be conducive in really helping the national economies so as to serve as additional strength in their desirable growth. Such disinterested help without dictated conditions and stipulations alone help to stimulate national economies and thus fill the gap. Hence our insistence on public financial aid from developed countries.

The possibilities of such aid will greatly increase if the leading powers of the world arrive at an understanding and agreement on peace and disarmament and cease to throw away enormous resources in the production and stockpiling of terrible weapons of mass destruction. For instance, it is estimated that the military expenditure of the USA, USSR, Britain and France would release (even a 15 per cent cut) roughly 10,000 to 12,000 million dollars. If only ten per cent of this sum were to go as aid to under-developed countries, it would amount to over 1,000 million dollars a year. An agreement on disarmament among the big powers will also help the countries of the region to reduce their military expenditures which are not negligible.

The problem of peace and disarmament being so vital to the economic development needs of the countries of the region, we would urge the Commission to adopt a resolution recommending that the ECOSOC and the General Assembly take up this question urgently and also entrusting the Secretariat of the ECAFE to undertake a study on the social and economic consequences of disarmament for the countries of the region.

Sir, the working class in the countries of the region has been the most important strata of the people who contributed their best for the progress in the region. Yet they had to shoulder, in most of the countries, heavy burdens on account of rise in cost of living.

Their gains in housing, social security facilities, etc., have been almost negligible in most of the countries. Their just demands for increased wages even to neutralise the rise in prices have been often ignored. Where certain gains were secured, they were secured only after powerful and united actions were initiated or threatened. The biggest strike in the history of the Japanese Labour Movement - the Miike miners' strike lasting 288 days during 1960; the strike of nearly 500,000 employees of the Central Government in India during July last year and innumerable struggles of the working people in the countries of the region illustrate this point. This attitude of lack of response to their vital needs and demands is likely to dampen the enthusiasm of the working people for all-out effort for economic advance and developmental activities. It is very necessary, therefore, to avoid this danger by initiating and implementing measures which will guarantee continuous rise in the working and living conditions of the workers and the people along with the progress of economy. In most of the countries, efforts to associate the workers and the people at various levels in the formulation and implementation of the development plans are very weak. Popular participation in developmental activities is a precondition for successful accomplishments.

And such participation cannot be expected from the working people unless the effective role of their organisations - the trade unions - is recognised. Unfortunately, the attitude of most of the Governments and the employers (unless they are unions functioning according to their dictates) are far from satisfactory. Even there are countries where trade unions are banned. In many countries, Governments and employers refuse to accord recognition to trade unions and also safeguard trade union rights and freedom.

Such an attitude only helps to retard the economic development of the countries of the region.

Planning has more or less come to stay in most of the countries of the region. But the need to plan wages has not received any attention. Considering the fact that in most of the countries, the biggest employer is the Government, the need to plan wages is of utmost importance.

In the less developed countries where the standard of living of the common man is so low, the economic and social policies should be so designed that the major share of the gains of economic development results in alleviating his wretched conditions and not allow the rich to become richer and richer while the poor becomes poorer or remains where he is. In this respect, the responsibilities of the State are of paramount importance. The main question, therefore, is whether the State acts as an instrument for the preservation of the wealth and privileges of a small class of vested interests or functions as the initiator of policies and programmes designed to raise the standard of living of the broad masses of the people.

Sir, the ECAFE serves as an effective forum for the exchange of information and experience of economic and social development of the countries of the region. But unfortunately, the absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic representing over 690 million people in the work of the Commission not only deprives the Commission of their valuable experiences but also undermines the prestige and authority of the ECAFE. We hope this abnormality will be rectified without delay.

Dange's personal file

POLITICAL PREREQUISITES FOR RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH

Speech by S.A. Dange
at Dewan Chand Information Centre
on March 10, 1961

The subject before us is "Political Prerequisites for Rapid Economic Development". In order to ~~pose~~ pose the question, certain preliminary questions would be necessary. What is meant by "rapid"? Some people measure it by the rate of growth in the national income. Some people measure it in relation to the growth of other countries. Some people measure it in relation to the period wherein a man who left for Benares took formerly four years to reach that place and now he can reach in three hours. So there are various methods of judging what is called "rapid".

Now, rapidity in economic development cannot simply be measured by national income. Because it has got to be not only rapid but it must have an objective. For example, there could be a rapid growth in a particular line of production which might mean imbalance in other lines of production and that rapidity ceases to be rapid. So merely an overall estimation by national income do not give us a proper approach to the question. Therefore, I would request you to consider the question in relation to some other factors.

For example, it must not only be rapid, but it must have certain other ingredients. It must have certain essential factors for the countries development and its people's development. There may be a rapid development by losing some of our rights or the content of our independence, by causing disturbances, by not feeding the needs of the people and so on.

Therefore, I would put the question: should we measure India's development only from the context of rapidity or from its overall development? I would put that question in a rather wider context.

Coming to the second point. What do we mean by "political prerequisites for economic development?" Which conditions which. Does politics condition economy or economy condition politics? Some people think that great men condition all things including economics. Once upon a time, there was a ~~mythical~~ theory - let great men be born and everything will be changed, the Avtar theory. The Avtars appeared at times of crises according to the Hindu theory. This theory later on came as of hero worship. But now it is now more or less popularly and even in scientific literature, ~~the~~ the theory is accepted that what is basic is economy; economy makes politics and politics then reflects on economics. Politics cannot change the fundamental nature of economics. Economic development at various stages has certain characteristics. For example, an economy based on handloom and the bullock cart, minus the steam engine, could not give birth to a system of modern parliament and adult franchise. When society uses certain types of instruments of production, those instruments of production establish certain relations of production which in turn shape the politics or State power. In our ancient days, it led to the caste system - the Brahmin had to be the intellectual; the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and Sudra having definite occupations. Therefore, a certain instrument of production on the basis of which society conducts its life creates its own reflex in State power. Manusmriti was thus the political prerequisite of that economic development. Now there is the theory of ~~the~~ Dicey and laws on Constitution, etc. These constitutional theories would not have been possible when other instruments of production prevailed.

Instruments changed. Society created new machines. New machines created new relations as between man and machine. In ancient days, could a man own land? He could not. The king could give a little piece of land for certain social purpose but land was commonly owned. Even today in U.P., in some backward villages, they say: " It could not belong to any landlord or anybody else. It was social property. But today, if you say that land is common, then you know what would happen. "

Therefore, when the instruments of production changed, then the social structure and after that the political structure undergo fundamental changes. And after that has taken place, then that structure begins to influence the economy again. It carries out two functions: strengthens that economy and strengthens those relations of man to machine which takes society forward. Instrument changes, man changes, the relation changes and on the basis of that State power changes. For example, in ancient Greece, when you employed a slave, you could not have employed a nice machine. Slavery and machines are incompatible. A serf and tractorised agriculture are incompatible. The moment you develop a fine machine, you must develop a fine labourer, a skilled labourer. So, universal literacy can become a slogan only in modern context and not in ancient days. So the present State power and its structure are possible only in the present context of economic development based on certain relations of man to machine and these relations govern the pace of development. After a certain time, the relations become a hindrance and if the State power tries to prevent a change, an upheaval takes place and a new political prerequisite for economic development is provided by society.

So, the question before us is: what is the relation between man to machine or the instruments of production? Does that serve the purposes of rapidity? The relations today are two - capitalist and socialist. In India, we have the

capitalist mode of production. That is the major activity is conducted on the fundamental relations between man and machine which is capitalist. The machine exists as a property of a few people and a person who wants to operate it should hand over the product to the person who owns the machine. That is what is called in economic literature as profit motive, the entrepreneur system, etc. This is the relation on the basis of which production is carried on.

I am not going into the past. I am taking only the period since we became independent. After independence, we inherited a certain relations and a certain economy. What was the characteristic of that economy? No heavy industry, no machine-building industry, nothing which an advanced capitalist country should have. Nothing which is required to take a backward economy forward in a good way. There was only the railways, ports and docks and a solitary Tata steel plant but we did not have those basic requirements of an economy which could change the nature of the economy and take it forward rapidly and without ~~any~~ pushing us into crises of anarchy in production and consumption, etc.

And then we decided to plan. What was the first obstacle? Who would give us the machines? In order to build a machine, we must first have a machine. But who would give us that first machine. And you can recall your knowledge of history from 1947 to 1950. More or less everybody admits that it was a period of anarchy. Partition, Kashmir intervention, etc., and over and above, and taking advantage of that, ~~the~~ the economy just running away. 600% profits. Anybody who owned a factory or had goods to sell could dictate his prices. And political power was unable to control it for some time. And then in 1950, we started planning.

Planning was with us from long ago as an idea. The idea came from socialist countries. That idea never existed before the ~~1917~~ Soviet Revolution. The revolution took place in 1917 and efforts for planning started in Russia from 1922 and more seriously from 1928. The Plan reverberated.

The Soviet economy advanced rapidly when the whole of the capitalist economy was in deep crisis in the 1930s. To overcome the crisis, Keynes came forward with his theories of injecting money and governmental action. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
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In India, Pandit Nehru was the first proponent of the idea of planned economy. It was his dream in British days and some sort of planning was made.

After we got power, for three-four years, there was no plan. After seeing the anarchy, we decided to plan. What was the essence of the Plan? We must rapidly develop, strengthen economic independence, stop anarchy, raise national income, no unemployment, etc. What happened? In 1955, the end of the First Plan, nothing much had happened. And Pandit Nehru in the Congress Session made a statement that the First Plan was not a plan in the real sense of the term. It was nothing beyond a plan to establish few factories. For that matter, private enterprise has greater plans of production and establishment of factories. The imperialist trusts as in oil have their plans of expansion and development in their own fields. But in relation to the society as a whole, they have no plan. Planning embraces the total economy. Pandit Nehru said in that sense the First Plan was not a plan, we were continuing on certain schemes made by the British and it was not a plan of industrialisation. There was not a single steel plant established. That was the assessment when the Second Plan started.

When the Second Plan started and when the correctives to the First Plan had to be given, two things stood out. One, the agricultural situation; and two, who will give the machines. And what were the political prerequisites for it? What was the State power going to do? Whose power is that? Who is going to obstruct it? What line of economic development it has?

You friends will remember that when the Zamindari

Abolition Bill was passed, it was obstructed at every stage and completely nullified in operation. The landowners said agriculture cannot go forward if they are liquidated. The political power said otherwise: incentives have to be given to the peasants, burdens on them have to be reduced. It was a question of expanding the internal market. Rent distributed over 10,000 persons does provide a market. The landlord does not require more than 72 yards of cloth, at the most a 100 yards. But 5,000 peasants requiring cloth would buy thousand times more.

And when the obstruction came, what did the political power do? You remember the Constitutional amendment No.4. The landowners said: "You acknowledge the right of property and this right cannot be extinguished unless adequate compensation is given." And the whole law of Zamindari abolition which was to take the economy forward was nullified by demanding adequate compensation. Finally the Amendment No.4 was passed, saying that some compensation will be given but the legislature will decide what is adequate compensation and this cannot be challenged in a court of law. Thus a political prerequisite was created by the Constitutional amendment. A step had to be taken. Similarly, other amendments have to be adopted and then you will find that when production is being obstructed, political prerequisites in several domains will be necessary.

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the country which describes certain relations between man and man and the country but in its working out, it is vitiated. That poses the question: who shall form the Government which runs the Constitution in such a way so that obstructions are removed?

For rapid development of economy, it is necessary that there should be no strike. How to prevent strikes? What is the political prerequisite? The prerequisite is of a Government or the party in power which understands what the working class requires and which is not overloaded on the side of the employers. For example, if you have

a principle enunciated of a minimum wage, and the political power or the party in power comes out and says "No; that minimum shall not be given". I can understand if they give any reason as incapacity or so. But the capacity exists. Again, when the employer goes to the Supreme Court against the law, abstract questions of social justice prevails and the law is laid down which negates the principle. Here jurisprudence and concepts of law and concepts of social justice are in defence of property. If these contradict the needs of development, then the concepts of law and jurisprudence have to undergo a change. This is a political prerequisite.

There can be many such illustrations. First I gave the illustration about property rights becoming an obstruction to rapid development and how obstructions can be cleared. Secondly, the question of certain rights and what should be the State policy in the exercise of these rights.

Coming to the third point. In 1958, we faced an acute crisis of foreign exchange. But as C.D. Deshmukh wrote, the private entrepreneurs had "stolen" the foreign exchange; they had successfully managed to obtain all their requirements of foreign exchange before the Government had realised what the position was. That was a shrewd calculation in anticipation of future development, on the part of private businessmen. Here what was the political prerequisite in order to carry out rapid economic development? The political prerequisite was to take over the whole field of money in the hands of the State - circulation of money, its disposal, everything. Now somebody will say that political steps have been taken of licensing imports and exports. But the major field of money is covered by the banks and in today's condition, private banks. State Bank and Reserve Bank at best only control the other banks. The private banks have the real power and if they are left free, no planned economy is possible. Read the report of the Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai. He says: "We are sorry to note that

speculative tendencies are rising." Is that a prerequisite of planned economy that you take three months to discover that speculative market is going up. The speculative market is going up because the political prerequisite that will definitely control and suppress this tendency does not exist.

Another thing is administration. That you know from your experience. The administrative apparatus must conform to the needs of development of society and its economy. That development could not be continued by the make up of the apparatus we inherited. That has to undergo fundamental change. Once one ICS officer was found to have committed some wrong. He brought forward a rule that he cannot be judged except by his own peers, i.e., other ICS men. That means he sets himself above society, that he shall be judged only by his own caste. Five years passed in this wrangle and by then the ICS man reached retirement age and he retired. Therefore, the whole of the administrative apparatus should be either ideologically conditioned to the new phenomena of planned development or go out. Otherwise, that apparatus will not function. And this apparatus must be joined to the democratic apparatus. Government and bureaucracy from above and people from below ^{if} -/these two are not intertwined, then the essential prerequisite is lacking for rapid development.

For example, we compute agricultural production. Who does it? Prof. Mahalanobis? No. All the agricultural statistics depend on the Talati (the village officer) in the village. If you want to know the price, the Talati quotes 4/6 annas, depending on the information given by the village trader. If food prices are subject to speculative markets, all statistics would ~~be~~ go definitely wrong. And we will ~~be~~ never know about food shortages until there is famine. This shows how the whole village is interested in production and not a single trader. Therefore, it is a political prerequisite as to who is going to carry this out.

There many other prerequisites, as for instance, the relationx between Centre and States and the relation between the different Ministries. States are quarrelling over river waters, location of factories and so on. This quarrel does not lead to rapid development. In this quarrel, that group which is financially strong dominates and even weather reports are made to order according to their dictates. You will find that industry is concentrating around centres of traditional speculative finance. There is of course the natural occasion, as of coalmining in Bihar. But the head office will be either in Bombay or Calcutta. You know that hundreds of ^{American} companies with crores as capital are registered in Bahama Islands since there is no income-tax.... So the location of industries has got to be done conducive ^{to convenience} ~~of convenience~~ of production and the needs of the areas concerned and the possibilities which exist. It was all right for the British to unload cotton and yarn and start their textile mills in Bombay. There is no reason why we should not go somewhere else to instal the new mills.

So the question of relations between Centre and States and the location of projects are political prerequisites for rapid economic development. This expressed in the demand for linguistic provinces. The best way to get a mass base is the demand for linguistic provinces. If you want to run your administration for the common people, it must be in the language of the people. But this political prerequisite of linguistic States had to be created by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men. Eight years of struggles and sacrifices were required to achieve this. Why did they deny it so long? Because concentrated monopoly power has no State and no language. And concentrated monopoly power influences politics. This particular non-State, nirgun (in Hindu philosophy, parabrahma is described as nirgun) monopoly power does not admit of States, linguistic provinces.

So the removal of the influence of the monopoly economic power over the State is an essential prerequisite.

Then you will say that the political prerequisite is socialism. But there are some steps you take even before you come to socialism. There are States which are not either socialist or capitalist, the new States~~x~~ in Africa, etc. There they have absence of concentrated monopoly power - the ~~xxx~~ small businessmen, workingclass peasantry and all combined and seeking a third way between capitalism and socialism. Ultimately they will have to come to socialism because after a certain stage capitalism ceases to develop society. After production for a certain time, crises appear. Huge wealth and ~~a~~ huge crisis. Huge cotton cloth stocks lying in godowns and millions going naked. This is capitalism. Socialism simply says this can be eradicated if private enterprise is abolished. Then it smoothly goes forward without breaks. That is the highest prerequisite for rapid planned development.

But I just~~ed~~ pointed out is not a socialist solution but a solution within the existing system. The question of the constitution and the clear feeling of rights and duties in such a way that major part of society gains and not a smaller part. You will say that the constitution is partial. It is. Even the Manusmriti was partial. •The Sudra was forbidden to read the Vedas. In the democracy of the Greeks, the slaves were not taken in. Today we have come to the position that all shall have education upto a point. After that, only those who can pay. ~~all~~ are equal before the law but when ~~an~~ senior lawyer stands up, the bench sits down. Therefore, we have to come to a certain ~~problem~~ formula so that ~~the~~ rights are made real. These are the prerequisites.

Then there is relations of men in production. He should get what is his real due. You see the tables of the Census of Manufactures. From the analysis given there, you will see that when one rupee wage is paid, what is left over after taking the cost is Rs.2.39. On what basis of justice do you allow Re.1 to this man and Rs.2.39 to the other. Surely on the basis that he owns. ~~the~~ If this ownership obstructs development, will you abolish it? That is a political prerequisite. The answer ~~today~~ today is - No. I would say, the answer should be - Yes.

This question of share in the total product is a very vital question for developing economy rapidly. And because this share is denied to private interests by the State Sector, there is revolt against the State Sector. The political prerequisite is to extend the State Sector and not curb it. If Government is run by people who admit of State Sector with a wry smile, the essential prerequisite of rapid development would be lost. The idea that is put forward is that you invest in an industry with the money from the taxes and build it; then I come and say, you cannot run it efficiently; hand it over to me. It is the experience of the trade union movement which contributes very substantially to the development of the ~~the~~ economy. National economy has come into existence because of the TU movement. The proud working class will stand by the national economy and national industry. This is the contribution of the trade union movement to the Indian economy. And the TU movement says that the State Sector should be extended and this is a political prerequisite for rapid development of economy.

Another political prerequisite is foreign policy of the Government. It is an essential factor in economic development. Who gives the machines? That decides the

fate of my country. In 1955, all the capitalist countries refused to give us machines. They would give us railway equipment but not equipment for establishing heavy industry, iron and steel, machine building, etc. None of the rich capitalist countries could give us that, neither England, America, France or West Germany. They were prepared to sell things and supply us spare parts. Because spare parts constitute the continuing link of high profits. I know of a concern which sold a certain machinery to the Government and then sold spare parts raising value from one to ten. The prices of spare parts have nothing to do with cost of production.

So, the machines were not given. Therefore Jawaharlal Nehru took a decision that in the matter of foreign policy which governs economic relations, loans and ~~grants~~ ^{credits,} I shall look both ways - east and west. And after the Korean War, the change took place in the policy of the Government that we shall take credits from the Soviet Union also. The Soviets said that we will give you the kind you really require and take what you are prepared to sell, i.e., rupee terms. Therefore, a political step of great importance was taken by Panditji: that my foreign policy will be linked up also with socialist countries. Some traditional links were broken and Bhilai plant came. And this encouraged the Germans also - the injection of Bhilai was needed to produce Rourkela. Even then, (I do not know whether it is fatalism) the Rourkela plant always cracks. First there was a crack in giving us the plant. Now in production. It is not technology only. The Hindustan Machine Tools run perfectly well, under an Indian manager. When it was established, the ratio between an Indian worker and a Swiss worker was 3 : 1. Now Today it is 0.9 to 1 Swiss worker. In efficiency, our Indian worker has topped the Swiss worker. Durgapur cement piles all-always wrong. Why? Because these countries do not want to establish lines of production

in this country which will make us independent of the foreign hold. Therefore a political prerequisite was created by saying: I shall take from both.

We built a shipbuilding plant in Vizag under the French foremen. But the ships built there listed. The French firm of collaborators perhaps built ~~the first~~ ships for the first time.

Who has given us heavy ^{forging plant.} ~~machinery~~ The Czechs. The Czechoslovaks also offered Skoda trolley buses to the Bombay municipal corporation. To remove the smoke nuisance in Bombay City, trolley buses are essential. But a block of corporators were found to vote against this proposal. What then is the political prerequisite? To throw out such corporators!

Then Ministries ought to function collectively. The economy is one but the ministries are in hundreds. There is no quarrel about the number but there should not be 100 directions of development, or 100 contradictions. Like the railway ministry clashing with the Mines Ministry. And some ministries do not know labour laws. And the Labour Minister is asked not to interfere. Each ministry is an autonomous empire. Why is this? This is because there are entrenched private interests. Targets do not get fulfilled and one minister blames the other for the failure. Therefore the collective functioning of the ministries is a prerequisite for the rapid development of economy.

Final prerequisite_x is a Government which will not do all this. What is that Government? A Government which must not belong to one party. Even if it has a majority of seats. Majority of votes, it has not got. But they have majority of seats because there is no proportional representation. So, a Government which shall reverse the policies except the foreign policies_x is needed. The only correct policy is the foreign policy. Internally,

one main direction is correct, i.e., the emphasis on heavy industry as basis for developing economy, and the adherence to the State Sector and insistence to develop where imperialists dominate as in oil.

So a democratic government, not of a single party but of all parties who are interested in this line of development, which we call National Democratic Front. Those parties in the country who want development should combine, follow a line of policy, carry out changes in the Constitution, so that the economy can grow in a planned way, for the benefit of the people. Today it is not of eliminating capitalism but which today controls monopoly power of certain monopoly houses. You must have seen a fine study in the Economic Weekly about four firms controlling over 400 copies and a capital of 500 crores. And none of those who control such big capital requires more than 72 yards of cloth! But what is that which makes him fight the people, fight the workers just to resist an increase of one pice in wages. Not 72 yards of cloth. It is the mania for monopoly profits. This is inherent in the system. They are absolutely good vegetarians. But it is the relations of production which allow men to generate these sentiments. This must be changed.

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 in the path of our national advance. As is well-known 70% of our people are dependent on agriculture for livelihood, 71% of the working force in the country are employed in agriculture. In addition the livelihood of millions of non-agricultural rural population are dependent on the prosperity or otherwise of the agricultural sector. Nearly 50% 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 pitfalls that the country faces in its efforts at 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 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:

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 1/6 of gross produce as specified by the Land Reforms Panel of Planning Commission;
4. Conferment of ownership rights on tenants.
5. Fixation of ceilings in such 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. Democratization of executive organs and machinery for implementation 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 reforms 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 to 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 in our minds and make it understand

to the Kisan masses that the Government's basic programme of land reforms as embodied in the various land reform measures do not solve the basic peasant problem of our country and is heavily weighted against the peasant masses in favour of big landed interests. We should therefore put up uncompromising struggle against these programmes. We should expose the basic concepts behind and the approach of these legislations. We should lay bare the implications and overall effects of these legislations. At the same time, we should welcome whatever progressive features are there and struggle for defending and extending the progressive features and wherever possible try to change for the better the anti-peasant features.

Secondly, in the field of agriculture and rural development, we should take a constructive approach. Community Development, rural credit, cooperative movements etc are to be taken for what they are worth and utilised to the maximum possible extent for improving the living and working conditions of the peasantry. No doubt the Government makes exaggerated claims for Community Development as bringing "non-violent revolution in the countryside". We reject such claims and evaluate the 'movement' as a product of Government's efforts to find a technological solution to the agrarian question, by-passing the need for radical land reforms.

Thus we see that neither the Community Development programme nor the other rural development programmes like cooperative credit facilities can solve the fundamental problems of our rural society. So long as the present socio-economic structure 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 bureaucrat --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 proclaiming them to be so, we should also try to break the grip of the reactionary combination of the landlord--bureaucrat over these institutions.

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 operations 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 an integrated price policy including fixation of price parities 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 whatever 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 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."

---(FCC)

NEW DELHI SESSION OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL -- STRESS ON
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DISARMAMENT

New Delhi, March 30:- Five-day session of the World Peace Council which concluded late on Tuesday was 'historic' and significant in more ways than one.

It is the first time that the Council which is now 11 years old held its session in this country. In his introductory speech, the outstanding British scientist and Chairman of the Council said: "The choice of New Delhi as the place of our meeting is a particularly apt one, for the problems with which it will have to deal will be problems that cover the whole world and are not limited to the sections of Western Europe which have been the focus of conflict in the last few years.

That the Council has come to acquire a range and coverage and accordingly great significance and effectiveness in the life of the peoples-- though there are in existence several other bodies also which promote the cause of peace in their ways--could be seen from the wide participation in the session. As many as 150 members and observers from 50 countries in all the continents came to attend the session. Among the participants were men and women of great talent and distinction in all fields-- scientists, writers, artists, political figures, trade unionists. They brought to bear on the discussion of problems their great and varied experience and knowledge, and the results as they emerged in the form of resolutions passed by the session are bound to have their impact on the course of events.

However, it is not the formal discussions and the resolutions which alone should be taken as the important results of the sessions of the Peace Council. The Council meetings provide an opportunity as they did here in New Delhi during the last week Prof. Bernal told newsmen on Wednesday, for men and women from different lands to get to know each other, hold discussions among themselves and understand the various problems.

Another feature of the functioning of the Peace Council, stressed by Prof. Bernal, was that the decisions of the Peace Council were not adopted by majority votes but unanimously after discussions in which various views points -- sometimes differing even fundamentally - clashed but always with the aim of finding largest measure of common agreement. At the same time, the Council members-- there are no delegations as such from groups and countries - seek to respond to the problems and needs of each country as estimated on the spot and the members are anxious to bring about co-ordinated action in support of manners which would resolve those problems and promote the cause of peace.

The proceedings of the New Delhi session and its decisions reflect the impact of these peculiarities of the functioning of the council.

Besides the plenary sessions where leading members of the council spoke of the problems and issues of which they had personal knowledge and experience, the Council divided itself into two Commissions to discuss the two fundamental and vital problems of our times - disarmament and national independence. The two commissions grappled with the problems before them for three days and discussions which at times must have been stormy and anxious produced the resolutions which were later presented and passed in the concluding session.

Among the resolutions adopted by the Council are: Declaration on disarmament, resolution on National Independence and abolition of colonialism, resolutions on Laos, on Congo, on Algeria, on Cuba, on Goa and on South Africa. Besides several supplementary resolutions were passed demanding immediate and unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta, stoppage of violation of Burmese territory by the Kuomintang troops, and of pressure against Mali and Guinea by US, French, Belgian and Portugese military bases in Africa. Two other supplementary resolutions were passed greeting the Latin American conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in Mexico city from March 5 to 8 and the coming session of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Council due to take in Bandung from April 10 to 14.

The crucial questions before the New Delhi session of the World Peace Council, however, were that of the Congo, Laos, Algeria and Cuba. These are the critical points of present-day conflict and, as the Chairman of the Council said, are "all examples of the colonial system . . . at various stages of disintegration."

It is not fortuitous that the greatest areas of tension and even of actual armed conflict in the world today lie in the colonial or former colonial countries. They represent the struggle between people fighting for independence and the imperialist powers. But at the same time these conflicts can spread and grow to constitute threat of general war. Unquestionably, therefore, the New Delhi session of Peace Council was dominated by the issue of national independence in general and danger spots in Africa, Asia and Latin America in particular.

For this the New Delhi session of the council was specially well equipped, in that large and representative delegations had come from Africa and countries of Asia and specially from the countries directly concerned who could and did give voice to the sentiments, needs and demands of the peoples they represented.

The resolution on the Congo put forward four concrete demands in order "to put an end to the aggression, safeguard the independence and unity of the Congo and secure peace" which if not carried out promptly will render the UN operations there useless and will necessitate the withdrawal of the UN troops from the Congo.

The resolution on Laos demanded that in order to solve the question of Laos immediately be put an end to the intervention of the US imperialist and their agents in Laos, that all foreign interventionist armed forces be withdrawn immediately and that all military and financial aid to the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique be stopped."

The general resolution on national independence stressed "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."

Armed with the discussions and the decisions of the New Delhi session, peace partisans of all countries would go back to carry out their tasks with added confidence and greater clarity.

Prof. Bernal, in his concluding speech outlined two major campaigns for the world peace movement -- firstly, campaign for general and total disarmament of which the immediate objective will be "reasonable agreement on ban on tests of nuclear weapons. Secondly, campaign to end colonialism. Finally, Prof. Bernal envisaged calling of a great world congress of disarmament and national independence.

Calling on the peace partisans and the people as a whole to work to "build a World of peace" he said that in such a world the relationships between advanced and backward countries must go a radical change with "system of mutual help" taking the place of old relations of extracting profits.

Question has been raised in various quarters as to why India-China border question was not discussed in the Council.

Prof. Bernal explained the position of the Council to newsmen on Wednesday in this matter. He said that when there were two sides involved in a dispute, both of which were represented on the Council and the countries concerned were "essentially peace-loving", the council did not express itself on the dispute but left it to the countries concerned to settle the dispute through mutual negotiations. Prof. Bernal pointed out that already negotiations had been held over the issue and to hold discussions in the council over questions of this nature was bound to be divisive rather than to promote unity between peace-loving countries.

Explaining generally the attitude of the World Council on issues as they arose, Prof. Bernal said that though it represented a broad movement of the peoples, World Peace Council was partial so far as it was "against Imperialism and for national Independence." --(FOC)

Anyway, what is it that we have been building all these years? That is the major question. All these ten years, certainly, private industry has grown. No doubt about that. Industrial development has taken place. But what does it mean when prices have risen during the last ten years by about 25 per cent? What is the meaning of that? The meaning of that is that the wealth of the country has been taken away from certain people and given into the hands of certain other people. Even on the basis of your own capitalist normals -- I am not talking of socialist forms. In a socialist society we would certainly say nobody has got the right to get profit when today prices are rising--what does it mean? It means that even that which is legitimately due to the common people under the ordinary norms of a capitalist society has been taken away from the common people and given into the hands of somebody else. Therefore, if development in the private sector has taken place during the last ten years, it has primarily been taken away from the common people. Their share of the wealth of the country, year after year has been allowed to be accumulated in the hands of certain other people.

You tried to start industrial development on capitalist lines after independence. Then what has happened? What England and America did, you certainly cannot do today for the simple reason that England and America had their overseas empire. They had their entire colonial world at their disposal and they are able to invest their colonial loot. Such a path is not open to you. We can very well understand it. What is the method that we are adopting under these conditions? The Government is using the entire economic policy as an instrument in order to see that the wealth created by the common people by their work is transferred from their hands into the hands of certain other class in the name of capital formation. I can understand, for example, money being taken away from the common people and put into the hands of the State so that the industries become the property of the entire people. I can understand that. But that has not taken place. That is the reality that stares us in the face.

Take an example. Last year it was admitted by the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry that the textile mill-owners raised the price of cloth by nearly 50 per cent. According to him a rise of 15 per cent alone was justifiable on the basis of the rise in the prices of cotton. That would mean that certainly 35 per cent more was charged by the mill-owners. Let us assume that only 25 per cent is unconscionable profit. Year after year we produce about Rs.600 crores worth of cloth. An unconscionable profit of 25 per cent on that would amount to about Rs.125 crores. Even according to the capitalist norms of profit, Rs.125 crores goes from the hands of the people into the hands of the mill-owners and a hierarchy of people between the consumer and the mill-owner. This is the simple meaning. It is this way that capital formation in the hands of the private industry has been facilitated and the Government is using its economic policy as an instrument for this very purpose. Naturally, we are today not in a position to control prices because these interests are sought to be protected.

How can we control the prices of food-grains? I know that many of the Congress Members would like to see that the prices are stabilised. But why is it today that we are not able to stabilise the prices? That is the simple question. Why is it that we are not able to do it? The answer is very clear. Who is putting up the prices? Is it the small land-holder having about 2 ac: 3 acres or 4 acres of land that is putting up the price or the ordinary peasant that is putting up the price? Is he putting up the price of paddy? Is he putting up the price of wheat? Obviously not. He has not got the wherewithal to stand for six months. Immediately after the harvest, because of his heavy indebtedness, he has to sell his produce. It is, on the other hand, the people who have the wherewithal to stand for about six months, who do not have the need to sell immediately, who have enough credit facilities for hoarding grain for about five, six or seven months, it is they who can sell it for higher rates later. You cannot control them. Many of them are Congressmen. You cannot control them. Why? For the simple reason that for them the interest of the country is not very important. Their own private profiteering is supreme. Therefore, you are not able to control them. They are able to profiteer for the simple reason that they have the capacity to hoard and that capacity they get primarily because they are the owners of vast pieces of our

land. That is what happens in the country. It is these people who do not sell immediately after harvest that put up prices. You allow them to hold in their hands this capacity to hold society to ransom. They have the resource to do that and this they get as a result of the concentration of land in their hands. Obviously you are not in a position to control prices. Prices are going up. They are increasing. Here comes the question of basic policy.

In the name of building up a socialist society, what is being done here? Our private capitalists would not be able to find resources for investing so much in the private sector but for the tremendous assistance given to them by the Government. They are using not only the Budget and the economic policy as an instrument to build up their resources, but there are other ways also; for the entire banking system is working to their advantage. Whom does it help? These institutions, the Life Insurance Corporation and other institutions, whom do they serve? The savings got from the common people and invested in the L.I.C. or in these banks, whom do they serve? A handful of persons are able to get hold of all the resources and they are in a position to invest. That is what we see when we look at the investments. The bulk of these shares and these new capital issues are taken either by the banks or the L.I.C. or other credit institutions created by the Government itself. This is its wonderful record. We are assisting these people and obviously therefore, it is difficult for Government to attack them.

The other day, Shri Khandubhai Desai made a very straightforward and simple proposal. That proposal was this. Why don't you today impose an excess profits tax? That is a very simple proposition. But behind that there is a policy. What does it mean? The very term "excess profits tax" means that these people are earning profits in excess of what they should normally earn even according to the norms of capitalist society. Therefore, the hon. Member asks, "Why not the Government take at least a share of it?" This is what he says: but here is our Government which says, "No. In the name of capital formation, we will not do it." But your own policy enables these people to earn profits out of the sweat and toil of the people, profits in excess of what is normally expected to be earned. But the Government is not prepared to mop up that excess earning or even get a share of it! That is where the question of your economic policy comes up. Obviously, if they do not earn excess profits, there is no question of any excess profits tax. If there only normal profits were earned then if you levy an excess profits tax, there will be no question of any collection of that tax, no excess profits tax; because they do not earn anything more, no excess profits.

Therefore, the question that we are faced with today is this. The Government's economic policy is used as an instrument to create conditions so that our industrialists may get more money, because they have come late in the field and they will not be able to find the resources for building up industries in the private sector. Therefore, you make them the owners of the wealth created by the common people. And today we are told that that is a socialist state of society! Because of this policy, we find there is a big contradiction between Government's declared objectives and the methods that they are using for their attainment. Therefore, all this attack inside the House. Your own party people come and say that prices are going up. Complete darkness envelopes them and there is no hope. That is what we find in the speeches made by even Congressmen. Therefore, I say, there should be a serious rethinking over this question.

In this connection, Sir, I would like to make one or two things clear with regard to the role of foreign assistance in our country. There are Members in this House who say that because we are Communists, we owe allegiance to the Soviet Union, and therefore we do not want help from the West; we want help only from the Soviet Union, from the Soviet block, the socialist bloc and so on. That kind of thing is being said. But may I point out that we have never stated that we do not want any help from any particular country? The question really boils down to this. What are the terms and conditions under which we are going to get this aid or help? Here is aid from the Soviet Union, Here is help from the U.S.A. Is there no difference or distinction between the two kinds of help? Does the Soviet Union say, "We want to invest our capital in your country and get profit out of that investment?" Is there not a fundamental difference between Western aid and the Soviet aid? You give me a single instance, let the Government cite a single instance where a socialist country has said, "We will

invest in the private sector or any sector, but we will get a permanent lien or charge on the profits because of that investment". On the other hand, the kind of help that you are trying to get from other countries does exactly the opposite. What are we to do? Certainly, get help from other countries but without a ~~permanent~~ permanent charge on our wealth. But what is the position today? What we see is a terrific onslaught of foreign private capital, particularly in the form of equity capital. After all, the national movement in the early days thought it unwise for foreign private capital to come into this country in the form of private capital. There was reason for it. In the thirties a terrific Swadeshi movement took place and it laid down norms as to what exactly was meant by Swadeshi. In Madras we did not accept the Buckingham Carnatic Mills as Swadeshi, just because it existed inside the country. We laid down norms and for good reasons, for the simple reason that if private capital if it came to have a lien on the resources and wealth of the country, would become a permanent drain on our development and would block our development. Our resources would be taken away.

SUDHIR GHOSH: Three thousand million dollars worth of resources are given by the United States of America. What is the return that they expect from it?

P. RAMAMURTI: I will come to that. I will deal with that also. It is the investment of this foreign private capital that we object to.

Today I found in yesterday's paper that our Minister of Industry, Shri Manubhai Shah, at Bombay had stated that our Government had an open door, that foreign capital could come in any form, in the form of financial participation, in the form of technical participation and so on. That is the kind of thing that is stated. Today, when somebody wants foreign participation, foreign partnership, can the ordinary man having only, say, a lakh or two lakhs, get this foreign participation? Is the ordinary capitalist tied up in partnership with the ordinary capitalists in foreign countries? No, only the big business people and the monopolist people in the other country, they alone will be prepared to come in. And with whom will they be prepared to take as partners in this country and come to such arrangements? I dare say, only with those people with a tremendous amount of capital resources, with the Tatas, the Birlas, the Jains, the Dalmias, the Seshasayees. With these big people alone will they come to an understanding. With these people alone will they have partnership. But these are the very people who....

Shri Sudhir Ghosh: Why not suggest an alternative?

Shri P. Ramamurti: I will do it, if I have the time. Please wait. Within the short time at my disposal, I have to point out what is wrong. If I have a little more time, I shall certainly argue out the other things also. Exactly these are the people, the big business people who can enter into partnership with the big people in other countries. Obviously, this way you are bolstering up the position of these big people. What does it mean? It obviously means the creation of monopolistic interests which is exactly what we are out to avoid. Of course, that is your profession too, but the fact is that it leads to concentration of capital in the hands of a few. This kind of capital formation leads not only to concentration of wealth in the hands of big business, but they are also tied up with foreign monopolist interests. Where will it lead to? It will certainly have serious political implications later on. After all, we know that if we strengthen the hands of these people, it does have certain serious political implications. For, along with economic power comes political power. It has been stated in the Second Five Year Plan itself that we should avoid the concentration of economic wealth in the hands of a few people. Once this thing is allowed to take place, all your solicitude for seeing that the political development of the country takes place on proper lines will go away. All that will be smashed. Even today, despite your desire to prevent any rise in the cost of living, despite your desire to prevent rise in prices of the commodities, you are unable to do anything because people who have got the power to put up prices are others. You may have the political power, the Congress Party may have the political power, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may be the Prime Minister, but the people who can determine prices today are not Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Morarji Desai. They are some others, people who have got the economic power in their hands. This is exactly what will happen.

SUDHIR GHOSH: They are at the mercy of the Government.

P. RAMAMURTI: I do not know whether they are at the mercy of the Government or whether the Government is at their mercy. If they are at the mercy of the

Government, then, one cannot but come to the conclusion that it is the policy of the Government to put up the prices. Is that the policy of the Government?

H.P.SAKSENA: No, definitely not.

P.RAMAMURTI: If that is not the policy, if that is not the plan, then obviously it is very clear that the Government's at the mercy of somebody else. They are not able to prevent any rise in the prices. This is a very simple proposition. It is exactly the reason why we say that these are very dangerous things.

Somebody asked, did not the Soviet Union also get foreign aid?

Certainly it got foreign aid. Who objects to that? Foreign aid is one thing and getting foreign private capital is another. We do not object to your getting technical aid. Get foreign technicians and pay them heavily. We do not object to that but what we object to is the invitation issued to foreign capitalists to come and invest their capital and get a return on that capital. The Soviet Union never got any capitalists to come and invest. That is why we object. We are also committed to a position where we say that exploitation should cease. It is from that point of view, Sir, that we have been seriously objecting to this kind of thing, and we do so because it has got other implications. The congress answer us by saying that we are committed to a democratic process. I do not understand this. When I say that I do not understand this, Congress members would say that just because I am a Communist I do not understand democracy. I really do not understand the kind of democracy that you talk of. Today, we are talking of rising prices. Are we to understand that prices are rising because the majority of the people of this country democratically want that the prices should rise? Or it is the case that despite the will of the people, despite the will of the people not to have any rise in prices, prices do rise. In spite of the fact that people have chosen a particular party as their representative, in spite of their will expressed in a democratic manner, the economic trends in the country and the economic policies in the country are decided despite their will and against their will by certain other people who have got wealth concentrated in their hands. This is the simple proposition. Just because of this, we say that concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people is going to be extremely dangerous for our country. And it is from this point of view that we ask the Finance Minister to think very deeply. I am not now bothered about the number of abuse from the Members of the Congress Party. We are not bothered about the abuse which is being showered upon us by the Congress Party. We have outlived these abuses and will outlive them. That is not the point. Is there nothing in common.....

MORARJI R. DESAI: Nobody can beat you at that game.

P.RAMAMURTI: If the Finance Minister comes to my place, and hears the speeches there, speeches from Members of his Party, he will understand as to who can beat whom. I can make a present of many of these speeches to him. I will send them to him. Let us not now bothered about it. The point under discussion is not who can abuse more or less, but the point under discussion today is the policy behind the Budget. I am asking, therefore, the Finance Minister to leave alone these abuses and think of the reality that stares us in the face, stares Congressmen, stares other people, Independents, Communists, everybody in the face. Is it not necessary for him to think very deeply and realise that there is something wrong? He should think over what is wrong with the situation today and, on that basis, sit together and try to have a rethinking of the basic policy and see whether the policies are such as are calculated to see that there is no contradiction between the objectives and the methods. This is the simple proposition which we Members of the Communist Party would like to urge upon you and we hope that you will consider them. It is not necessary for you to reply to us immediately. If we succeed in stimulating a new process of thought, if we succeed in making you feel that there is something wrong which must be considered very seriously, then we feel that the Members of the Communist Party in Parliament would have done their duty by the people and by the entire country. - - (FOC)

RAILWAY BUDGET -- DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

New Delhi, March 14:- The following are extracts from speeches made in the Lok Sabha by Chintamony Panigrahi, Indrajit Gupta and T.D. Vittal Rao on "Railway Budget--Demands for Grants" on Monday, March 13:-

EXTRACTS FROM CHINTAMONY PANIGRAHI'S SPEECH

While criticising the Railway Ministry, for not making any arrangements for "meeting the rush of pilgrims" to Puri for 'Govind dwadashi' festival which comes after one thousand years and attended by over five lakh people, Chintamony Panigrahi said:

"I personally wrote to the (Railway) Minister and also drew the attention of the Zonal Advisory Council. The Minister promised to do something, but nothing was done. We would like to know from the Minister what special arrangements were made for this festivals?"

Regarding education of the children of the railway employees, he said:

"I have many times drawn the attention of the Minister to this point, but nothing has been done so far. Here are the cases. There is a railway primary school at Khurda Road and the State Government has accepted the medium of instruction in that school as the Oriya language, the language of the State. But unfortunately, the headmaster who was an Oriya, was driven out and in his place another headmaster who has no knowledge of Oriya has been appointed.

This is a matter which should be looked into. "I want to draw the attention of the Minister to the Railway primary scheme at Bhubaneswar and at Khurda Road. What is the policy of the Railway Ministry with regard to the management of these primary schools? In these schools there are managing committees, but in these committees you do not find any representation of the Oriya people. There are no head pandits who know Oriya. This must be enquired into."

"With regard to subsidised hostels, the Railways have started one at Cuttack. In 1960-61 there were about one hundred applications from the children of the Oriya railway employees for accommodation, but only 22 students were taken and the rest had to go without any accommodation. The Railway Ministry accepted a proposal and sanctioned the construction of buildings for the hostel, but so far no building has been constructed. The hostel is still accommodated in a rented building."

As many more students are anxious to get accommodation, it was essential that accommodation at this hostel should be increased and necessary facilities provided, he said. "I am told that adequate funds are not being sanctioned for running the hostel well. In a month for three or four days the students go without meals. I do not know how that happens. Therefore, this matter must be looked into."

"Then there is a railway high school at Chakradharpur. Here there are quite a number of Oriya students, but the Oriya-teaching staff is not adequate."

As for passenger amenities, he said: "We were told by the Railway Administration that necessary arrangements have been made to provide passenger amenities in a number of stations. I would in this connection mention the names of Janakadeipur, Puri, Sakthigopal and Nirakarpur stations. During the last three or four years I have been bringing the cases of these stations by many of questions in this House and also at meetings of Zonal Advisory Councils. But nothing has been done so far. I would like to ask the Minister what passenger amenities have been provided at these stations?"

EXTRACTS FROM INDRAJIT GUPTA'S SPEECH

"I think the discussion which is taking place in the last few days has brought one thing above all else to light, and that is the fact that the year 1960 will probably go down in the history of our Five Year Plans as the year of the great transport ruddle."

"Almost every passing day is bringing more and more news and reports which, I think, are most alarming. Anybody who has the interests of the economic development and planning of this country at heart cannot but feel deeply concerned."

"It is alleged that there has been a shortfall of about 8,000 wagons in the Second Plan target of the Railways. First of all, I want confirmation from the Minister whether this is correct or not. If it is correct, I want to ask what the shortfall is primarily due to. I am not clear yet from all the statements and replies that I have heard uptill now about it.

"As far as I know the wagon supply in the railways comes primarily from two sources. One is imports from abroad which we are trying to cut down. Quite right. Perhaps we do not import any more at all. Well and good. In that case the indigenous supply comes almost entirely from the private sector. A few wagons, I do not know whether they are actually manufactured, but it may be that they are assembled or something like that is done in the railway workshops proper. But the overwhelming bulk of our wagon supply is dependent on certain big engineering firms in the private sector, like, Jessops, Braithwaites, Martin Eurn and so on. If it is true that we are not importing any wagons but are entirely dependent on the production of these firms in the private sector and if it is also true that there has been a shortfall of 8,000 wagons in the Second Plan target, I want to know the reason for this.

"Is there something wrong in planning or is it that these firms have failed to execute their orders in time? Or what is it due to? I would, therefore, ask a question and make a suggestion also as to whether it is not high time, in view of this very serious crisis that we are going through, that the Government should seriously consider the question of augmenting the present supply of wagons from the private sector by starting production in the public sector also. I see no reason why wagons should not be manufactured in the public sector when we are in such a state of acute shortage and crisis.

"Giving a list of plants manufacturing railway coaches or locomotives in the public sector, he said: "I want to know why it is not possible to invest some capital and utilise, if necessary by expansion, the capacity of some of these existing workshops and factories for the manufacture of wagons in the public sector. Otherwise, I do not see how this shortfall is going to be made up and nor do I consider it a correct policy to be entirely dependent on the private sector. In a sense one can say that the fate of the Plan of industrial development of the country depends on whether the railways are able to cope with this task or not."

Indrajit Gupta pointed out that quite a large number of trained technical personnel in the form of apprentices who complete five years' training at various railway workshops were apparently not in a position to be absorbed today and were just told to go away because there was no employment for them and added we have this curious situation. We have a Central Plan and the railways, being a key lynchpin of this planned economy, suffering from a critical shortfall of wagons. Yet, the production of wagons is entirely dependent on the private sector and trained personnel, technicians in the form of apprentices, are being produced but cannot be absorbed. So I suggest that some better co-ordination should be developed in this field and wagon production should be systematically developed in the public sector."

EXTRACTS FROM T.B. VITTAL RAO'S SPEECH

"I would like to highlight one factor, that is, that the railways have failed to move the goods offered for traffic currently. This is not only with regard to coal, but in respect of rice from Vijayawada to destinations in the south, with regard to jaggery, charcoal, timber and fire-wood from Bhadrachalam Road station to Vijayawada and South of Vijayawada."

"The other day I was very surprised to hear Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel say that on account of the transport bottleneck, we should switch over to furnace oil, wherever coal could not be moved. Even when he made that statement, I raised the question of foreign exchange. How is it that when there is abundant coal in our country, we should go in for foreign exchange to import furnace oil? He further added that he was glad to find that the Cabinet Committee-- if reports are correct-- had rejected this suggestion to switch over to furnace oil, but efforts would be made to move coal wherever it was required."

"During the early part of February, there was an uproar in this House about the short supply of wagons on the South-Eastern Railway. Instead of going into the question properly, what they have done is to do the easy thing of removing wagons on the Central Railway serving the Singareni collieries to supply stations in the south, and sending them to the South-Eastern Railway. 150 wagons were sent from there. T.B.Vittal Rao said that there was accumulation of stocks in Singareni collieries--there was 70,000 tons at the pitheads.

Regarding the question of Sunday loading he said: I think this is a very unwise thing. Wherever there is mechanical loading it is impossible to load on Sundays because Sunday is specially kept for the maintenance and repair of conveyor belts etc. Can you ever show me any place where a belt is working all the 7 days? I do not know whether the Members of the Railway Board have discussed with the industry- those who are connected with the coal industry- this aspect. Wherever there is manual loading it is possible to load on Sundays. But it is not possible where there is mechanical loading.

Even assuming that Sunday loading is possible, there are 58 bunkers. They were prepared to load on Sundays. They were loaded on Sunday. If you see the list, on one day the wagons supplied were far less than the requirements. Even on Sundays you are not able to supply the required number of wagons. Why not enquire into all these things? I had demanded in one of my public statements a probe to be made into these things to fix the responsibility and punish those persons who are responsible for they have acted against national interests. On his or their failure a policy decision had to be taken to switch over to furnace oil. Fortunately for us, the Inter-Ministerial Committee has rejected that suggestion. Anyway, this bottle-neck is there."

Speaking about the corruption on the doubling of Bara Bambo-Raj and Kharaswan line, he said: The whole transaction seems to be very very suspicious. Therefore, I ask the Railway Ministry to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to enquire into the whole question of this corruption.

"Then, there is the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Tribunal, the Shankar Saran Tribunal, which was appointed in the year 1956. It has given its award. It was said that they would finalise the whole thing after the report of the Central Pay Commission was received. That report has also been received. It was a year ago. I would like to know what they have done with the Award of the Shankar Saran Ad Hoc Tribunal.

"There are casual labourers being appointed in the Railways. Their number is something like 241,000. In many places, especially in Vijayawada they are not being paid monthly scales in spite of the fact that they have put in more than 6 months of continuous service. The Minister has categorically stated that where they have put in 6 months' service continuously, they should be paid monthly scales of pay. This is not being done particularly in the Vijayawada section. -- (FOC)

"The Finance Ministry ought to have made provisions on these lines either for nationalisation of general insurance or through compulsory re-insurance with the two re-insurance corporations of the whole amount of policies and then if necessary to route the foreign re-insurance of our country through the re-insurance corporations on a basis of advantage to our country.

"If this had been done, Sir, foreign exchange would have been saved and our insurance business would have been on a much better footing. As it is, the general insurance business is not on sound lines. On the whole, there are a few big companies, there are some small companies, some are flourishing and some are closing down...."

"The whole re-insurance business should be drawn into the two re-insurance corporations and nothing should be left to go outside because 'to go outside' does not mean to go to other Indian companies but 'to go outside' means to go outside India which we cannot afford...." --(FOC)

CHINTAMONI PANIGRAHI ON EDUCATION MINISTRY'S DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

New Delhi, March 21:- The following are extracts from Chintamoni Panigrahi's speech in the Lok Sabha on Demands for Grants (Education Ministry) on Monday, March 20:-

"When we are going to discuss the demands for grants for the Education Ministry, disquieting reports have appeared in the newspapers that the allocation for education in the third plan is going to be reduced and it has been stated that Central schemes of education, particularly those relating to research and new projects are likely to suffer most in the Third Plan. It has also been further stated that central schemes will get only Rs.35 crores out of the Union Education Ministry's demand for Rs.83 crores.

"So far as education is concerned, we already know that during the last ten years it has received very little of the national income of India, and again when the Union Ministry of Education proposes to launch a big-scale programme in respect of universal compulsory primary education in the country in the Third Plan, this news of reduction of the Plan to such a great extent is really quite disquieting and we would like to know how far the Minister is really going to accept this reduction and, if so, which of the heads under the Education Ministry's grants are reduced, or going to suffer because of this reduction, because we would oppose this reduction, so far as education is concerned.

"If we compare the per capita expenditure on education in India with any other country, we find that it is only Rs.5.5 and only 2 per cent of the national income has been given to the Ministry of Education to spend on the spread of education in this country, which is too low compared with any other country in the world.

"If you look at the allocation for education in the Central budget, you will find that the allocation for education in the year 1955-56 was more than Rs.17 crores. In 1961-62 it has been reduced and it is only Rs.16,79,35,000. Similarly, if we look into the budget from 1955-56 onwards, we will find that, so far as allocation for primary education is concerned, in 1955-56 there was no allocation in the Central budget; in 1956-57 there was no allocation; in 1957-58 also there was no allocation. For 1959-60 there was an allocation of Rs.1,62,900. Now in the 1961-62 budget, there is a provision of Rs.5,99,000 for primary education."

"When the allocation for education is so very little, even from the 40 per cent is spent on construction of buildings and establishment charges." The Minister, he said, in his article in the Education Quarterly had posed this problem and said 'if there is any item on the education budget which needs reduction without affecting the standard of education in this country, it is expenditure on construction of buildings'. "What has the Minister done for economy in his budget on education, so far as construction of buildings is concerned?"

"I know the Minister is very much interested in developing sports. To that I might add one item, the Indian circus. But I find that no interest has been taken by the Minister in Indian circus."

"I was told that the Ministry of Education has sanctioned money for the establishment of a Sports Institute in Patiala.... The palace of the Maharaja of Patiala is being priced at Rs. 30 lakhs or 40 lakhs and I was told no other purchaser was available.... I do not say that there should not be an institute. But is it necessary that it should be housed only in the Maharaja's palace and not anywhere else?"

"I welcome the new features of this Budget, that is the provision for universal compulsory primary education. If you go through the Report of Ministry of Education for 1960-61, you will find that this is only welcome feature which the report of the previous year did not contain. The Constitution has provided that free education should be given to pupils belonging to the age-group from 6 to 14. It has been changed from 6 to 11. I can say that the Minister is never going to implement even the modest target of 80 per cent of universal compulsory primary education in the Third Five Year Plan. I may quote what have been the performances of the Minister and the Ministry of Education in respect of primary education. You will find that in the first Plan period only 12 lakhs children per year were enrolled for primary education; in the Second Plan 17 lakhs per year were enrolled. In the Third Plan Government proposes to take 36 lakhs per year.

"In view of the past performance of the Ministry and the country as a whole this is too ambitious a target on the part of the Education Ministry. Even then they are going to implement the Plan target of 80 per cent They have excluded, I was told, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes from the scope of universal compulsory primary education. I think the Hon. Minister will clarify this point." --(FOC)

SADHAN GUPTA ON EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

New Delhi, March 21:- The following are extracts from Sadhan Gupta's speech in the Lok Sabha on "Demand for Grants (Ministry of Education) on Monday, March 20:-

"I am referring to the problem of the education of the physically handicapped. In this matter there ought to be a definite direction of policy. Our difficulty is in the matter of the physically disabled; and the people involved are the blind and the deaf and dumb....

"It has been realised that given proper training and education the physically handicapped persons, the blind, the deaf and dumb would be able to hold their own in many fields, just in the same manner as any unhandicapped person would be able to hold his own. They would do equally well....

"The point is that because of their physical handicaps alone they face certain prejudices and certain difficulties which should not be allowed to stand in their way and suitable provisions must be made for that purpose. The question is: how to do it?

"The essentials are: education in training, after care in many cases and then suitable employment in gainful occupations. In all these respects, I am sorry to say that very inadequate provision has been made. Let us take education in training. There does not seem to be a sense of proportion in the Government's policy. I believe a school is being established at Delhi at a cost of Rs. 21 lakhs. There is hunger for schools for the blind in all the regions and there are schools existing in every region, in almost every State. There are schools existing in Delhi as well. The effort should be rather at expanding the capacity of the existing schools than to establish costly new schools... There is acute shortage of teachers but then practically nothing is being done.

"The blind people receive training mostly in crafts. That is desirable.. But a general education must accompany the training in crafts. An educated artisan makes a much better artisan or craftsman than an uneducated one.

"Most of the educational institutions for the blind have their vocational wings. Some institutions are even exclusively vocational. But even then it does not meet a fraction of the need that exists for vocational training of the blind - I do not know of the deaf and dumb but it must be practically the same...

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"The needs for the training and education of physically handicapped must be assessed. It must be assessed on a State basis. If it is not found possible to assess on a State basis it must be assessed at least on a regional basis. It must be assessed through the Boards concerned with the assessment of the needs of each category of the physically handicapped. In these Boards it is desirable that officials should not dominate. These Boards should consist of people who are aware of the problem and, if possible, of people who are actually blind or deaf and dumb if such persons are available.

"There is an acute need for stipends and scholarships to enable blind persons, particularly, to follow their education. The costs of education in the case of blind persons are very heavy because they have not only to pay the tuition fee but the reader's charges and also conveyance charge for a companion who will take the blind person to a school or college. Many parents of blind students can pay but it is unfortunate that the parents are unwilling to pay because they think that it is useless, it is a wasteful expenditure to educate their blind children because education will not profit them. But we cannot allow these men to go waste, we must help them. Often the grant of stipends is delayed. As in the case of justice, Sir, a stipend delayed is stipend denied." --(FQC)