CPI BACKS DESHIMUKH'S PROPOSAL

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, which has been meeting since March 11, 1960, in New Delhi, adopted the following resolutions on March 15:

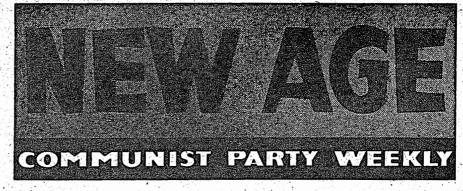
T HE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with regret and disappointment that the demand for the appointment of an independent tribunal by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh to probe into certain charges of corruption, abuse of authority and the like against persons in high places should have been decried and rejected by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Deshmukh has publicly expressed his readiness to place all materials and information in his possession in this connection before such a tribunal and it is also known to involve at least some persons in high places. Mr. Deshmukh is reputed to be a man of unassailable personal integrity and he has held many high offices, including that of the Governorship of the Reserve Bank and the Union Minister of Finance. Even today he happens to be the Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

When such a knowledgeable and disinterested person publicly declares that he is in possession of complaints and information regarding corruption, abuse of authority, etc., against persons in high places and wants a probe into them, it ill-behoves a responsible Government to turn down the proposal by harping on procedural niceties. Mr. Deshmukh's demand had already received wide support.

There is already a strong feeling in the country that men in high places can get away with all their corruption, malpractices, abuse of authority and improprieties. The Government's refusal to accept the very reasonable and legitimate proposal of Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has gone only to add to this feeling as it has also given rise to deep apprehensions in the public mind. It can never be in the interest of the public or of the administration to allow the above-mentioned complaints and information in Mr. Deshmukh's possession to remain a secret without any probe by a competent authority in which the people have full confidence.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India extends its full support to Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's proposal and urges upon the Government to immediately appoint an independent tribunal to probe into the charges Mr. Deshmukh may place before it in order to ascertain their validity or otherwise.



VOL. VIII, NO. 12

SUNDAY MARCH 20, 1960

25 nP.

For A National Oil Policy

- * LIBERATE DISTRIBUTION FROM MONOPOLY GRIP
- ★ INTENSIFY EXPLORATION ★ TRAIN PERSONNEL

O by RAZA ALI

The oil industry has a vital role in the development of the country's national economy. From a peasant's hut to the atomic research institute oil and oil products are used in some form or the other. Yet, their imports and even their distribution are almost entirely controlled by foreign monopolists, even after two Five-Year Plans in our country.

Time and again our Party—through Communist M. P.s in Parliament and through our Press—has exposed the Government's lethargy in breaking the foreign monopoly hold over this key sector of our economy and in taking bold measures to develop India's own oil industry corresponding to the country's requirements.

N OW the Third Plan is increasingly being referred to in the Press as the "Oil Plan" and an official statement made before Parliament on November 24, 1959, concerning the association of foreign interests with the quest for oil, has declared that

"... the search for and production of oil within the country will be given the topmost priority in the Third Plan as, for instance, steel was given in the Second Plan."

Hence, with the discussion on the Third Five-Year Plan on the agenda, it is necessary to have in view the present situation prevailing in this branch of our national economy and the promises which the Third Plan makes to meet this situation.

India's present consumption of petroleum products is about six million tons annually. Our present output is only about six lakh tons. So our annual oil import bill is of the order of a hundred crores of rupees. By the end of the Third Plan, the consumption is estimated to go up to 14 million tons. And as not much is being done to step up the production in the country, corresponding to the requirements of the economy, the result would be a heavy imbalance in oil products.

Taking a few major items, the picture that emerges is as follows: Which means, even after allowing for the production of the Indian refineries—Barau-ni, Gauhati, etc.—a strain of about Rs. 200 crores would be imposed on our foreign exchange resources to meet our increased oil requirements.

increased oil requirements.

The Third Plan, in an overall outlay on the public sector of Rs. 7,000 crores, allocates Rs. 400 crores for oil, coal and minerals, while on the basis of world statistics India would need an investment of at least Rs. 800 to Rs. 900 crores for the possible production of about 14 million tons of oil by 1966.

How is it that the Third Plan has so little to offer to its "topmost priority" sector? It is its heritage of the past, which the Government is, evidently, still so hesitant to discard.

At the outset it should be clearly borne in mind that the search for oil is a venture requiring great risks and heavy expenditure. At the same time, it is a venture which, when successful, more

* SEE PAGE 13

NANAVATI CASE

CENTRAL INTERVENTION

-ENCROACHMENT ON JUDICIARY

T HE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its surprise and astonishment at the per emptory use of his prerogative by the Governor of Bombay to suspend the sentence passed on Commander Nanavati by the State High Court.

The Governor's extraordinary and unpreceden
ted action followed the advice so-called of the Prime
Minister of India to the
Governor and Chief Minister of Bombay. And this
whole thing was done in
anticipation of Commander
Nanavati's intention to
appeal to the Supreme
Court.

The intervention of the Central and the State Governments resulted in the High Court's writ and warants for giving effect to its judgment being return-

ed unserved which has very rightly been taken serious note of by the Bombay High Court. The country will, no doubt, watch with profound interest and anxiety the developments that follow from this episode.

In this connection it should also be mentioned that earlier the Central Government is reported to have advanced a large sum of money to Commander Nanavati for his defence, atthough the crime of murder with which he was charged did not at all arise out of his official duties. That again was unprecedented and contrary to all rules.

Evidently the Government had thought fit to encroach upon the dignity of the judiciary and interfere with its normal processes on the advice of the high authorities in the Navy. Is it to be understood then that when big officers of the armed forces are tried and convicted even for such crimes as murder, the normal processes of law are to be thrown overboard and the highest judicial tribunals disregarded and flouted in this manner through the fiat of the Executive?

The Secretariat of the

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the view that these discriminatory actions of the Government in Commander Nanavati's case have not only undermined the dignity of the judiciary but also injured the superiority of civil administration in general and rule of law in particular. The Government's actions would deserve the strongest condemnation by all.

Products	1958			1965-66	
	Consu	mption I	roduction	Estima Demand P	
(in thousa				and tens)	
Kerosene		1,706	700	3,000	1,095
High Speed	Diesel				
Oil		1,000	700	3,000	1,529
Light Diesel	Oil	490	420	730	539
Furnace Oil		1,400	1,500	2,100.	1,832
Bitumen		350	300	530	429
Gasoline	•	810	1,100	1,000	1,725

SCRAP-BOOK

DHEBAR'S LAST CUT

N OW that the Kerala elections have been concluded to the satisfaction of the Congress, the boss of the show—dear Dhebar—has decided to throw off the mask. If the people of Kerala are ditched—well, who bothers about them for the next five (or is it seven?) years.

You will remember the song and dance that was made during the elec-tions about the location of the second shipyard at would be certified unsui able if the Communists Dhebarbhai's guide

It looks as if the defeat the same effect on the sands of Cochin as their sands of Cochin as their victory was supposed to have had. It is everybody's news that the second shipyard may be dropped al-together or if constructed, Kandla in Gujarat is to be

Lobby circles say that this latest shift. He is an-xious about the Congress xious about the Congress election prospects in Guja-rat and the same card can he used twice-Kandla will be suitable if the Janata Parishad is defeated!

But how did Dhebar agree to all this? Isn't Ke-Congress his pet pro ge? But what do prote matter when personal in terests are involved? Dor be very surprised if, at some stage. Dhebar moves into either the Chief Min ister's or Governor's dence in Ahmedabad.

EXCELERNT ADVOCATE

T HE destiny of our coun try is in safe hands since the great Congress aninulate sighted in choosing right persons for the right

jobs.
Carping critics have beer totally silenced by the latest example of such perpicacity which was given in the Lok Sabha by no disreputable Red but a calm and collected Con-

Our Government is currently engaged in arguing tourt, at The Hague. We have a strong case and we have ired—at fabulous fees, no oubt—an amiable gentle—an to put it across. All are anxious. This is the bedrock of our

As luck and criminal oversight would have it our

lawyer is an excellent writer as well as advocate. He wrote a weighty article for the reputed British publi-cation, Year Book of Inter-national Law. In that article, he cogently and exhaustively argued that the International Court does have jurisdiction in the Nager Haveli case and that Portugal has the law on its

side!
Portugal's lawyer being an avid reader got hold of this article. He patiently waited while India's lawyer built up an intricate structure of argument. structure of argument. Then he pricked the balsimply quoting copiously from our re-ted advocate's article. cares if India loses? Hats their officers who choose so appropriately!

> TATA'S DEMAND

I N the next two or three weeks, the Government of

up the retention price of steel. The steel magnates' powerful pressure group is, therefore, extra busy.

With all its repr model efficiency, it has never happened that Tatas have ever presented a case for lowering of the retention price of steel. For this we shall, I suppose, have to wait till our public sector steel plants really get going and steel becomes a nnetitive commodity

This year as well Tatas lare spearheading the at-tack for a further jack-up of the steel retention price But we are told that the reason given is rather unique. They are appealing to the patriotism of our Ministers asking for Government help to repair pri-

vate foreign sector damage.

It seems that the cost of
the expansion of their
plant at Jamshedpur is going to be far more than stimated. The main cause for this is faulty construc-tion by the American firm of Kaisers in whom Tatas had put all their trust as

Who is to pay for this sheer bad work and shoddy performance? Not the American tycoon, you can bet. Nor Tatas, if at all they can manage it. It is the Government and our national economy who are being asked to foot the bill A wonderful arrangement and another example of the ethics of the private

CASH FOR CONFLICTS

T HE Congress faction fights get more dis-gusting with each passing day. It is a fine spectacle that they present to the people of "democracy" in action. At this rate, we shall quite soon catch up with the sordid rat race which passes for politics in the two major parties of We were all regaled, not

so long ago, with all man-ner of dirty stories about the way in which Kairon had dished out favours to various firms and contracvarious firms and contrac-tors, with many of whom his son was said to be asso-ciated. These stories were largely believed because it was Congressmen who were most vociferous in propagating them. Besides, nobody decent holds any brief for the Punjab Chief But the shrewd Sardar has hit back hard. He caused quite a sensation by openly proclaiming that giving some Rs. 1½ lakhs to Congress disease. whip up the campaign against him. His Congress opponents made the usual stuttering sounds of dislaim but the charge seem-

Further enquiries seem show that this partiappears to have quite a few links with a former Defence Minister who has not abandoned all ambitions in the Punjab. It is also said that the motor magnates con-cerned are quite influential with Tara Singh.

What a mess the Conis excusable, in a way, to be under the influence of top-flight monopolists logical affinity. But there is a logic in such relation-ships. The lower down you ships. The lower down you are the less the wealth needed to interfere in the inner-party affairs of the Congress. And yet pompous platitudes And yet the purity pour out—a clear case of schizophrenia.

_ONLOOKER

MARCH 15.

NEW DUTY SPELLS DOOM FOR W. BENGAL'S FILM INDUSTRY

West Bengal's film industry, which is justly proud losses. Very few earn any of its long record of purposeful and artistic produc-tions, is now threatened with extinction as a result of the proposal in the Central Budget for 1960-61 to levy a new excise duty, varying from 50 nP. to 15 nP. per metre, on exposed cinematograph films.

COMMUNIST leader Jyoti Basu raised this matter in the West Bengal Assembly on March 5 and pointed out that the new impost would land the film industry, parti-cularly the Bengali film in-

dustry, in a serious crisis.

He said that the industry in this State consisted of small producers with very limited capital resources. If the imposition was not withdrawn, it would be impossible for the industry to function.

This, he emphasised, must film industry, which had earned several international prizes, was a pride not only of West Bengal but also of

India, he observed.
Dr. Roy admitted, while making a statement on the subject, that the new duty represented a danger to the film industry in the State.

dioubt—an amiable gentle—and Urdu films, which had a man to put it across. All large market, might be able we are anxious to do is to pay the prohibitive levy. Stablish the point that but Bengali films, whose the International Court has market was very restricted, no jurisdiction in the case.

burden. He regarded the imposition as unfortunate and assured the House that he would take up the matter with the Union

Earlier, a deputation on behalf of the Bengal Motion penalr of the Bengal Motion Pictures Association (BMPA) met the Chief Minister and submitted to him a memo-randum strongly criticising the levy as a "staggering blow

Pointing out the difficulties caused by taxes to the State's film industry, the memoran-dum says that the Govern-ment earns about Rs. 85,000 per picture through taxes, apart from the recently imposed Central excise duty.

Cost Of Cinema

Out of every rupee that cinema-owners towards their expenses and remuneration and ten nP. to who gets 24 nP. in the rupee, needs at least Rs. 850.000 from the box office required to produce a film. In the existing condition, norandum says, it is In this situation, the

Bengali pictures. Ordinarily, a Bengali picture is released with 14 prints. For these prints, each 13,000 feet in length, the incidence of the tax works out to Rs. 28,000 per picture or about Rs. 11 lakhs on 40 pictures per year. To recover this amount, the collection of Bengali pictures at the hot office must be inat the box office mu crease by at least Rs. 50 lakhs. "which is an impossible pro-position in the existing economic condition of the

Calcutta. Three of them are working, though not in full shift two have closed down 55 pictures produced in a year in the early fifties, the 1959 production came down

If this is the state of the film industry in West Bengal even before the new levy, the impact of the incidence of fresh taxes can by very well imagined, the memorandum concludes.

The crisis in the Bengali film industry has been matur-ing since the end of World War II. It never recovered from its loss of the East Pak-istan market, which repre-sented about 40 per cent of the demand. Today, as a result of further shrinkage of difficult to recover the cost. the industry's restricted mar-The result has been that 60 per cent of the pictures re-leased every year suffer per cent are borderline cases the industry's restricted mar-ket, 60 per cent of the pro-ductions run into losses, 20

fit. But this profit cannot cover the total deficit.

The financial position is so difficult that even now some completed pictures like Yatri, directed and produced by Niranian Sen. IPTA's General

some solvent new-comers and private credit is available hat the industry is somehow

Problem Of Credit

The non-availability of institutional credit and the usurious rates of interest—24 per cent to 60 per cent charged by private financiers forced the West Bengal producers to approach Dr. Roy sometime ago for an advance of Rs. 15 lakhs for setting up a Film Finance Corporat The scheme, however, did not The decline in the pro-

duction of Bengali pictures in recent times and the closure of a number of studios have already affected the future of about 70 per cent of the technicians per cent of the technicians. If the new duty is insisted upon, more closures will follow, leading to the unemployment of about 10,000 people engaged in the industry. Another danger that looms

large is that the new impost will completely eliminate the small Bengali producers and will lead to the growth of monopolies dominated by non-Bengali financiers and

MARCH 20, 1960

Swatantra Party

In Rihar

HILE brisk preparations are going on for the all-India Convention of the Swatantra Party Patna the leaders are busy augmenting and consolida ting the strength of the party in Bihar by drawing to their fold disgruntled politicians of all hues and colour. Most of all, they are banking on taking advan-tage of the rift inside the Bihar Congress.

The prospects seem to be so rosy that the local Swatantra chief, Raja Kamkhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh, has made ated claims that the first Swatantra Ministry in the country will be formed in

Merger Of Jan Congress

The Swatantra Party which had a ready-made base in the Janata Party of the Raja had in the merger of the Jan Con-

The Janata Party was, in fact, a district party, having the district of Hazaribagh, the traditional zamindari of the Raja. Outside Hazaribagh, it had won only four seats.

The merger of the Janata Party which Masani considered to be a victory of his personal efforts did not mean much in terms of nu-mercial strength. The Jan Congress was virtually rout in the last elections. But it gave the Swatantra Party the much needed political prestige and status.

Ram Binode Singh, the President of the Jan Congress and Janaki Nandan Singh, its Secretary, who are at present the Vice-President and Secre tary of the Bihar Swatantra already begun boosting their

K. M. Munshi came for a one-week pre-convention tour of Bihar, ostensibly to inau-gurate the Diamond Jubilee of Ram Binode Singh, which was held on a lavish scale at his willage home. And from there the two leaders began their Statewide tour. Ram Binode Singh, by the way, happens to be the elder brother of ex-M. P. Dr. Satyanarain Sinha of American-Lobby fame.

Next Likely Entrant

According to informed cir-, the next likely entrant in the Swatantra Party is going to be Mahamaya Prasad Sin-ha, till lately the leader of the PSP Assembly Party, Some months ago, when the PSP forced him to resign from the and High Prices Con which he was the Preside resigned from the PSF

Ever since, the Swatantra Party has been after him. Now it is said that with the

the issue has been clinched.
Mahamaya Prasad will join
the party during the conven-

But all this gives the Swatantra Party a particular caste affiliation in the casteridden political life of Bihar. The Swatantra leaders have been anxious to win over disgruntled elements who may have; in the past, belonged to the ruling group of Sri Krishna Sinha in the Congress.

defeated the Con-during the last gethe party in Bihar, to get in touch with him.

off towards the new

Lately the Swatantra chiefs

M. R. Masani, therefore, personally approached Ram Charitra Singh, an ex-Minister, who had resigned from the Assembly and fought neral elections. Immediately after the formation of the Swatantra Party, he had is-sued a statement welcoming it and requesting people who were interested in organising

ssure of Jaiorakash Narain

State Anti-Tibet Convention recently.

But instead of him, they got in touch with the Raja of Ramgarh. Since then he has party. And even Masani could not succeed in thawing his cold attitude.

have also directed their efforts towards Chandreshwar Pra-sada Narain Singh, who has recently returned from his

"Hitler was a fool. He unnecessarily and foolishly started a reign of terror in the very countries and against the very peoples who had broken away from the Soviet empire and declared their independence, thus again throwing them in the arms of their en-slavers..." This was how Jaiprakash Narain re-formulated the lesson of history for his audience in the Patna Gandhi Maidan while inaugurating the

> O, Hitler was a fool, not a criminal. His tyranny was accidental and a mistake: otherwise the role would have

heen liberation!

Anyhow there is no more the element of surprise in the deprayed antics of Jaiprakash's mind. Perhaps, he himself was conscious of it. For he prefaced his remarks by confessing that "there was little that was new in what he was going to say"

he was going to say."

And yet, if one wondered about the relevance or the necessity of his expressing this public admiration for the an of history, one did eve to wait for long. ved into the past of China "It was not only a question of Tibet China had grabbed Manchuria. It had grabbed Mongolia and now this 65-crore-mouthed demon led by an inhuman philosophy and by the most ruthless regime was menacing the very exist-ence and freedom of every nation in South East Asia."

cognition of Tibet as part of China, she should demand "the right of national self-Jaiprakash's arithmetic

determination" for all the outlying provinces of China!

But was Jaiprakash preachfor "complete disarmament."
The phrase is too much in the air nowadays. The Russians have started it. But if they are sincere they and the Chi-nese must first "liberate" all those whom they have "en-slaved by the might of their arms. Without that this talk hyprocrisy and a trap."

And it was the mission of Jaiprakash and his Tibet Conventions to clear this fog of hypocricy. In fact he made bold to claim that all this and Minister Nehru's hands.

In a Press Conference cing the Conventions. He, nonetheless, admitted that, the money was offered but Jaiprakash refused to accept it!

The question of Tibet, Jai-prakash left to be dealt with in detail by K. M. Munshi who only presented a rehash Report of the International Tibet, of which he, too, was

BID TO WIN OVER DISGRUNTLED CONGRESSMEN, EX-LEAGUERS

have decided to mark time awhile.

The question of leadership is causing no little stress and strain in the Swatantra Party in Bihar. The Raja of Ramgarh has so long been the unchallenged leader. While he certainly desires the expans the party, he is keen to avoid a situation that may weaken his own personal hold over and leadership of the party.

Till now this is assured because apart from other things, his Janata Party forms the largest constituent of the Swatantra Party in Bihar. For understand, he has deciin the legislature or outside.

Recently the latent rivalries Raiva Sabha. While the Raja Ramgarh advised the party's treasurer Parmanand Kejriwal to file his nomina-tion, the Secretary, Janaki Nandan Singh, persuaded Ma haraja Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga to become a Swa-tantra candidate.

Nominee For Rajya Sabha

The Maharaja was a Con-

during the last Rajya Sabha elections, but Congress MLAs let him down. While his no-minee continues to sit in the s MLAs Bihar Cabinet as the Education Minister, the Maharaja had not forgotten his old bit-terness and refused to accept the unofficial Congress ticket.

But then his decision to be come a Swatantra candidate led to no little heart-burning and dispute in that party. It President, the Raia of Ramgarh, and the Secretary, Janki Nandan Singh. The all-India bosses intervened in support of the latter. Parmanane Kejriwal was asked to with-draw his name. It was decided to support the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

But it was declared that the Swatantra Party has no official candidate, for the declared policy of the party is not to contest any elections before the coming general The Maharaja of Dar-

The Maharaja of Dar-bhanga's affiliation with the Swatantra Party has, how-ever, assured the latter the virtual monopoly of Press support in Bihar. Birla's SEARCHLIGHT was already functioning as the mouth-piece of the Swatantra Party in Bihar. The other two major dailies—the English Indian Nation and Hindi Aryavarta—are owned by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. And already there are indications that the two papers have switched their allegiance from the Congress to the Swatantra

Jaiprakash Continues

His Ravings

was somewhat defective on this point. He forgot that the 65 crores included the

Mongolians, Manchurians, the Thetans and people of all other national minori-ties who, if they are en-

slaved, cannot at the same

time he the demons devour-

But arithmetic could wait.

And Jaiprakash went on: "I cannot say about India. Perhaps they are not so numerous here. But lakhs and lakhs

every country in the neigh-bourhood. Everywhere they

The moral was clear, though

it was not said in so many words. If ever an Asian Hitler

makes his appearance, he should not commit the mis-

It was a call for the dis-

memberment of the People's Republic of China. India should not only revoke its re-

of them virtually

takes of Hitler.

Another direction in which the Swatantra leaders have demonstrably concentrated their efforts are the erstwile Muslim leaders in the Con-gress. The Swatantra leaders do not expect any of the old Abdul Qayyum Ansari, BPCC Ranga in the election to the hip of the All-India Presidentship of the Cooperative Union.

Appeal To Muslims

But the hopes of the Swatantraites are concentrated on the ex-Muslim Leaguers inside the Congress. One them Maqbool Ahmad has been awarded a Ministership but most of them, disgruntled and disappointed, are in the Copposition group inside the Congress. They are the targets of the Swatantra overtures. Public appeals have been made to them. them Magbool Ahmad has

Masani in a speech in the Anjuman Islamia Hall, Patha, in December last reminded them of the services rendered to their cause by the great

Swatantra leader C. Rajago-palachari. He, of course, did not elaborate that this serivce consisted in supporting

These ex-Muslim League leaders, however, after the inspiring experience of Kerala have begun considering the possibility of taking an altogether different path by organising the Muslim League. They have not yet taken a final decision.

But whatever decision they may take, the Sathi, most pepular Urdu daily, reflecting Muslim oninion in Bihar has sharply come out against the communalists and the Swacommunalists and the Swatantraites. Emphasising the secular and common natura of the problems of the mass of Muslims, e.g., poverty, un-employment, etc., the Sathi wrote that these can be solved only through successful national reconstruction and betterment of all

Specifically naming Masani and warning against the overtures of the Swatantra leaders, the paper editorially told the Muslim masses that no party which did not accept the idea of Socialism as its goal and policy could offer the Muslims anything.

> -ALI ASIIRAF (March 14)

PROBLEMS OF ALIGARH

ment had attended the Edu-

cational Conference of the

It was a strange spectacle in Aligarh that both Hindu

seemed to be getting together

secular education.

and herein lay the threat to

In conclusion she pleaded

for an enquiry body of the

sion to look into the problems

whole. The principles of edu-

of university education as a

University Grants Con

Muslim communalists

With the conclusion of the general debate on the Budget, the discussion in Parliament has, naturally enough, tended to get more fragmented. Yet the spotlight of national importance continued to fall upon many of the issues which engaged the attention and the eloquence of the M. P.s.

THE problems of education Hyderabad at the United Nawhat with the spectations. Moreover the head of cular developments in the Islamic Theology Departuniversities of Uttar Pradesh—had gripped the national mind. The echoes of these disturbances were heard demned as dangerous by the in the speeches on the grants Prime Minister himself. demanded by the Education

Apart from a surprisingly sane speech from Acharya Kripalani, who had some cogent remarks to make on "class character" of our educational system, it was the contribution of Renu Chakravartty, which showed a and national approach and became the piece de resistance of the debate.

She began with cutting criticism of the lack of statistical material which would enable concrete evaluation of the progress of education in the country.

The next point of importance emerged from her remarks on the dismal performance with regard to primary education - the umber of persons receiving education in the 6-11 years group had registered a meagre percentage increase of ine over five years. Besides, it was a shocking and saddening fact that primary school teachers get Rs. 25 as their minimum wage and Rs. 100 as their maximum. It was obviously a degrading and insecure existence that the Government offered to those who had to spread the light among our future generation.

She expressed her concern as an educationist and the mother of a growing boy" at the phenomenon of student indiscipline—certainly there were some actions by students which were regrettable. But it was no use foisting the blame on the students—"how. can we expect the students to maintain discipline when we ourselves are indisciplined"? she asked. In this connection she sternly castigated the manner in which rival Congress factions were carrying fights into the academic world, thus setting a woeful example to the students.

The problems of the Aligarh University formed the next portion of her speech. Here she felt that the facts of certain cases which seemed to be in dispute could be ascertained and should not be projected as the main issue.

Sustain This Progress

'fhere were other more vital questions involved. First, there was the changing character of the university which starting with a made steady progress since had to be sustained and ail conditions created for full maintenance of secularism.

case of the present Pro-Vicewho is an extervention obviously left the d had defended Lok Sabha dissatisfied. the cause of "independent"

PAGE FOUR



that the Prime Minister's action seemed to perpetuate the tradition of treating the military as a separate privileged class. Further. "The Prime Minister's " action did not speak for the dignity of the Judiciary, more so when it was only a question of few days ... An independent judiciary was one of the things that made democracy possi-

Mahavir Tyagi urged, "If I could advise the Prime Minister, I would have advised him to suspend the rules of the Navy rather than interfere with the process of the Judiciary. The rules of the Navy are not so sacrosanct as

those of the Judiciary." Hiren Mukerjee said that the matter should be consi-dered in the light of its constitutional implications. Members of the Council of Minisincluding the Prime

well as protesting against the argue and make submissions on points of law. system of photography that has been introduced in Calcutta for the elections, he least the Attorney-General may be retained for labour came to the question of the

week in parliament

"If that is not possible, at

matters, if necessary on pay-

ment of proper remunera-

Finally, he came to the

oulous fortunes and at the

plight of the legal profession in which a few lawyers make

other end many others live

in penury. "This thing does not depend purely on merits.

Many meritorious lawyers do

not find it possible to make

their mark on pure merit....

"T suggest that the Govern-

ment may call a conference of

lawyers to sponsor legislation

or, by persuasion, to organise

sisting of lawyers among them

steps might be taken to dis-

tribute the briefs equitably

and share the fees equitably.

able, the meritorious junior lawyers to establish them-selves in the profession and,

secondly, it would save the litigants from the hands of

touts and other undesirable

From judicial affairs a leap

has to be made to a matter

of travesty of justice. It was

the Triple Alliance and Cen-

tral Congress Ministers who

sought to browbeat the Ke-

rala voters with the threat of

the withdrawal of the Cochin

shipyard should the Commu-

nists be returned to power.

Now of course, they seem to

And it is the Communist

M. P.s, headed by A. K. Go-palan, who pressed an ad-

journment motion on the issue. He insisted that the

Government should satisfy

the people that it was not

Dr. Subbaroyan, the Trans-

be silenced by the Speaker

A contrasting and revealing performance! The people of

Kerala will not fail to note

its promise to them.

"Such a scheme would en-

nels on a court basis con-

Appointment Of Judges

He asked for the implementation of the Law Commission's recommendation regarding the division of func-Law Ministries, giving the latter the more important

"I would suggest another reason, apart from those given by the Law Commission, why this pattern should be followed. The Law Commission has pointed out that in many cases, Judges have been apon considerations other than merit....

"If judges are so appointed.

Dignity Of Judiciary Injured

solutely clear."

wages and work conditions, promotions. etc., all could come within the purview of such a probe.

In sharp contrast to this national and healthy approa-ch was the undignified diversionary speech of Jan Sanghite Vajpayee. It was the ghost of MsCarthy stalking again as the bogy was raise "Communist infiltration," "Communist bookshop "Communist question

Vajpayee Wants Witch-Hunt

Not the problems of education but the starting of a witch-hunt seemed to be his exclusive concern. The Communists are Indian citizens and fully protected by our Constitution and there is no occupation—least of all teaching—they cannot pursue so long as they violate no law or regulation and possess needed qualification People's Publishing bookstall has nothing to do with the Communis Party and the firm has every right—as any other o establish its shops in any town. As for question papers. questions on Marxism can scarcely be avoided in a paper which deals with modern political thought.

Vajpayee's tirade was, in actual import, aimed at modern thought and academic freedom. It is just out of tune with our accepted norms and ideals and a portent of danger precisely to these che-

Another important question briefly, if passionately debated, on Monday March 14 was the propriety of the suspen-Court's sentence on Nanavati, on the advice of the Prime Minister. Nehru's elaboration In this context she cited the of the constitutional position and the facts of Central in-

after the Kerala elections as all labour cases at least to Acharya Kripalani stated

Minister, were responsible to Parliament and the occasion had given rise to this question. given out that the Prime Minister's advice had "preceded, in point of time, any decision made in regard to this particular case by the Governor of Bombay on the advice that he

got, if any at all, from his Chief Minister. That being so "The Law Minister is chosen particularly for his legal acumen. That is the usual the responsibility of the Prime Minister in regard to what happens over the case is ab-Without going into the merits of the Nanavati case, Hiren Mukerjee stated that there was discrimination

ional man's conscience will have more intense pangs about this than the purely political person, who may sometimes have none at all in this matter."

ter is usually a person who is purely political not with much of a legal backgrou

> final decision had been taken but was not allowed to prowho interrupted to say that the matter was not of urgent public importance and had to

reduction of the costs of litigation. For example, some

it is a serious threat to judicial independence This kind of threat is likely to be much less if appointments are taken out of the Home Ministry and given to the Law Ministry for this reason. The Home Minis-

rule. Such a person who has a legal background and a high legal acumen will revolt at the idea of introducing an incompetent judge, even for political reasons. Not that it would be impossible. "But it is a fact that the

He also pleaded for the

CEILING BILL IN U. P.

The Nagpur Resolution of the Congress on fixing holders with more than 12 ceiling on landholdings had engendered certain expectations among the peasant masses, who thought that the Government was now going to take up the question of land distribution—which forms the crux of our agrarian problem.

OWEVER, this policy re- lity of fixing a uniform cellsolution of the Congress has not been implemented in the time-limit set. The timelimit of one year is over and yet the Bill on cellings in U.P. is still to be passed. Even more serious is the fact that the parties and statesmen of this State seem to have lost all interest in this problem. The columns of our Press, too, rarely refer to this question these days.

While the question of fixing ceiling on landholdings is thus being relegated to the background, there is a great deal of general discussion going on on the merits and usefulness or otherwise of cooperative farming. All talk of cooperative farming without any reference to the question of distribution of land and imposition of ceiling on big holdings is nothing short of putting the cart before the horse. Such a discussion can only serve the purpose of sidetracking

Celling

Limit

The first and foremost question is: what should be the limit at which the ceiling should be placed? The present Bill in U.P., which is under the consideration of a Joint Select Committee of the State Legislature is totally unsatisfactory on this point.

The Bill provides for a maximum holding of forty cres of average fair quality land for an average family of

This average fair quality land is in reality the best land according to the rates of which has been ma basis of classification of land under the Bill.

If the rent payable according to hereditary rates is Rs. five or more per acre the celling area would be 40 acres but for lands of poorer quality the limit will be higher. For instance, in case of lands on which the rent is charged at the rate of Rs. three but less than Rs. five per acre the ceiling will be fixed at 60 acres. Similarly for those lands for which the rent payable is less than Rs. three per acre the ceiling limit will be 89 acres for a family of five

As regards families which consist of more than five persons, the Bill provides that every additional mem-ber of the family, up to a maximum of three, will be entitled to get eight acres of fair quality land or twelve acres of second quality land and sixteen acres of the lowest grade Thus a big family of eight entitled to get as much as 61 acres of average quality land or 96 acres of second quality land or 128 acres of third quality land.

Little Land For Distribution

Even without entering into a controversy about the merits of such a classification of land or about the justifiabi-

This proposal can be compared with the provisions of Bill in the following

Like every other law, this

legislation will also be sought

to be evaded by the vested interests. In order to prevent

evasion of ceiling, it is neces-

sary to ban transfers of land-

holdings with retrospective

Prevention Of

It is obvious that after

the Nagpur Resolution of

ed. Therefore, the ban on transfers and partitions

should apply from January

1, 1959. Unfortunately the

Bill on ceiling has extended

this date up to August 17,

NEW AGE

Transfers

Rent per acre Rs five and above

Rs. three to Rs. five

Less than Rs. three

for the common pool. The framers of the Bill have managed to get the very purpose of the legislation Such a scheme of imposing ceiling on landholdings will defeated by resorting to such safeguard the interests of the an arbitrary method of fixing rich peasants also while curtailing the monopoly of a handful of persons on land.

provisions of the Bill quoted

above. For the sake of a rough estimate if we make

member in every family.

the varying sizes of hold-

can safely be said that not

more than five lakh acres will be available in any case

ings in these categories

allowance for an addit

and take into considerati

Practical Ceiling

A practical method of fixing the ceiling limit can be found if we keep in view the general condition of the asantry in the State. U.P., 6% acres can be said to be an economic holding. Ordinarily, a peasant can manage only this much of land with the help of a pair of bullocks. Therefore, if the ceiling is placed at 12½ acres of fair average quality of land i.e. twice the size of an economic holding, it will be in conmity with the ends of social justice.

Moreover, by doing so, the Government wil, get the sup-port of the vast majority of the rural population, as land-

According to the estimates of the National Sample Survey, only 0.83 per cent of the total number of households possess forty acres or more and these big holders hold 9.26 per cent of the total land. Thus the number of these households is about 82,000 and they hold about fifty lakh

ing throughout the entire State of U.P. without taking

into consideration the other

factors of agricultural pro-

duction and the pressure of population on land in differ-

ent areas, it must be said that

these provisions of the Bill on

ceiling will not meet the object of obtaining land for

distribution. Nor can the pre-

sent disparity in the size of

any considerable extent by

holdings be brought down to

implementation of thi

A break-up of these households shows that 0.75 per cent of them possess etween 40 and 74.99 acres each. It is obvious that not much land will be available for distribution under the

four per cent of the total number of rural households engaged in agriculture. Even among these, a good n will remain unaffected as in most of the families an additional amount of land will have to be left untouched on account of the size of the family.

With 121/2 acres of land as the basis of ceiling, calcula-tions can be made for other qualities of land also—121/2 acres of first quality land may be taken to be equal to six-teen acres of second quality or twenty acres of third qua-

Curtailing Monopoly

The principle of providing land for additional members of the family is by The only consideration that matters is that this should not lead to safeguarding the vested interests in land. With 121/2 acres of fair average quality land as the ordinary family of five members, an additional provision can be made for other members at the rate of 31/2 acres per member.

High Ceiling Will

Defeat Very Aim

Of Legislation

partitions and transfers ring the seven months after the Nagpur decisions. Thus a concession has been given to those big land-holders who have already managed to transfer a part of their holdings.

Besides, the definition of

family, given in the Bill, will also need to be changed. A member of a joint family having some land separately has also been regarded as constituting a family. Thus, he will have the double privilege of retaining his own separate holding as well as lege of getting a part of the joint family holding which will go to the extent of composing a maximum holding under the new law. Thus even the minor sons and daughters of a man in whose name some land is recorded, will get a maximum holding and even a holding of 80 or 120 acres may not be touched for the purpose of imposing a ceiling.

Too Manu Exemptions

In this Bill, a major concession has been given to big landholders under the clauses providing for exemptions.

An instance is that of groves which will not be

regarded as part of a holding

It would have been better if the Bill had fixed a limit to

the area under groves up to

acres acres acres

who have no other land ex-

Ceiling limit Celling limit

121/2

Government, but such a method of encouraging cooperatives is not understandable.
For the time being, a new spate of agricultural cooperatives may be visible and the Government may be satisfied with the success the cooperative movement, would be but the reality different. These will be fake cooperatives, formed by big landholders who want to save their land from the ceiling provision. Since in the agricultural cooperatives the peasants will continue to be the owners of their holdings and size of the holding will also be a factor deciding the division of profits, such ex-

emption from ceiling in the

name of cooperatives can only result in nullifying the

effects of the legislation on

operatives is the policy of the

In the same way, mechanised farms have also been exempted. Notwithstanding the merits of mechanisation in agricul-ture, it may be said that in our country there are very few mechanised farms. Me chanisation can and should be encouraged in many ways. Extension of the cooperative movement will also be helpful in leading to mechanisation. However, according to the provisions of the Bill, all these farms, in whose case certificates from the Tehsildar concerned can be got to the effect that they been tilled by tractors (bor-rowed or owned) for the last three years, will be considered to be mechanised farms and ceiling will not apply to them. Needless to say that such a provision will only lead to corrupt practices for securing such certificates and there is no guarantee that these so-called mechanised farms will continue to remain as such after ceiling has been

A legislation of this kind should have received wide publicity and public discussion on it should have been invited. Unfortunately all this. has not taken place and one cannot say in what direction improvements and amendments will be made when the Bill comes out of the Joint Select Committee. If all these drawbacks and loopholes are not removed and plugged, the

+ 7½ 40 + 24 + 12 60 + 36 + 15 80 + 48 prove to be a big hoax. which a person can posses besides his maximum holding according to the Bill. The case of those persons,

cept groves should be treated in a different manner. While ---in the case of the former two-and-a-half or three acre of groves would be more than enough, the latter category can be allowed to retain groves up to the extent of a naximum holding and about

While giving exemption to some time limit groves, some time limit should also be fixed. If this is not done, resourceful landholders can arrange to plant some trees on their land and thus evade the law on ceiling. The Bill, however, the Congress, the big land-holders had been forewarn-is silent on this point.

Among the list of exempland owned by cooperatives which will be formed till the ted holdings con day of the application of this Encouragement to co-

EDITOR : P. C. Joshi Printed by D. P. Sinha at th EW AGE PRINTING Boad New Delhi, and published by him from 714, Asaf All Boad

> Phone : 25794 Telegraphic Address: MARXBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATES NLAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0; Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0. Foreign: Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;

All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAI and not to NEW AGE.

PAGE FIVE

GOING BACK ON PLEDGE ON SECOND SHIPYARD

Prime Minister appeared to have done something for which he was answerable to

involved "in this extraordi-

nary intervention by the

in which the law might very

well have been permitted to

take its course. The Prime

interfere in this matter.

As far as the constitutional

aspect was concerned. the

no Minister in a matter

ster had no business to

the House The Speaker, however, decided not to allow any discussion on the substance of the adjourment motion and point of order. But it was a tribute to the concern for maintenance of democratic standards that the Lok Sabha, as a whole, was so rightly

exercised over the question. national institution. It was the propriety of the suspention of the Bombay High highest judicial standards was also the burden of Sadhan Gupta's speech, on the and for grants of the Ministry of Law. After taking up the grossly

up insisting on printed paper books and accepted typed or cyclostyled mate-'Another very serious matter is the conduct of labour eases in the High Courts and Supreme Court. Particularly is unable to represent itself

because the cost is prohibitive

be saved if the Supreme

Court and High Courts gave

....This has led to disastrous consequences in many cases. "Therefore, it is incumbent on the Government to appoint a sort of standing counsel for labour of the status of the Attorney-General or the Soliirregular behaviour of the citor-General, who would Catholic Church during and make it a point to appear in citor-General, who would

thousands of rupees could and unvaried practice the Treasury Benches refused to countenance any progressive proposals for properly shapcluding day of the Raiva threw out two. Communist. tionalisation of general insurance and for an enquiry on the implications of over-reliance on foreign aid.

> Bhupesh Gupta's and N. C. Shekar's speeches went unanswered and the official majority was mustered to smoon building capitalism on the the Congress action was logi-

> > MARCH 20, 1960 -HOHIT SEN

NEW AGE

MARCH 20, 1980

REFUGEE REHABILITATION POLICY ...

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA, March 14

West Bengal's land utilisa

tion had already reached 89 per cent, it would be wrong to try to rehabilitate more refugees within the State.

But the facts that he gave

about the "progress" of reset-tlement in West Bengal told a sickening tale of failures, inefficiency and bungling. Loans amounting to Rs. 89

lakhs had been advanced to

different industrial enter-prises for creating employ-ment opportunities for 7,800

refugees. But about 60 per cent of them had failed to make any headway and only 2,300 refugees had been pro-

vided with jobs, A sum of Rs. 25 lakhs had been dis-tributed through coopera-tive societies, but 99 per cent of them had also fail-

ed. P. C. Sen further said that

the bainanama scheme. So "we have almost fulfilled our promise," he declared with an

Referring to Dandakaranya, e said that development

work in that area had not progressed satisfactorily. The

progressed satisfactorily. The State Government, however, had nothing to do with the

Dendekur anya

ging reports from the Da

He admitted that discoura-

karanya area had led "us to wonder what the refugees would do by going there." Yet, according to his own figure, about 13,000 refugee families

from West Bengal camps had been bundled off to Danda-karanya. He further stated that Bihar, Orissa and even Assam, which had much land

to distribute, were not keen

on taking more refugees.

After years of official pro-

air of self-satisfaction.

The startling admission made by official spokesmen in the West Bengal Assembly on March 9 proved shadow of doubt that the Government's refugee rehabilitation policy in the past ten years has been a colossal failure. Little wonder that the much-boosted Dandakaranya Project also is in a deplorable

THE House was discussing tuberculosis patients now is the State Refugee Rehabilitation Minister's demand on his pet theory that since for a grant of Rs. 5.74 crores. The demand was passed after four cut motions had been pressed to division and lost. The cut motions related to

the cut motions related to the State Government's reha-bilitation policy, stoppage of doles to camp refugees for participation in agitation against dispersal to Dandakaranya and the Govern-ment's indifference to the bainanama scheme (under this scheme a refugee has to find out land for his own rehabilitation, and the State Government advances the price, the celling price per higha being fixed at Rs. 300).

Jyoti Basu, leader of the position, rightly accused e Government of bluffing e East Pakistan refugees and of grossly betraying them. He strongly criticised the Government for its inhuman treatment of these helpless, uprooted people and demanded that Mehr Chand Khanna and P. C. Sen. Union and State Reha-

bilitation Ministers respec-tively, must resign.
Other Opposition speakers also made slashing attacks against M. C. Khanna for the failure of the Dandakaranya Project and demanded immediate resignation.

Official spokesmen as well as Congress members, however, tried their utmost to cover up the State Government's part in the sordid episode, and to shift the entire blame on to the shoulders of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry: two years ago the State Government had agreed to take in 10,000 more refugee families. The Government, he pompously claimed, had resettled 6,000 families through

Minister⁹s Admissions

While moving his demand, P. C. Sen admitted that the position as regards resettle-ment of the refugees was almost the same as that two years ago. He said that 123,000 efugees were still living in amps and 50,000 in different thouses in West Bengal. Among those who had been given as-sistance, 50 per cent had still to be rehabilitated. He admit-Government's failure in No Progress In his respect. He further stated that thou-

sands of refugees' houses had been destroyed during the floods in 1956 and 1959. The State Government had requested the Centre for assistance for their reconstruction, but the latter had plead. ed its inability on the ground that these people had been "already rehabilitated" and were now the State's con-

He also revealed that the majority of tuberculosis pa-tients in West Bengal were refugees (the total number of

naganda about the "steady progress" of rehabilitation it was indeed a tragic anti-cli-max to hear the redoubtable "We have heard talks about the problem of refugees being an all-India one. It seems now, as if it is West

Initiating the debate on the cut motions, Samar Mukher-jee, Communist leader, hit out against the hypocritical attitude of the State Government and its pose of injured inno-

He pointed out that although the Government had admitted failure of the Dandakaranya Project, it was issuing 60 days' notices on camp refugees asking them to go to Dandakaranya or to vacate the camps with a paltry rehabilitation ssistance of Rs. 72. It clearly showed that the Govern-ment's action was motivated by political considerations.

Imalicano ent. Of Goot.

Emphasising that the Government's claim that West Bengal had already reached "saturation point" in the matter of rehabilitation had no basis in reality, he said that the Government's sole aim was to close down the camps at any cost. He further stated that quit notices had been served on 14,000 camp refugees and doles had been stopped in thousands of cases. Stipends of two lakh refugee.

A COLOSSAL

RAILUBI

students had been cut and assistance to many schools catering for these students

had been threatened to be

stopped. As a result of this measure, 200 schools would have to close down, throwing about 3,000 teachers out of employment. Was this a pic-

ture of progress or of sheer anarchy, he asked.

Exposing the State Rehabilitation Minister's claim that the West Bengal Government had already fulfilled its target

of rehabilitating 10,000 fami-

of rehabilitating 10,000 families, Samar Mukherjee pointed out that 6,000 camp refugees had arranged for their own resettlement under the bainanama scheme, which the Government had recently discontinued. Even now 6,000 bainanama proposals were under the consideration of the State

He further said that prac-

tically no efforts had been made to develop cultivable waste land. In the past year

ed. It was proposed to acquire 3,200 acres in 1960-61

against the original target of 60,000 acres! If the Union

of 60,000 acres! If the Union Government's Suratgarh farm could be successful,

marginal lands in West Bengal could be certainly made productive through the application of scientific

He complained that the karanya.

methods, he em

only 119 acres were acq

Government.

urgent issues of the regularisation of squatters' colonies and improvement of govern-ment colonies were being held over indefinitely on the specious plea that resettlement of camp refugees must be accorded top priority. Yet while, most of the Government's schemes for the rehabilitation of these refugees remained in cold storage, it was very prompt in resorting to repressive measures against them. He said that the camp refugees would demonstrate on March 25 and go on hun-

ger-strike on March 31 aga-inst the stoppage of doles. He concluded by demanding a radical change in the Government's rehabilitation policy in consultation with the Opposition.

Communist leader Niranian narrated the deplorable plight of the refugees in Gov-ernment colonies and squat-ters' colonies. He wanted to know the Government's scheme for the absorption of 6,000 employees of the Rehabilita-tion Department who were now threatened with retren-

Benoy Chowdhury strongly Not Reader criticised the selection of site for camps and government

Ridiculing the Government's tall claims about its "achievements". Jvoti Basu said that ments", Jyoth Basu said that the State Government had received Rs. 50 crores from the Centre for the refugees. But it had done nothing ex-cept distributing the amount as aims in the form of doles.

ook admitted that there

Dealing with the compare

tive cost of resettlement of an agriculturist refugee family

in Dandakaranya and in West

Bengal he said that it worked out at Rs. 6,000 in the former,

as against Rs. 3,500 in the

latter. Yet the plea of "prohi-bitive" cost of resettlement in West Bengal was trotted out ad nauseam. "Even out of hu-

man considerations refugees should be settled in this

He further said that the

Opposition had expressed their apprehensions when the Dandakaranya Project was launched, but the Government

had turned a deaf ear to

them. Even now, after admit-ting that the project had fail-ed, the Government was dis-banding the camps and forc-

ing refugees to go to Danda-

Breach Of

Resides.

on the Dandakaranya Projec unanimously adopted by the State Assembly in 1957, Jyoti State Assembly in 1957, Jyoti Basu accused the Government of having committed breach of faith by not keeping the House informed about the latest developments in Dan-

dakaranya.

He pointed out that his information, which was abso lutely reliable, showed that the Dandakaranya Project was in a hopeless mess. He had heard that settlers there were being kept in widely separated areas. This was contrary to all principles and the avowed policy.

He further said that not a

single Bengali had been in-cluded in the Dandakaranya Development Authority (DDA though the project primarily meant for Bengali refugees. Among the top officers under DDA only three were Bengalis. Even Class III and Class IV staff were non-Bengalis and these posts were never advertised.

Even Report

from the DDA. Even source, the administration's final report on the project was not ready and the Master Plan was not yet in sight!

The DDA, he complained,

had no choice of its own in the matter of land for re-settlement, the selections being made by the Madhya Pradesh and Orissa Governments. Recently the Madhya Pradesh Government had allotted 16,000 acres of which only 7,000 acres were found to be cultivable! The refugee settlers did not yet know the nature of their rights on the land they had been allotted. There were no arrangements for the education

children of the settlers.
He said that there was still time for the Central Governvev to ascertain whether

Could it not set up small-scale and cottage industries with this money, he asked Intervening in the debate. Contesting the Govern-ment's claim that there was no land in the State, he pointed out that the Gov-Project were taken without ernment's statistical hand Government were 23 lakh acres of culti-vable waste land in the State,

He further stated that the National Development Coun-cil had decided that the Dandakaranya area should be controlled by four representatives, one each from West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra. But the Madhya Pradesh and Orissa karanya Project.

He said that at a meeting he was present the question of selection of land for refugees was taken up. The Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Governments had then agreed to give any amount of land according to the DDA's choice. "I do not know what has happened to that,"

added.
After all, he said, Bengali refugees were to be resettled there and it was proper that the control should be more or less in the hands of Bengalls.
'I had suggested some names,
but these had not been accepted," he pointed out.

ment and the DDA to revise the time-table and for a sur-

Chief Minister Dr. Roy said that in spite of a previous understanding, all actions re-lating to the Dandakaranya consulting the West Bengal

Governments were not will-ing to share the responsibility with West Bengal regarding the execution of the Danda-

in Calcutta of State Govern-ment representatives, at which

POLICE RUN BIOT IN BELGAUM A wave of protests has been sweeping Maha-

rashtra against the brutal firing early last month in Yellur village in the Belgaum District of Mysore and the campaign of repression and terror launched by the Mysore police to suppress the satyagraha launched in the border areas, demanding merger of the Marathi majority areas into the State of Bombay.

TRIKES, hartals and protest actions have been held in numerous cities and towns and resolutions have been adopted urging upon the Government to intervene and put a stop to this repression.

bullet wound below the left knee.

"Later, at Yellur, we learnt that Muchandi, the sixth wounded person, had a bullet wound on his toe but that he put a stop to this repression.

Congressmen Protest

indignation in Maharashtra that the President of the Maharashtra Regional Congress Committee, Rajaram Bapu Patil, himself led a delegation to tour the affected areas and on February 21 submitted a on February 21 submitted a report to Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.

In his report he characterised the action of the police as "excessive." The Chief Minister is reported to have conveyed his views to Home Min-ister Pant whom he met in the last week of February.

The Maharashtra Regional Congress Committee, which met later on March 3 at the residence of Chief Minister Chavan, also passand helpless and their security has been endangered

We give below extracts from a report submitted on February 26 to the Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti by S. M. Joshi, J. S. Tilak, Datta Deshmukh, Uddhavarao Patil and V. D. Chitale, all MLAs, regarding the police excesses on the Bombay-Mysore border.

Yellur is one of the villages which has participated in the no-tax campaign launched by the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti.

Climax Of Brutalities

Six months ago the Gov-ernment of Mysore issued notices of attachment of the ands of the defaulters. Then it went on to attaching by force the land, grains, buffa-loes and goats of the defaulters. A regular offensive began against the people. The cli-max of brutalities came with the firing on February 8.

"We first visited the Belgaum Civil Hospital. There we saw five persons in a closed ward under police protection. They were (1) Bharmanna Chandroba, Shahapur, with a bullet wound in the right wound in the right (2) Narayan Chimco Basarikatti with a bullet wound in the right thigh; (3) Raoji Appaji Patil, with a bullet wound in the right arm; (4) Kedari Nagoji Goral, with a bullet wound in the right arm, and (5) Basvant Nagappa Dhamanekar, with a

MARCH 20, 1960

"We saw that the bullet from Basarikatti's right arm had not been removed. We also learnt that the left leg of Dhamanekar would have to be amoutated.

"Besides, six students woun-So widespread has been the ded in the incident at the incident at the hospital. They har also in the hospital. They are committee, Rajaram Bapu Patil, (2) K. B. Kadam, (3) Janu Vithu Hasure, (4) Lax-man Somanna, (5) Ganpati Bagoba and (6) Nilkanth S. Patil.

Wounded Men Left Om Road

"We then proceeded to Yellur. A police van was standing at Vadgaon Naka. After enquiry, we were allowed to proceed. On the way to Yellur, we saw four

in the hospital and had not been able to see anyone of the 52 policemen, reported to have been wounded. He asked Sheshadri whether they were kept in some other hospital and whether he would get an opportunity

"Sheshadri told him that they were treated at first in the Civil Hospital. He would not disclose their whereabouts and refused permission to see the wounded policemen. He, however, promised to investi-gate into the incident of the four persons found wounded on Yellur Road.

to see them.

"We gathered that at 5 a.m. on Monday, February 8, 1960, armed police in three vans with two empty trucks and accompanied by Pereira, Dy. S.P., Dodmani, Home Inspec-tor, Gondal, P.S.I., Patan, Tehsildar, Belgaum, Datar, Aval Karkoon, Fernandez and Yerzare, Circle Officers, reached Yellur. They entered the first lane of the village and cordoned off its entrance in order to prevent other villa-gers from crowding in.

"The Talathi pointed out the houses of the no-tax cam-paigners, the first being that

ed in front of the houses harashtra visited by the police. These police van, people stopped near the trucks and started shouting van slapped slogans. They refused to with-draw in spite of the police asking them to do so.

"The police broke some tear-gas shells to disperse the crowd. The confused people began to wipe their eyes and withdrew for some time to return. The police then made a lathi-charge. Some of the people receded but again came back. The police then withdrew for returning to

Fire

"When they reached the entrance of the village, the villagers gathered in large numbers. The police apparwounding several pers This enraged the people and stones were hurled at the police vans from the angry mob. By this time, the police prepared themselves for retreat with the

police van, the D.S.P., Lewis, got wild and rushing into the van slapped Ram Apte on the face and abused him in vulgar language. He also threat-ened Sunthankar. The police

more persons "When the trucks began to move, the road was found blocked at several places with branches of road-side trees. The police met Samaji, MLA (Mysore), on the road and beat him up and arrested him. In all 22 persons were arrested.

"When the party reached Vadgaon, the angry D.S.P. and police suspecting that the students in the hostel of the Training College were responsible for blockading the road, entered the hostel building by forcing open the doors and battered and kicked 15 students mercilessly. Five of them eu and sicked 15 students mercilessly. Five of them were sent by the Principal to the hospital. The police did not worry themselves on their account.

"The police also attacked the people gathered on the road and also those standing in front of their houses. Any

ed a resolution expressing acconcern over the violence, firing and other repressive measures resorted to by the measures resorted to by the Mysore Government" at places like Yellur, Yadgaon, Shahapur and Belgaum. It said that this "repression" had made the people in those areas "terror-striken and helpless and their seen-and helpless and their seen-

men lying on the road and in nearby farms. They were lying wounded after beat-ing by the police.

"We picked up two of them, "We picked up two of them,

(1) Shivaji Balaram Suryavanshi and (2) Kalappa
Omanna Nandyalkar, who
were seriously wounded and
brought them back to Belgaum. On the way we showed
those two wounded persons to
members of the Belgaum Bar.

"We then went to see the
Deputy Commissioner (D. C.)
along with two senior pleaders, M. M. Lad and P. M.
Ogale, As the D. C. was absent,

Ogale. As the D. C. was absent, we informed his Personal As-sistant of the incident and he promised to fix an appoint-ment with the D. C. as soon

as possible.
"In the afternoon, J. S. Tilak, V. D. Chitale, Dr. A. G. Yalgi, President, Belgaum Municipality, and Baburao Thakur, Editor, Tarun Bharat of Belgaum went to see C. S. Sheshadri, Deputy Commis-

sioner.
"The D. C. opened the talk in quite an undignified man-ner. Sheshadri said he saw several policemen injured and got obviously perturbed. Shegot obviously perturbed. She-shadri blamed the local leaders for instigating the people and then running away from the scene.

Injured Policemen?

"Tilak interrupted him and informed him that he had seen 12 wounded men

of Laxman Appail Melge. The police rushed in and attached a bag of rice and put it in their truck, despite the re-quests of the women in the house to wait till the man re-

"The police then proceeded with their work. They attach-ed a bag of nachana and a bicycle from the house of Gopal Changappa Mankoji, a bag of seeds and a bicycle from the house of Shankar Kaloji Kadam, and went to the house of Shattu Govind

"Here they did not listen to the request of Lakhubai to wait till the arrival of her sons from the rear of the house and went to the house and went to the buffallo-shed, cut the ropes and said they would auction all the five she-buffalloes for three naye paise.

"They put aside Lakhu-bai, who tried to stop them and also manhandled her husband 75-year-old Govind Mense. Her sons, Narayan, Shettu, Kalappa, Mahadev, Ramchandra and Laxman were also belaboured. The police then took the buffa-lloes out and also attached one bag of rice and one bag

"While this was going on, a crowd of about 1,500 people broke the cordon and gather-

attached goods and while retreating the police were ordered to open fire.

"Twelve persons were injured of whom six were seriously wounded. They were re-moved to the hospital. On (Mysore), Baburao Thakur, V. S. Patil, MLA (Mysore), Ram Apte, Saynak and others arrived on the scene at 9-30 a.m. They succeeded in pacifying the angry mob.

"They addressed the villagers and appealed to them to be peaceful and non-violent at all costs. While the meetat all costs. While the incoming was going on, additional police force with full equipment, headed by the D.M. and the D.S.P. reached there.

"The villagers locked their houses and gathered in the temple in the midst of the village. The revenue and police officers began attaching the property of the no-tax campaigners after forcing open the houses. These operations continued for more than three hours up to 3-30 p.m.

Students Beaten

"When the police were on the point of, returning with the attached articles in load-ed trucks, Sunthankar, Ram Apte B.B. Saynak, Shahpur-kar and Sawant offered satya-graha in front of the trucks and were arrested. When they

one would have expected that the matter would end here. But apparently not being satisfied with what they had done at Yellur and Vadgaon. the police started harassing the citizens of Belgaum.

Terror On The Streets

"The D.S.P. moved through the streets of Belgaum in a van loaded with police, threatening and beating anyone he came across. It was something like the enforcement of a curfew order, without its official declaration

"While the D.S.P. was moving along the streets with his party, he passed the office of Tarun Bharat. Baburao Thakur, from his office, asked whether the police were en-forcing curfew. Lewis shouted back, "Come on the road and I will show you."

"Ben D'Souza a pleader. who was in the office, went out and asked the same ques-tion. The police officers then grabbed him by the collar and dragged him before Lewis, who shouted down D'Souza and asked him to go away.
"The same night, Abdul
Karim and Mohamed Hussein,

night watchmen in Bhendi Bazaar, saw some followed by a van in front of the Vijay Frame Works. Some of them asked Karim to go away, which he refused to do. "He then saw some police

SEE PAGE 11

PACE SEVEN

MARCH 20, 1960

NEW AGE

KERALA: BEVERSAL OF PRECEPT AND POLICIES BEGINS

Rehabilitation of contractors

at expese of cooperatives

The Congress-PSP Government of Kerala has worker members of the society decided not to entrust the manufacture and sale of had increased their monthly earnings from Rs. 68 to Rs. 92 earnings from Rs. 68 to Rs. 92 toddy to the toddy-tappers' cooperative societies under negotiated agreements. These societies, if they so desire, can bid in public auction just as the private

This is the first major policy decision of the new Government and it not only reverses the policy pursued by the Communist Ministry while it was in office, but it also goes against the declared policies of the Planning Commission and the Government of India itself of helping cooperatives to develop. same policy. Worth remembering is the fact that this decision of the Adviser regime had the approval of the Congress rulers at the Centre and that it had been

The Adviser regime had put forward certain condi-tions to continue the practice

of negotiated contracts with

to be increased by five per cent; apart from the kist, the

societies were to deposit with the Government 50 per cent of the net profits; the socie-

ties were to pay tree tax for

tapping and were to accept an official appointed by the Gov-

criment as secretary of each society. The societies had agreed to these conditions and

Excellent

during the period of the Ad-

viser regime which proves

that such charges are base-

About the Anthickad society

near Trichur, for instance, the Reserve Bank Deputy Go-vernor is reported to have written that the society was

working well, its financial

Record

MANUFACTURE and sale
Mof toddy in the past used
to be entrusted to private
contractors through public
auction. The Communist Mincontractors. The Communist Ministry had in 1958 decided to entrust this to cooperatives of the workers engaged in the industry under negotiated contract. According to a phased programme, within two years manufacture and sale of toddy in one-third of the wet areas of the State was brought into the cooperative sec-

Contractors' Hand-Maid

Now by reverting to the old policy, within a few days of assuming office, the new Government has shown it-self to be interested in protecting the profits of private contractors who right from the beginning had attacked the Communist Govern-ment's policy. The new Gov-ernment. despite all 14 espite all its de-that it would interests of the orking class, has begun to take away even the gains made by the working class when the Communist Government was in office.

The only way to protect the interests of workers in the small and unorganised industries and to ensure them betstandards of life is to liberate them from the clutches of profiteering middle-men. Cooperatives of workers and producers in these small industries are precisely for this purpose. And it is this this purpose. And it is this principle that has been accepted by the Planning Commission, the Central Government and the State Govern-

The toddy industry is a monopoly of the Government. And because of that the Government's attitude to the cooperatives in this industry will be an index of its approach to cooperative movement

The Communist Ministry was guided by these principles when it decided to hand over the manufacture and sale of toddy to the cooperatives.

> It is on this same basis the Adviser's regime

and that the society had set apart an adequate amount

Moreover, the society had paid back the Rs. one-lakh loan it had taken from the Cochin Central Cooperative Bank and in addition had made a fixed deposit of Rs. two lakhs with the bank.

This letter which the Re-

ment, but the ratton mini-istry would only see the contractors who had so generously financed the "liberation struggle" and were now asking for their price.

The Government in its
Press-Note has, of course,
tried to partially cover up
this naked betrayal of the
interests of the toddy-tappers

nor had written to the Adviser on December 3, 1959, was before the new Government, but the Pattom Ministry would only see the they pay up in time.

> tappers, the question of permanency of employment has been altogether ignored. In the matter of casual leave, paid holidays, etc., the Ministry has made recommendations which fall far below what exist today—obviously the green signal to the con-

As for the problems of the

tractors to go ahead and cut down on the benefits which the tappers enjoy at present.

The enormity of the crime against the toddy-tappers will become evident if a few facts and figures are examined about just one district.

O Under the contract system, in Alleppey District, tappers tapping ten trees use to get a bonus of Rs. 1/12 per tree—a total of Rs. 11/25. Thus 386 workers used to get a bonus of about Rs. 4,359 Thus 386 workers used to get a bonus of about Rs. 4,350 from the contractors. Last year the Alleppey society gave 386 workers Rs. 26,697/66 as

The society paid the workers Rs. 10,710/26 as leave wages—that is for 15 days; paid leave. Under the contract

for seven holidays—about Rs. 7,000 as against Rs. 2,400. under the contractors.

O Contractors paid minimum wages for a bottle of 2616 ounces while the so raiculated at the rate of 24 ounces. Thus a worker received the same wage for 12 bottles from the society as for 13½ from the contractors. Under this item alone, the workers got Rs. 46,800 more from the society.

Thus 386 workers received the contractors.

These are some of the gains which the new Congress-PSP Government wants to take away from the workers and cision the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party and organisations of toddy-tappers have called for a

PRACTICE

The Government

think that it is conferring

ers. But it forgets that contractors used to pay not only the tax and rent but

also that watering of the

trees were done at the cost of the contractors.

The contractors should

O The workers sho

supply the implements

benefit on the work

HE Government Press-Note on toddy cooperatives has tried to make out that a number of safeout that a number of safe-guards had been made to

guards had been made to protect the interests of the tappers: It is interesting to compare them with conditions as they existed.

"Workers should be paid minimum wages according to the Minimum Wages notification"—says the Government Pressfor tapping.

But this is an expense which the contractors have been meeting for years. Government Press-

This is nothing new, this is a benefit enjoyed by workers for the last two

days in the years.
Under the society, workers enjoy 15 paid leave years.

O "If the toddy is tapped half a mile away from the shop, it will be brought to the shop at the contractors' cost."

Under the society, workers enjoy 15 paid leave days.

O The new Government has recommended doubles the contractors' cost."

Description of the contractors of the contractors' cost."

to the shop at the contractors' cost."

This is something that has existed for the last five years—long before the Communist Ministry assumed office:

The new Government has recommended doubles wages for three holidays Republic Day, Independence Day and Onam. The societies give double wages for seven holidays including May Day. As a result of the cutting down

of paid leave days and holidays alone each work-

er will lose about Rs. 45.: Apart from the fact that these is no guarante the contractors will abide by these rules, there is no guarantee that the nearly ten thousand tappers who ten thousand tappers who are presently in the socie-ties will get employment under the contractors.

Secondly, the large num-ber of staff employed in the societies will lose their

Thirdly, what happens to the lakhs of rupees invest-ed by the tappers from their earnings in the socieat least five paid leave

> Chief Minister Pattom would give relief to hungry stomachs and work to un-employed hands. In the eyes of the Congress-PSP Government, only private contractors seem to fit into

TO DAYS OF LOCK-UP BEATING taken after full enquiry into the charges that are being raised today by the ruling parties in Kerala about the running of these cooperatives.

AND POLICE OPPRESSION

Kerala's Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai enunciated his Government's police policy at a Press, Conference in Trivandrum on March 10 last. Normally no Government, said the Chief Minister, "was called upon to make a new policy in regard to these matters," but he was forced to do so "as a consequence of inroads made into our Constitution by wrong policies of the previous Ministry."

it had already assumed the form of a contract between EAVE alone the fact that the Communist Ministry would not have been allowed the Government and the sowould not have been allowed to stay for 28 days in office, let alone 28 months, if it had tried to make any inroads into our Constitution, what had the Communist Govern-Now, the new Government again says that the Registrar of Cooperatives had made certain adverse remarks about the running of the socie-ties and so the system of negotiated contracts with the societies would not be conment enunciated as its policy?

Communist Policy

This sounds rather lame in the background of the Cen-trally-approved decision of the Adviser's regime and also The Communist Govern-ment had not laid down any-thing which stood in the way of the police fulfilling their duties and responsibilities acobservations made by very responsible persons about the praiseworthy manner in which the societies were being cording to the existing laws and the Police had certainly prevented the police from taking on powers which they did not have under any of these laws and codes and terrorising and oppressing the people as had been the pactice in the British For instance, the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India had submitted a redays and had been followed Congress Governments.

For instance, the Communist Government had laid down that the police could not indulge in torturing people, in lock-ups; that firing should be resorted to only as a last expeed to only as a last expedient and only if it became unavoidable; that unless there was a breach of law or danger to peace the police should not intervene in labour and agrarian dispu-

tes to help employers and

landlords.
Despite all Sri Pattom
Thanu Pillai's platitudinous
statements, it is all this that
will be changed when he enunciates a new police policy saying these are "inroads" into the Constitution. Says the Chief Minister:

"The law did not make any distinction between man and man, and nobody would be allowed to use violence against another person, irrespective of his standing whether he was a capitalist or worker or any other."

Discretion Of Police

The Chief Minister then gives the following advice to the police: "To officers and men of the police force and magistracy who have been subjected to greatest strain on account of the double-standards evolved by the Commu ards evolved by the Commu-nists, I say this: Do your duty fearlessly, without favour to anyone, without spite or hat-red to anyone, impartially and strictly according to law. Government do not want to interfere with the discretion vested in you by law. Use it properly."

Those who have witnessed

respite from police oppression during the 28 months of Communist rule.
But the Chief Minister has

not finished. He has also a threat to hold out. He conti-

nues:
"This is what the people,
your masters, expect, this is
what the law enjoins. No harm will come to anyone of you for enforcing the law. But we shall not hesitate to take the most stringent action against those who act with a partisan spirit, motivated by considerations extraneous to the provisions of law.

"It is an unhappy fact that a number of officers and men who comprise the police force were so misguided as to fall into the Communist trap and had allowed themselves to be used as tools of the Commu nist Party. We believe that they did so under the greatest pressure. We are sure that now that the 'rule of law' is firmly enforced, they will forget their past sins. If they persist in action based on false standards, unacceptable to the people and the Consti-tution, they will be severely dealt with."

Namboodiripad's Statement

This policy statement has naturally engendered certain misgivings among the people to which E. M. S. Namboodinipad gave expression—the Times of India, of course, finding it difficult to "appreciate the fantastic fulminations of Mr. E. M. S. Namboothe "proper" use of this "discretion" by the police under British rule and Con-

gress rule will have no doubt as to what the future holds for the common people of the State who had had a respite from police oppres-tion during the 22 months

Reading Namboodiripad's statement, one would know the difficulty, if any, should be in convincing the Times of India's readers that what the new Chief Minister promises is a restoration of "the rule of law".

Here is what E. M. S. Namboodiripad said:

Ten Years' Record

"I am grateful to Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai for having been frank enough to state that his Government will do its utmost to restore the state of affairs which obtained in our State before April, 1957.

"It is too late in the day for him to assert that the Congress Governments that ruled our State for nearly ten years before 1957 did not make any distinction between the rich and the poor or between a worker and landowner in regard to fundamental rights'. The page 1 ween a worker and landowner in regard to fundamental rights'. The people of this State know very well that those who headed the Congress Governments wielded their power in such a way that the arms of the law gave full protection to the owning classes as against the working people. It was precisely because the Communist Party championed the interests of the victims of their oppressive rule that the Party steadily grew in the confidence and affection of the common people.

"It was, therefore, quite natural that, when the Party was able to form a Government in the State in 1957, attention was paid to the problem of how to save the common people from this oppressive rule. The statement of policy which I issued in July, 1957 was the result of serious policy which I issued in July, 1957, was the result of serious thinking on the subject by the Party and the Government. It is this that is objected to in Sri Thanu Pillai's. statement as 'violation of the Constitution' and the institution of the 'rule of the jungle

"T would not care to argue, at the present moment, as to the constitutionality or otherwise of my policy statement. I would only point out to Sri Thanu Pillai and his collea-gues that the Constitution itself provides certain me-thods through which acts of Governments can be challen-ged and that they have not taken advantage of these protaken advantage of these pro-

Terrible Prospect

other criticism made by Sri Thanu Pillai against our policy statem like to deal with here, i. that the consequence of the wrong policies were disastrous to the common man—indeed to all except those who submitted to the Party in power. I would just like to point out. to him and his colleagues that it is extraordinary that a Party whose rule proved so disastrous to the common man' increased its votes by 50 per cent (from 23 lakhs to 35 lakhs).

"On the other hand, the Party that is supposed to have maintained the 'rule of law', whose consequences to the cial', steadily fell in the affec-tion and confidence of the common people, so that it has now to resort to all sorts of manoeuvres to keep itself in power—including the manoeuvres of installing in the office of Chief Minister the leader of a much smaller party.

Threat Of Witch-Hunt

Tt would appear from Sri Thanu Pillal's statement that he and his colleagues are de-termined to re-establish the kind of police administration which obtained in the pre-1957 years. That, indeed, is a terrible prospect for those whose memory is not so short as to forget the tragic indi-dents that took place in the police lock-ups in those dimcult years. I am sure that decent men and women in our State will raise their voice of protest against that state of affairs returning to our State.

"Another disturbing development hinted at in the Chief Minister's statement is the anti-Communist hunt that is threatened against the personnel of Govern-ment services. Hints are made of 'officers and men' who 'allowed themselves to be used as tools of the Communist.
Party' They are warned that,
unless they mend their ways,
they will be 'severely dealt
with'. All this is done in the typical style of the notorious McCarthy of the United Sta-tes, who, it is well-known,

used anti-Communist demagogy to persecute hundreds of honest democrats who had nothing to do with Commu-"Tragic, indeed, will be the

nlight of numerous honest ment employees who are by no means Communists but who refuse to toe the line for the Congress-PSP-League bosses. Any Government em-ployee can now be given the bad name of 'a tool of the Communist Party' and even his 'personal enemies can wreak vengeance on him. Is this in the spirit of our Constitution, one would like to know, which looks upon a member or sympathise political parties alike?

It Has Regun

If the Times of India editorial-writer still considers this as "Mr. Namboodiripad's fantastic fulminations". let him see what has already begun to take place in Kerala.

It has already happened in Quilon. The Quilon Additional Sessions Court had convicted a young man, Vijayan, for two months' rigorous imprisonment.

An appeal was filed against this sentence and when efforts were being made to take Vijavan out on bail, he was taken West Police Station and there he was bru-tally manhandled by an Ins-pector and some constables.

Hearing his screams, people from the court compound ran to the police station and they saw Vijayan on the ground crying in pain.

a petition before the Addi-tional Sessions Judge and he ordered Vijayan to be produced in the court. He showed his injuries to the court and the Additional Sessions Judge instructed the doctor to exa-mine him and forward his findings the next day.

His father immediately filed

The reason for the lock-up torture is said to be this:
Vijayan is a tenant of Pathanapuram Congress MLA K.
Balakrishna Pillai. The case
which was going on in the
Additional District Court had been filed by the Congress MLA. And when the Sub-Inspector was beating him in the lock-up, he was shouting at Vijayan: What will you do to Balakrishna Pillai?

Does the Times of India editorial writer begin to see editorial writer begin to see how "without spite or hatred to anyone, impartially and strictly according to law" the police are doing their duty?

When Police Minister P. T. Chacko was recently in Ernakulam, a soda vendor complained to him that he had been beaten by the police.

The vendor's story was that he had been stopped by a constable, had been taken to the lock-up and beaten there.

It used to be a custom for many policemen to take so sort of protection money from these petty traders. After the Communist Ministry assumed office, it was a custom which the police could not very much indulge in. But now they have again begun to harass these small traders.

Does the Times of India the "proper" use of the "dis-cretion" vested by the law in

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P. SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

TEXTILE WAGE BOARD RECOMMENDATIONS

Workers Asked To Remain Vigilant Against Employers' Trickeries

At last the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for the cotton textile industry and the Government decision thereon have been published this month, full three

were leaked out missing the list Press, have already been reproduced in these columns (New Age, February 14.)

The textile industry is India's biggest single industry with 511 mills, 13.3 million spindles and 2.1 lakh looms and about 15,000 automatic looms employing in all about eight lakh workers. In production, our industry and in the world, the first

Progress Of Industry

The report is categorical about the steady progress of the industry and about its safe future. The prospects of an expanding market at home and no competition from artificial and synthetic fabrics are assured for the industry. In spite of growing textile industries in the countries the export marno great challenge, given the necessary vigilance and business tandards. In fact the exports in 1959 had greatly increased over previous years. The only weakness of the

industry grose from the actipities of its owners. They had ed affairs and quarrelled n themselves thus creating a serious financial situa-tion for most of the units. It is evident from the report

not involve any retrenchm that for the last ten years the of existing personnel, work loads to be fixed by agreement and equitable distribuworkers had no wage increase, except in Madras State, Saura-shtra, Nagpur and Akola, Indore and the Punjab where the very tion of the prosperity of mo-dernised and rationalised prolow wages prevalent in 1947 were subsequently raised after long and determined struggles. cesses as between the owners, the workers and the consumers.

However it is noteworthy that mum wage rates varied from Rs. 18 in Patna to Rs. 30 in the report has categorised the industry in say Kanpur and Indore as Class II on the basis Kanpur, Delhi, Hissar, Indore Bombay and Madras State. In Indore as Class II on the basis of its present condition. And there is no indication either of the fact as to why at least even the better off units have not been placed in Category I and as to the subsequent upgrading of units to Category I when they are modernised. The report has accepted the principle of at least regional standardisation of wages, but has not atother major centres they ranged between Rs. 24 and Rs. 26. The of dearness allowance ranged from Rs. 20 in Patna to ranged from Rs. 20 in Patna to Rs. 81 in Bombay. D.A. was linked to the cost of living index in most centres but the neutralisation was not uniform. In Modinagar, the basic minimum was a consolidated amount tion of wages, but has not at-tempted it in practice.

most important features of the report are that it has passionately argued in defence of the 15th Tripartite condly, it has accepted the

years after the Board was constituted in March 1957. THE main recommendations case for wage-increase and granted an immediate increase were leaked out in the capital- of Rs. eight and Rs. six subject

of Rs. eight and Rs. six subject to a minimum of Rs. seven and Rs. five respectively with effect from January 1, 1960, followed by another Rs. two increase to all in January 1, 1962.

Thirdly, they have recommended the merger of 75 per cent of the dearness allowance with the wage and granted a scheme of D.A. linked with the cost of living index, thus cushioning the effects of the vagaries of the price market at least to some extent.

Fourthly, clerical grades have been revised and standardised been revised and standardised into four categories, the lowest grade being Rs. 40—3—70—EB—5—105 and the junior grade I being Rs. 75—5—105—7½—150—EB—10—200—12½—250.

For the purposes of wages, the industry has been divided

The All-India Trade Union Congress has already circularised to all the affiliated unions into two categories. To the first category to whom an increase of Rs. eight has been recom-mended belong the workers in ed mobilisation of workers and any discussion on ration-alisation should only follow and not precede the grant of the immediate rise by Rs. eight and Rs. six in the basic Bombay City and Island, Ahmedahad, Baroda, Billimora, Navasari, Nadiad, Surat, Phagwara, Hissar, Delhi, Modinagar, Cal-cutta City, the whole of Madras wage subject to a minimum of Rs. seven and Rs. five respectively, and the grant of a sliding scale of dearness al-State and Bangalore. All the rest come under Category II to connance with the am tion of 75 per cent of the D.A. in the basic wage. The report accepts the need

for modernisation and ra-tionalisation but strictly ac-It is all the more necessary un their vigilance

The average and the mini-

ed are due from January 1,

on any subsequent rationalisa-

But the managements are putting pressure on the workers

and work-loads and then think

While the unions will,

partite, they must get the awarded wage-rise immediately.

irag in all the matters includ-

of wage-rise.

of living.

SURRENDER TO BANK BARONS

The announcement made by the Union Labour Minister in Parliament that the dispute between the bank employees and bank managements in the entire banking industry would be referred to a National Tribunal is a clear surrender to the employers, compromising his own stand on indus-trial relations and the approach to settlement of industrial disputes with the least resort to adjudication.

HE bank employees have been demanding a settle-ment across the table. The banment across the table. The ban-kers, including the manage-ments of the State Bank of India and the Reserve Bank of India, would not have it. It is amazing to find that the admi-nistration of the public sector banks has joined the chorus of private commercial banks that the demands are pitched very high and no common sense set-tlement was possible on that

The employees' organisations in the State Bank of India and the Reserve Bank of India then suggested voluntary arbitration quite in accordance with the approach unanimously approv-ed at the Seventeenth Tripar-

course, discuss any proposal for rationalisation strictly within the framework of the 15th Tri-The All-India Bank Employee's Association asked for arbitration by a Bank Award Commission, whose finding Commission, whose finding would be made obligatory by Secondly, the employers are trying to utilise the National Tribunal promised by the Government in its decision to Statute as was done in the case of the Gajendragadkar Commission in 1954.

Reasons For ing raising of dearness allow-ance and linking it with the cost Resistance

Why did the employees insist on this? There are two sion functioning under the Enquiry Commission Act will have power to call for the documents concerning secret treserves which the bankers could not safe a factor of the tribunal and has decided the Tribunal and has deci reasons: FIRST, a commission functioning under the Enquiry Commission Act will could not refuse. They had nue.
refused to submit these docurefused to submit these docu-ments to the earlier bank tri-bunds but Justice Gajendra-bunds but Justice Gajendra-gadkar forced them to pro-ciation was meeting on March 15 to discuss the question.

statutory provision in the Industrial Disputes Act as was done in 1954.

However, it was precisely for these two reasons that the bankers insisted on a tribunal.

and the Finance Min cularly very cleverly dragged on the controversy for months and months, and then provoked a strike in the State Bank by refusing to negotiate on any major demand and also deny-

No Satisfactory Answers

And now, the Labour Ministry, as if completely helpless, comes forward and says, that faced with a strike it had no alternative but to resort to adjudication under the existing provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act.

The Union Labour Minister was unable to satisfy Parlia-ment when he was asked whether the bankers were producing secret documents before the tribunal and whether they had agreed not to draw the employees into a lengthy litigation. That is why the employees feel that they have been cheated.

SECONDLY, the chances for lengthy litigation and appeal to Supreme Court are drastically minimised in case of a commission and its findings being made obligatory by a The State Bank and the Al-BEA leadership were consultating each other regarding the future course of action and were scheduled to contact the Union Labour Minister also.

IMPLEMENT NEW WAGES IN CEMENT INDUSTRY

THE recommendations of concerns the Central Wage Board industry. for the cement industry appointed in April 1958 along with the Government decisions thereon have been published on March 1, 1960.

The main recommendations as they were leaked out in the capitalist Press have already been reported in these columns.

The cement industry holds significant place in our eco-nomy not only from the point of view of its expanding nature and its great importance to our growing construction activities but also from the point of view of the role of strong monopoly

concerns like the ACC in this The industry has gro

duction of 14.47 million tons in 1947 to 32 factories and a production of 60.68 million tons in 1958. The industry ed about 25,000 work-

This Wage Board, too, like the Textile Wage Board has up-held the need-based wage-norms recommended by the s recommended by the Tripartite as if in a rejoinder to the Second Pay Commission and the Union Finance Ministry's efforts to play them

plicable to all the workers engaged in the factories, in quar-ries owned by the factories, in or shells are collected, and engaged in transporting the lime stone, etc. They apply to all contract labour except those engaged in purely temporary con-

mended a total minimum wage of Rs. 94 for an unskilled worker with a family of three consumption units. The split-up of this wage is: a basic minimum wage of Rs. 52.00, dear-ness allowance of Rs. 31.50,

* SEE FACING PAGE

MARCH 20, 1960

New Wages For Cement Workers

* FROM FACING PAGE

7.50, and value of amenities provided by employees—Rs.

The dearness allowance in cement factories in Gujarat will be Rs. seven more because life is more costly in these centres. The wage rates fixed are as

Unskilled

Skilled lower

Skilled upper Highly skilled

Unskilled

employers would not bour Appellate Tribunal formula is unsuitable and has to

tionalisez is retrograde.

use price will be granted but without any increase in the price charged to the consumer. However, the Government decision that the second phase of the in-crease will be made effective only after work-loads are ra-

see that the recommendations are immediately implemented, that nothing is made conditional

on a revision of work-loads.

Any proposal for rationalisation of work-loads will have to be enquired into on its own

merits in the light of the 15th

needed to effect this revision

PUNJAB INTUC PUTS UP

ANTI-COMMUNIST SHOW

of the Government of India.

His flings at the Communist Party, of the cheapest vari-ety, did not inspire much

respect for the speaker. Right in the midst of his

was at the maximum 1,000 started dwindling.

The sight of people walking away did not however deter the other speakers from mak-ing similar speeches. They in-cluded Pt. Amar Nath Vidya-

lankar. Labour Minister of

Punjab, Bhagwat Daval, Pre-

sident of the Punjab INTUC Mehr Chand Ahooja, Genera

Secretary of the Punjab Pra-

desh Congress, and a number of local luminaries.

Most of the workers present

were heard expressing the opinion that it was not a

workers' conference but an anti-Communist show put up

reports, even the delegates started their work by first

of all adopting a resolution demanding banning of the Communist Party, This was

with some other motive

(March 14, 1960)

Tripartite

Basic Wage Rs. 52—1.30—62.40 Rs. 57.20—2.08—73.84 38.50 38.50 plus 5% of wage 5% of wage 31.50 plus 10% of wage —do— 7.50 Rs. 62 40-3 90-93 60 38.50 plus Rs. 83.20—5.20—124—80 Rs. 110.50—6.50—169.00 Daily-Rated Rs. 2—.05—2.40 Rs. 2.20—.08—2.40. 1.21 1.48 1.48 plus 5% of wage 1.48 plus 10% of wage 1.21 plus 5% of wage 0.29 Rs. 2.40-.15-3.60 .10% of wage Skilled upper Rs. 3.20—.20—4.80 Highly skilled Rs. 4.25—.25—6.50

The grades recommended for operatives will apply to peons, watchmen, drivers, servants, cooks, malis, sweepers, ayahs, dressers, club boys and so on.

The Board has recommended on the Board of the subset of the period prior to the wage-just because what is overdue is being withheld.

Cement workers will have to see that the recommendations seven grades for clerical and culated on the new increased are immediately implemented, that possible to prior to the wage-just because what is overdue is being withheld.

even grades for clerical and pervisory cadre, the lowest 150 and the highest suggested is Rs. 150—15—300—EB—20—460. non-matriculates in the owest grade will start at Rs.

Dearness allowance is fixed

t all-India cost of living index no. 123 for July 1959

due to the middle cost of living inducing the excise duty.

The Government decision on at all-India cost of living index no. 123 for July 1959
(Base: 1949) and it is provided that it will rise or fall at the rate of Rs. 1.59 for every two points in Gujarat centres, the recommendations says that mhile it mould be so at the rate of Rs. 1.47 for every two points at other centres.
The recommendations will

come into force from January

House-Rent

Allowance

THE Sixth Annual Session of the Punjab Branch of the Indian Na-The house-rent allowance will be deductible in its entirety if pucca quarters are provided. But the deductions below this tional Trade Union Congress (INTUC) was held at Amritsar on March 5 and 6 Being the annual session of

ing and ever-increasing pri-

of essential commodities

The workers expected that

wage.

The Board has also recom-mended that the Government should help the industry to meet

the increased cost by either re-

increase in the ex-works

andard will be at the rate of standard will be at the rate of Rs. six for pucca quarters with-out electricity, Rs. 5:50 - for quarters with pucca walls but the second biggest organisa-tion of workers of the State (next to the ATTUC), it was (next to the ATTUC). kutcha roofs but with electricity, Rs. four for such quarters with-out electricity, or kutcha quar-ters with electricity and only expected that it would consider and formulate its policies about the current profacing the workers o Rs. two for kutcha quarters vithout electricity. Punjab—e.g. situation arising out of the severe electricity shortage in the Punjab the question of rising cost of liv-The Board has also defined the character of pucca and kut-

cha quarters.
This Board like the Textile Wage Board has recommended equal wages for equal work for

ces of essential common of life, the question of wages and dearness allowance, etc. However, the Board has sugthe conclusions arrived at by the delegates would be re-ported at the open rally for which much publicity had been done through loudgested that where the increase is by Rs. 25 or more, it should be phased so as to cover it in

For new factories, the Board speakers.

Contrary to such expectations, during the entire open session not one word was spoken about the problems of workers or the decisions taken by the delegates.

Speaker after speaker got up to indulge in cheap antihas suggested that they be exempted from paying the full rates for 18 months from the date it goes into production and that such factories will pay only 75 per cent of each of the com-ponents of the wages including ance according to the rise or fall

of the cost of living index.

As regards bonus, the Board has refrained from making ball was set rolling by Abid Ali, Deputy Labour Minister

MARCH 20, 1960

With regard to gratuity, both dations are on existing work-the Cement and Textile Wage loads. The phasing of any in-

The Wage Board recommen-

made against his person. "The same day, the police entered Vadgaon training entered vangaon training college. Two students of the college were going to take their food, when the police encircled them, one was severely beaten, while the other was manhandled. The to the doctor in charge, the

"The same afternoon (Feb. 10), we were sitting in the house of Dr. Yalgi, preparing a statement on the above incidents, when Pereira, Dy.S.P. Kalvan Shetti and police officers tried to rush into the house. We stopped them at the entrance and asked them why they were

The workers' case for revision of the bonus formula has been admitted. United mobilistaion is whether we were training ing the authority of the police. Tilak told them that it was not a question of challenging the authority but one of the

UNJUSTIFIED FIRING IN BELGAUM

* FROM PAGE 7

officers with long sticks smashing the signboard of the Vijay Frame Works, which bore a picture of Shivaji Maharaj. The owner of the shop is Ramchandra Bhim Rao Bhatkande.

"On our return to Belgaum in the evening, we learnt that Dalvi, a contractor and Balwant Sayanak, pleader, were mercilessly belaboured by the police, when they were sitting at the furniture works of Dalvi. Sayanak, pleader, has filed a case against the D.S.P. for the unwarranted attack

hones of both the feet are

entering the premises without informing the owner.

"Kalyan Shetti asked us we were challenging

The only difficulty of the INTUC is that it will not get any support for its resolution from the industrial workers of the Punjab. All

that the resolution has achi-

eved is another exposure of the hollowness of the claims of the INTUC that it is not

tied to any party and that workers of all viewpoints can join it.

About the preparations of

the conference and the parti-cipation of the mass of work-ers in it, the less said the better. Even in Amritsar, the first and the last poster of

the conference came out only

delegates took place with mass

narticipation of workers. Nor

bership of the INTUC union

Among the industrial work-

ers at least anti-Communism

behaviour of the police. The police officers then withdrew. "Before they left, however, Uddhavrao Patil told Pereira aharaj's picture, especially when Prime Minister Nehru had recently unveiled a statue of Shivaji Maharaj at Pra-tapgarh. Pereira did not give

any reply.
"Lewis, the D.S.P., who heard of this, rushed to Dr. Yalagi's house along with Sheshadri, D.C., whom he left in the car and entered Yalgi's house, shouting Who dares to obstruct me I can enter anybody's house. I want to see this place.' He then came down on his subordinates, asking them why they were talking to useless persons. "He asked the names of every one of us. Uddhavrao

Patil asked him why he was so furious. He was told to 'shut up.' When Chitale was introduced, Lewis said, 'we know each other. I am the

same Lewis as I was in Satara. I have not changed." "Uddhavrao Patil again re-quested him to be calm and said that every one of us was eager to help him to bring the situation back to normal. Lewis said, 'No, I don't want anybody's help, I can restore peace with my lathi. Mind you that this is Belgaum.'

"We learnt at about 10 a.m. on Feb. 11 that police lorries were again proceeding to Yellur and beating the people on

the way. .

"After visiting all places and people concerned and after taking all possible care to ascertain the truth behind all reported incidents, we have come to the following

fff The situation at Yellur does not appear to us to have been one to warrant firing by the police. We take particular exception to firing by the police at people in roadside farms, while returning to Belgaum.

view of the fact that the conference drew its inspira-tion from no less an anti-Communist than Abid Ali.

The conduct of the police at Vadgaon, Shahapur and Belgaum for the two days following the fring at Yellur. was entirely unwarranted, irregular and uncalled for. while doing so threw all caution to the winds, flagrantly disregarding all canons civilised behaviour.

3 The incidents, deplorable and condemnable by and condemnable by themselves, have exposed one ccuntry. This danger is noth-ing but the temptation to police officers to try to settle political disputes by brand-ishing the lathi.

three days beforehand. No gate meetings were held in any factory and no election of While breach of peace and hindrances in the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery of any authority are always unis this surprising. Textile is the main industry in Amritsar. and it employs about 16,000 workers. The claimed memsayoury and unpalatable, it cannot be gainsaid that continued indecision, amounting to perpetuation of injustice, in regard to issues was only 200 for the year 1958-59 while verified mem-bership was nil. exercising the minds of the people, will be an open invitacercly hope that this lesson does not pay. The sooner the INTUC realises this the better it will be in its own interests.

PAGE ELEVEN

NEW AGE

the Board was tripartite in

character and has submitted unanimous recommendations, the employers are generally re-luctant to implement them and

are trying to evade and sabotage them.

(where, together with some other urban areas and mostly among the propertied classes, the U.N.P. slogan about stability had found some response) and into the rural areas where the majority of our people

the majority of our people live to realise that the days of the U.N.P. are gone.

big swing away from the U.N.P.? To understand this,

one must understand the silent revolution in men's minds that took place in 1956

and the subsequent period. Under the Mahajana Eksath

Paramuna (M.E.P.—the for-mer coalition of parties which

swept to power in the last election) rule of Bandarnai-

ke, whatever its other short-comings might have been, the

ordinary man came into his.

been kept at the gate.

PARTY NEWS

Tamilnad Executive Meets

THE 25-member Tamilnad diate tasks before the Party in

the Communist Party of India N. Sankaraiah's draft report met in Madras from March 6 dealt with the problems of im-

The visible symbol of this

transference of power was the place given under the MEP. to national culture and tradi-

tion. It was seen in the fact that members of the Govern-

ment wore the national dress and ate kiri bath, that ordi-

provement and extension of Party organisation and the per-spective in relation to the gene-

A very important question discussed at the session was the proposed agrarian legislation for Tamilnad. The Committee

elections.

D URING the last threeand-a-half years, there has been a tremendous radicalisation of the ordinary man. It is against this stone wall that the United National Party (U.N.P.)—the rightwing political partyhitting its head in vain. Never did the late Prime Minister say a truer word than when he said that a river never flows back-

The U.N.P. started its election campaign with terrific gusto and confidence. The heady wine of their victory at the Colombo municipal elections had given them an outsized picture of their support sized picture of their support in the country. They behaved and spoke as if they had already won the parliamentary Even many impartial peo-

even many impartial people, influenced by this propaganda build-up, thought a U.N.P. victory possiblemainly because of disunity among the Left forces. It looked as if the threat of a U.N.P. come-back, against which the Communist Party had warned all these years, own.

The monopoly of power and influence, hitherto under the U.N.P., exercised by a narrow section of the English-educated, trousered class, had been taken over by the swabasha-educated and national-garbed individual who had hitherto

Anti-UNP Feelings

Then the reaction set in, or rather, the anti-UNP feelings which had always been there, when faced with this visible threat, came to

to 10 last, R. Umanath presid-

The Committee first heard a

report on the experience and lessons of the Kerala elections

from P. Ramamurti. Ramamurti also initiated a discussion

report presented by Secretary M. R. Venkataraman reviewing

last three months indicating the advance recorded and the short-

The report dealt with the

collections for the Kerala Ent-tion Fund in Tamilnad (which was nearly Rs. one lakh), the

Party recruitment campaign (which now shows the mem-

which law step 21,000), the collections for Three-Lakh Fund drive of the Tamilnad Council

so far), the failure of the Gov-

of the Party (in which Rs. 72,000 have been col

for the Kerala Elec-

work of the Party in the

on the present politic

comings revealed.

The Committee discu

ent political situa-

esed the

about

ere, for the first time, invited to functions at Temple. Trees (residence of the Ceylon Prime Minister) and the increased freedom and democracy enjoyed by workers and

All these, the ordinary man fears will be taken back if the U.N.P. returns. His shrewd on sense tells him that what the U.N.P. means by its slogan of returning to law and order only means ing to the days of the U.N.P. when the ordinary man was "kept in his place." That is why he is determined at all costs to keep the U.N.P.

What is the reason for this Support To Two Parties

Fortified by this determination, the ordinary man looks round for the party or parties that will guarantee for him the retention of the place he won for himseld under the M.E.P. and also take him further along the road that opened out for him in 1956. In this respect him in 1956. In this respect, there are two parties that have caught his imagination. They are the M.E.P. (now under the leadership of Philip Gunawardhane) and the Communist Party (C. P.) (C. P.)

Why these parties and not any others? The reason is quite simple. These are the only two parties that correctly understood the significance of the changes that took place in 1956. They did not charac terise the change as merely one of replacement of one one of replacement of one capitalist Government by another—as the pundits of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSSP., trotskylte Party)

did. They saw in the defeat of the UNP. a tremendous step forward and realised that the duty of the progressive movement was to go further and wicker along that road.

That was why they were the two parties that gave maximum support to Bandaranaike to implement his progressive policies. That is also why the people look to them to carry forward to complete fulfilment the policies of Bandaranaike. The people also realise that these two parties did not oppose and hinder Mr. Bandaranaike's Government and call for its defeat as the

It is also easy to understand why they do not look to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (S.L.F.P. originally Bandaranaike's own party but from which the progressives have had to leave to carry forward the policies of its founder. There is no doubt its founder. There is no doubt that the support given to it by Mrs. Bandaranaike has saved it from utter isolation and that as a result of her efforts this party will fare better than most people were willing to grant.

But the presence in that-party of Ministers who vehemently opposed the progressive policies of Bandaranaike during his lifetime, in conjunction with other reactionaries, ome of whom are already in party to appear in a big way before the people as the in-ieritors of the Bandaranaike

It is difficult to work up enthusiasm for a party
whose leaders openly opposed Bandaranalke's policies
and even tried to replace
him in the leadership of the

S.L.F.P., whose actions objectively led to his assassination and who were also SLFP. Dahanayake.

That reaction regards the M.E.P. and the Con Party as its biggest threat is evident from the frenzied outbursts that emanate from Lake House (centre lon's big capital which con-trols a chain of papers) and the Times newspap

Wishing to smear the M.E.P. wishing to smear the M.E.r.
with their anti-Communist tar
brush, they now peddle the
line that the Cominform
(which incidentally no longer
exists) is backing not the
official Communist Party in official Communist Party in this country but Philip Gunawardhane. The ME.P.'s alliance with Mr. Mettanananda and the lack of agreement with the C.P. has knocked this propaganda into a cockheap. But they still persist.

What about the L.S.S.P.? their own strength, encouraged by favourable , reporting by Lake House, is likely to rethey cocksurely went forward to form a Samasamaja Government and ended up by losing even the leadership of the Opposition.

The reasons for this are their stand on the language question which has today, instead of deceiving both the Sinhalese and Tamils (as they had hoped), alienated them from both; their wrong estimation of the 1956 elections; mation of the 1956 elections, their barren opposition to the Bandaranaike Government and their sustained opposition to unity of all Left and pro-

FROM FRONT PAGE

RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT IN OIL SECTOR ITSELF

past 13 years on drilling drill hole in every nine yi any oil or gas. Only one in 44 discovers a pool with an oil reserve as much as one million barrels (which meets India's current demand of petroleum for only ten days—R. A.) and only one in 706 finds a 50 million barrel oil source.

But the risks are worth taking. For, the same booklet admits: "If... we are successful in locating oil, the programme will be intensified reatly and become self-sus as even a moderate taining at the sized oil field producing say two to three million tons, will produce oil worth about Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 crores annually. So a minor proportion of the re-turns will more than offset all our exploration expenses."

Strangely enough, whereas Strangely enough, whereas the results obtained in the search for oil in our country have been more than promising, the magnitude of the actual exploration work undertaken by the Government has been anything but serious, so far.

Niggardly

Investment

some geophysical and aeromagnetic prospecting has been done in our country with the help of Soviet, Rumanian, West German, American, French and Canadian experts. About 400,000 sq. miles of po-tential oil-bearing sedimentary areas have been chosen.

From Press reports, the latest estimate of proved oil deposits in the Nahorkatiya-Moran area of the Upper Assam Valley is placed around tons of crude oil, while the associated gas available is likely to be of the order of 30 to 35 million cubic

feet per day. Soviet geologist Nikolai Kalinin is reported to have esti-mated that "data obtained by electrologging and seismic specting make it possible set the estimate of Cambay oil resources at no less than 30 million tons." If this esti-mate is confirmed, it would mean that proper develop-ment of the oil field would ensure an annual yield of 1.5 million tons of oil

We have been particularly very fortunate as regards the very fortunate as regards experimenal deep drilling work. At Jwalamukhi—the first deep drilling venture undertaken by the Govern-Government booklet says, "a rare instance of the first hole striking oil sand as in a virgin area the law of average pro-vides for indication of oil in only one out of ten wells dril-led." At that Rumanian rig,

shallow depth Rumanian drills Indian geologists and oil technicians have struck oil at

Commission, have effected over 40 per cent economy in installation and were set up and commissioned in the record time of 50 days." In fact, the actual setting up and commissioning work was done in half that time. In other countries, dozens

rigs, specially imported by India's Oil and Natural Gas

of rigs are set up if the signs are hopeful. In our country, we have a rig or two even if oil is found. For 400,000 sq. miles of potential oil-bearing sedimentary areas, India is reported t have at present only six deep drilling rigs, including the two obtained recently from Rumania. And the Government proposes "to secure immediately two additional rigs from Russia." That is about all for the oil industry to boast of.

The main reason that accounts for this deplorabl this deplorable exploration is counts for a Government's almost 'exclu-

than compensates all the efforts and all the expenditure.

A Government booklet states: "Statistics collected over the Statistics collected over the Statistics collected over the Statistics collected over the Rumanian by Minister K. D. Malaviya, and the Rumanian by Minister K. D. Malaviya, by Minister K. D. M while replying to Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha, for oil exploration in Cutch after oil has been found in

Cambay.
On the other hand, Soviet experts have furnished valuable data to the Indian Government on oil exploration. Soviet and Rumanian experimental drillings have been remarkably fruitful.

Distribution Machinery

Unless, therefore, substantial investments corresponding to the develop-mental requirements of oil exploration and exploitation are made in the Third Plan, unless the Government launches on much more in-tensive oil exploration work in cooperation with the Socialist countries, and unless the activities of foreign oil
monopolies entering into
this field in India, all talk

products. Citing the enormous difference between the value and the retail price of kerosene only, it was shown that every year a gross turnover of about Rs. 60.5 crores was being effected by the foreign monopolies on the kerosene over the distribution sys-tem, even a decade after independence. We had de-manded that the State should take over the distri-bution of oil and oil products and the money earn pld go to the State ex-

At that time K. D. Malayiya had admitted that the Gov-ernment of India was "struggling to get into this very im ortant business of oil", that it was "actively considering this scheme of seeing that this distribution is not in the hands of monopolles" and that "the Government should without further loss of time, start this business of oil di

on that account. Bhupesh

Gupta said:
"We are thinking of handling twice as much oil as we have got today but there is no

Oil Distribution Company is

Sleeping with the result that Burmah Shell, Caltex and Standard Vacuum will be asked to produce the distribu-

tion agencies and the mecha-

Furthermore, as the Indian refineries will start producing oil by then—for instance, the

Gauhati refinery will be producing oil within 18 months or so—their products will also have to be handed over to

have to be handed over to these monopolies for distribu-

In his reply, the Minister of Mines and Oil was quite caudid to declare: "I admit

that if we were able to

distribution even partially under a public sector pro-ject, we would have, by and

large, effected some saving for our nation." But all that he could offer was "...as the situation is today, we

are not able to undertake

that hig responsibility and

nism whereby they

control oil."

quick in denying the charge that the Oil Ministry had stopped by nominating the Chairman of this national distribution company, and was equally keen to inform the nation that "we have complenation that "we have completed the formation of the Board of Directors' this Board has "... member aright, met perhaps two times; surely, once they have met." Wonderful achie-

The Government had boasted of gatecrashing into the sanctuary of the foreign mo-nopolics, by appointing a con-mission to look into the price structure of oil products. The Cost Accountant's Report ought to have sobered it by

This issue was raised in the Lok Sabha in December last year by Communist M. P. T. C. N. Menon, while speaking on the Bill to amend the Mineral Oils (Additional Duties of Excise and Customs) Act, 1958.

As "early" as 1956, the Government was convinced that the overall petroleum prices taken by the three major oil companies in India were exorbitant compared to the prices prevailing in the world market. The Government decided to do something to cut

Crores Have Been Lost

So negotiations were initiated with these companies in early 1957. In June 1958 when oil sand and gas was struck at Jwalamukhi, the Finance Govt. Has Only To Mop Up Minister announced that an agreement had been reached, for the first time, with the oil companies for an ad hoc reduction to Rs. ten crores. Two months later, the Finance Minister assured Parliament that whatever time might be taken for these ne-gotiations, any settlement arrived at will have retrospective effect from April 1, 1953. It was, therefore, provided that the pricing formula would

have retrospective effect.

Maybe the choice of date was rather unfortunate. For, after considerable delay in the examination of the company's account by the cost accountant and the negotiations with the oil companies when another agreement was ar-rived at, it was found that this agreement did not take retrospective effect from April

Pointing this out, T. C. N. Menon asked: "This House requires an explanation why this Rs. 10 to 15 crores had been surrendered to the coffers of these companies and why the original agreement was abrogated by the Government without consulting this House...?"

Basing his argument on the Government's own report in 1956 which admitted that every year oil companies were 50 crores, T. C. N. Menon con-cluded: "If they had been careful during the First Plan or the Second Plan they could have had these excess profits that had been taken away by the oil companies which came to about Rs. 500 crores. There will be a corresponding loss of another Rs. 250 crores during the Third Plan period. These amounts would have made us well off

Here then is yet another source which the Third Plan has not taken into considera-

for exploration of oil."

KERALA STATE COUNCIL

chairmanship of Comrade K. C. George, Comrade A. K. Gopalan, M.P., member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the

The Council discussed the election review report which was introduced by

heard the views of district Party leaders on the draft Agrarian Bill circulated by the Provincial Secretariat of the holders and that there will be Party for discussion and opinion by the ranks and finalised the draft in the light of these sugnoiders and that there will be no surplus land at all for distri-bution, the whole thing is only a deliberate deception of the pea-santry in Tamilnad.

gestions and recommended it may be placed for discussion by the Special Land Reforms Con-ference being held at Coimba-tore on March 12 and 13. The Committee also examined the recent statement of the Madras Government on the proposed land legislation proposing as high a ceiling as 30 acres which completely disregards all concern for the landless. The Committee was of opi-nion that in the absence of any retrospective effect for the en-actraent and the Government's declared view that it is actually encouraging parcelling out and alienation of land by big land-

T HE Kerala State Councillo Communist Party met at Alwaye on March 1, 2 and 3 under the Party, was among those who attended the Council

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad on behalf of the Executive Committee. More than twenty members participated in the discussion on the review report. The Council agreed upon the main conclusions to be incorporated in the review

The Party will put forward in the Legislature eminently practical measures, taking all sections of the peasantry into account as well as the interests
of increased agricultural production and the active and en thusiastic participation of the peasantry in the implementation of development plans in the rural areas. The Party will also campaign for its measures campaign for its measures among the people as this is a cardinal question on which the eatire development and demoentire developm cratic progress of Tamilnad is

report which will be finally drafted by the Secretariat and placed before the next meeting of the Council.

The Council then discuss ed the post-election politi-cal situation in the State and adopted a resolution on that (Printed in New Age last week).

Other resolutions adopted by the State Council (1) Demanding the ex-

tension of the anti-eviction law which is going to lapse on April 11, 1960, till the Agrarian Relations Bill is implemented; (2) Requesting the Gov

ernment of India not to shift the Fisheries Train-ing Institute decided to be established in Coc the recommendations of an Experts Committee;

(3) Demanding that the Kerala Government should not ratify the agreement on sharing of Sholayar (Parambikulam) waters, reported to have already (Parambikulam) waters, reported to have already been reached between the engineers of Kerala and Madras States during the Adviser's regime without further examination when the translation when the state of the sta ther it will adversely affect the development of water resources in our State;

(4) Protesting against the

ernment to cancel the policy of giving licence to tap and sell toddy (country-made liquor) to toddy workers' cooperative socie-ties on negotiated contract ties on nego hasis and to hand over the entire industry again to private contractors;

over the inordinate delay in implementing the Agra-rian Relations Bill which before pending before (5) Expressing concern has been pending before the President for the last nine months, requesting Kerala Government to take steps to get the Bill imple-mented without delay and pointing out that the Com-munist Party will stoutly oppose any attempts to amend the Bill in favour of big landlords: and

(6) Requesting the Kerala Government to reverse certain orders issued by the Adviser's regime resulting in practically paralysing the work of coir cooperatives and in making thousands of coir workers unemployed.

The Council decided to run a Statewide campaign in the third and last weeks of this month to mo the people in support of the above resolutions in which all leading members of the Council will parti-cipate by addressing public s and conducting

> MARCH 20, 1960 MARCH 20, 1960

Excess Profits Of Foreign Monopolies

sive reliance on foreign pri-

vate monopolies.

Earlier, imperialist countries had shown no interest whatsoever in the exploration of oil in India. It was after the Socialist countries— the Soviet Union and Rumania— offered cooperation to help build up India's oil industry of the that they entered the field. Their policy, however, is—

To persuade the Governent of India to give up oil exploration work in the public sector. It has been re-ported in the Press, for instance, that a piece of "advice" given by the much-trumpeted "Three Wise Men" —Abs, Frank and Sproul—to the Indian Government, was precisely to this effect. Not to discover oil, but to

prolong the exploration work as much as possible. Take for example, the Government of India's agreement with the Standard as the gas is now reported to be coming under "more heavy pressure" from the "lower horizon" (950 metres depth). At Cambay with the help of

the shallowest depth so far at that place. Reporting this as decisive evidence of the com-

for oil exploration in Bengal Basin, which has become noto-rious not only in this country but internationally also has been the outcome of over four years work and of an ex-penditure of over Rs. four crores? While the entire data

collected by the company has been flown to New York, all that the Indian Government was getting for spending half the money, was a piece of paper inscribed "dry well" every time a jig went down.

To negotiate for regions where oil has already been found by Soviet or Ru-manian experts. For example

of giving "topmost priority" pesh Gupta in Parliament.
to oil in the period of the Referring to the estimated
Third Plan would be, at rise in petroleum products best only pious. consumption in the Third Plan and the correspond-A question is often asked: ing increase of another one or two hundred crores of foreign exchange expenditure

Where to find the resources for a large-scale, rapid deve-lopment of the oil industry? Can our foreign exchange resources withstand the further strain resulting from efforts in this direction?

With this question we come to the second main problem in the oil sector, one might as well say the first, for the irony of the situation is that inside this very sector there are enormous resources, yes untapped by the Government, to finance its own develop-

In the field of imports and distribution of petroleum products, the foreign monopolies have been having a heyday, reaping huge profits, thanks to their hitherto unchallenged sway over this branch of

Dictation Of Terms

The foreign monopolies are firmly enough entrenched to dictate their own prices to the Government. Moreover, it is their complete ownership and control of the distribution system that is serving as the main drain through which our foreign exchange is flow-ing into their coffers.

Last year, during Budget Bhupesh Gupta had raised the question of the

NEW AGE

purposeful responsibility." He was, of course very

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so far), the failure of the covernment to control the rising prices, and the work of the Party in the Tuticorin by-election as well as in relation to the Kerala elections and the imme-PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

ENEMIES OF DISARMAMENT

As the United Nation's Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee convenes in Geneva, the forecasts in the Press about the chances of its making any headway in accomplishing its assigned job are rather gloomy.

THE five Western Powers who are members of the Committee had for long been in conference in Washington, rtedly hammering out their ferences and evolving a common line for Geneva. They are now supposed to have come to sort of an agreement.

The plan on which they are reported to have agreed accordg to the Paris paper, Le onde, sets no time-limit and comprises of three stages, of which the first consists of the reation of a control agencyhe named the International Disarmament Organisation. This Organisation would proceed to pool all information about arms ith various countries and work out effective systems of inspec-

the plan stopping of further manufacture of weapons of mass destruction is visualised. mass destruction is visualised.
And it is only in the last stage that a total ban on production of all nuclear weapons and military rockets is to take place.

ceptance of the reported Western plan would involve another endless round of discussion in the so-called International Disarmament, Organisation of the various schemes for control.

On the face of it, this reported plan starts at the wrong end—seeking perfection of a control machinery before actual disarmament. When it comes to the stage of nisualising disarmament it visualising disarmament it starts with conventional weapons and ground forces, relegating the weapons of mass destruction to later stages. As it is reported it nowhere men-, tions the abolition of bases on foreign soil.

If this is the plan the Western Powers intend to place before the Geneva meeting then the to be correct. For, the other side to the disarmament negotiations has repeatedly emphasized that while it is all for dison and control.

Only in the second stage of trols it is not prepared to place ceptance of the reported West-

Nato's Wrecking Activities

Other portents on the eve of the opening of the disarmament talks are equally discouraging. Revealing of Western anxiety to ignore the impending talks and push ahead with their plans to intensify the arms race is Nato Supreme Commander Norstad's task force within the current

The decision to this effect was announced by the Supreme Commander at a Press Confernce at Nato Headquarters near Paris on March 2. It was immediately hailed as "an excellent one" by the British Ministry of

W. German Nuclear Arms

Sharply criticising the Nato decision, an authorised state-ment by the Soviet news-agency places it in the setting of the "exceptionally responsible stage" in which international ments have entered and characterises it as running counter to the recent trend.

"It is absolutely obvious," says the statement, "that the says the statement, that the point in question is to further concentrate mass annihilation eanons in an area where war bases have been created which are among the princi-pal sources of tension in Eu-

It is patently a plan to speed gested, was a precondition for up West Germany's nuclear limitation—not complete aboliarmament and the Tass state—tion!—of national armies.

he said, would be included in agreements. Continued and ef-the joint nuclear forces of Nato. But could there be even the and other free-world military

slightest doubt that it is prima-The West German Press is al ready commenting on General Norstad's statement in a sense that the world will now have to get used to the idea of nuweapons in German

"It is widely known that it is

precisely the West German Bundeswehr that has been allocated the main role in the Nato armed forces in Europe and it is not without reason that the West German Defence Minister Strauss at the latest Nato Council meeting in December 1959 was the most vociferous of all in demanding the setting up of Nato nuclear forces. It turns out that Norstad does today what Strauss said yesterday, while each Nato step towards complying with the demands of the West German revanchists and militarists only complicates the situation on the eve of the forthcoming disarmament dis-cussions in the Ten-Nation Committee and at the Summit

International Police Force

Apiece with this Nato decision was the suggestion for the creation of an international police force made by U.S. Secretary of State Herter in his address the National Press Club at the end of February. An interna-tional police force, Herter suglimitation-not complete aboli-

ent says:

He had stated in course of
"General Norstad did not that address that "if the Soviet venture openly to name Western Germany among those six, eight or more Nato memberstates whose military units, as the said, would be included in the joint nuclear toward of Nato. leaders believe that the free world is likely to disarm unila-

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

security programme is thus es-sential if we are to have any

This revealing statement gives away the basic U.S. philosophy of proceeding with intensified armament and maintaining at the same time a facade of disarmament neacade of disarmament ne-iations to keep public opigotiations to keep purchasion from getting out of hand.

Writing about this time from Washington, the London Eco-nomist's Correspondent had

opposition of the AEC (Atomic Energy Commission)" and any proposal to cut the conventional forces "induces instant apoplexy in Defence Department."

Against Disarmament

The despatch noted that the proposals which Charles Coolidge's Disarmment Study Group, set up by U.S. Government especially for the preparation of a U.S. disarmament for-

the beginning of the year had been confined to "a few suggestion for limiting conventional forces and preventing surprise attacks." Most members of this group thought "that general disarmament would be not only impracticable but positively

Thus as the Geneva talks on disarmament open it is clear from words as well as deeds that the "war party" in the U.S. has been exerting its

Neo-Nazis Follow In Hitler's Footsteps

APPEASEMENT-WESTERN POLICY AS OF OLD

by revelations of West Germany seeking bases in Franco Spain has led to much more serious ons and exposures. Nor by advancing the old argument of West Germany lacking space and needing more room. Finally, the British Tory Government like their predecessors Baldwin and Chamberlain have come forward to oblige the neo-Nazis by offering them bases on

It all started about February 22 or 23. Some American and British papers reported that British papers reported that talks were in progress between West Germany and Franco Spain on setting up "training exercise" of air force and missile bases. It was stressed that although the territories officially learned to Boon would be called eased to Bonn would be called training sites, they would actu-ally become full-fledged mili-

All over Europe there was a jurore and political obser-vers immediately recalled that Hitler's final preparations for World War II included the despatch to Spain of the "Condor Legion," a formation of regular members of the Nazi Wehrmacht which helped Franco to win the Spanish civil war and gave German soldiers important frontline experience fully utilised later in the blitzkrieg against the

The first reaction to these disclosures was a complete, though utterly unsubstantiated, denial. Denials came from everywhere, from Bonn and Madrid, from Nato headquarters and official circles in Washing-

somewhere and the affair could no longer be hushed up. On February 25, West German De-fence Minister Strauss confirmed at a special meeting of the Parliamentary Defence Com-mittee that negotiations were in progress. These were being carried out by General Albert Schnez — a General who had served on the Nazi General Staff throughout World War II and had been promoted to Colonel personally by Hitler two weeks fore the end of the war.

Minister Strauss further told the Defence Committee that negotiations for the estawere in progress with other European States, both mem-bers of Nato and also non-

In London the Foreign Office told Pressmen that the British Government had been informed by the West German Ambassador in the middle of January of Bonn's intention to obtain bases in Spain; "the German authorities had consulted Nato Com-

Washington and Paris also admitted that they too had been informed. A U.S. State Department spokesman confirmed that he was aware of "informal discussions" between West Ger-man and Spanish Governments on the organisation of a West German "training base Spain and the U.S. had recog-nised West Germany's need for

General Norstad's headquarters too confirmed that they were considering the possibility of "satisfying West Germany's needs in the fields of military training and staff service methods."

More information of West German war preparations came out in the Press. Lon-don's Sunday Times of Feb-bruary 28 confirmed that West Germany was already using military air bases in Turkey and that economic pressure was being brought to bear on Greece to allow establishment of West German military bases in that country.

Authoritative sources in Bonn stated that negotiations were already well advanced for West German military bases in Switzerland, which is not a member of Nato. In order to preserve the appearance of traditional Swiss neutrality, these military bases would at least at first consist only of arms and ammunition dumps nominally under the control of the Swiss munitions firms providing the equipment.

More specifically about Bonn's bases in Spain the British Press
Association revealed that discussions about this plan had,
begun at the end of last year when during talks with Western Powers "the West German Government broached the question of obtaining certain bases in Spain." Having probably obtained at least the tacit consent of .
its Western partners Bonn be- March 15.

gan to act and lost no time in

Franco's Foreign Minister Castella, one-time Commander of the "Blue Division" on the Soviet German Front, visited Bonn. Strauss made a trip to Portugal proceeding secretly to Spain as well. A special military mission from Bonn also arrived

A natural question that arises is—what is Bonn up to? Em-boldened by their increasing role in Nato, which is assigned to them by senior partners of the alliance, the West German allies obviously hope to conso-lidate their leading position among the West European members of the military bloc. They will thus be able to keep their hands on the control button and to press it at will, thus

As matters stand, it is use-less to speak of any control being exercised on Bonn's actions by other Nato mem-bers. On the contrary, it will be the Bonn politicians and Generals who will control the others and with the passage of time, they will be able more and more to impose their will on Western Europe. As matters stand, it is use

Even this prospect no longer atisfies the Bonn militarists. satisfies the Bonn militarists.

They already feel cramped within the Nato framework and are out with their characteristic crudeness to tear apart the "paper chains" (as the Bevanite Tribune has put it) imposed on them by the Paris agreement signed at the time of their ad-

Spain is outside the sphere of operation of the Paris agree-ments. After securing bases and setting up munitions depots on Spanish territory, West Germany will be able, without a semblance of control, behind the back of its allies, to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, the manufacture of which was solemnly renounced

Adenauer will thus eventually shatter completely the illusion on which Western policy was supposed to have been built— that the military policy of West Germany could be controlled by

-ZIAUL HAO

INDONESIA: NEW SITUATION

with President Sukarno's own

NDONESIAN Commu-tions should be held in this nist daily Harian Rakjat. editorially commenting on President Sukarno's decree dissolving Parliament, writes on March 9:-

It is not surprising that the new situation brought about by the measure putting an end to the exercise of the task and activities of the members of Parliament has aroused so many opinions expounded by, among others, the Berita Indonesia, the Pedoman, the Suluh Indonesia, the Merdeka, the Bintang Timur and other newspapers.

Many circles regard this development as something very dramatic. Some agree, without any further ado. For us, there can be no other opinion than one of extreme regret. We do not think that Parliament was something which would last for ever, but an end should be put to the task and the activities of the members of Parliament only if a new Parliament has already been formed, for in this way, democratic princi-ples would not be violated and threatened.

We believe this all the more firmly considering that the present Parliament is the first in the history of the Indonesian people to have been set up as a direct result of gene-

governmental power, in ac-cordance with the Constitu-tion" and that (Article 5) the President is to draw up "the President is to draw up laws in agreement with Par-liament". The 1945 Constitu-tion also stipulates (Article 1, clause 2) that "sovereignty is vested in the people and is fully exercised by the Peo-ple's Consultative Assembly" whilst it is clear (Article 2) that "the People's Consultative Assembly is composed of the members of Parliament plus representatives from the regions and from different

groups." groups."
According to Presidential
Decision No. 2/1959 on the
Provisional People's Consultative Assembly it is clear that this body "shall be composed of the members of Parliament referred to in the Presiden-tial Decision No. 1/1959 plus representatives of the regions and the groups" whereas "the Parliament referred to in Presidential Decision No. 1/1959" is none other than this present Parliament.

The case is quite clear: the dispute that arose between Parliament and the Government centred around the question of how the deficit in the 1960 State budget should be covered. The Government wishes to cover it with revenue from taxes, whereas the majority of fractions in Parliament reject this.

In his cable to President Sukarno, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indo-nesia, D. N. Aidit, urges that the second general elections to Parliament should not be by the Government, and urges that the general elec-

wages of Europeans are 21

ment of 'control'. In the offi-

plans, who started in his Address to the Constituent Asress to the Constituent Assembly on April 22, 1959 ("Res Publica!" Once again, Res Publica!"), in which he called for the "return to the 1945 Constitution", that "the time set for general elections, as fixed by the Constitution". fixed by the Government, will not be altered" (that is, September 1960, because the Government had postponed elections for one year as from September 1959).

September 1959).

Surely it is only general elections that can establish the aspect of 'democracy' in our 'guided democracy'. The 'guided' aspect of it is clarified in President Sukarno's Political Manifesto; it now remains for the 'democracy'. remains for the 'democracy' aspect of it to be established.

Hold Elections

President Sukarno, as democrat, has promised that "the time set for the general elections will not be altered". Yes indeed, it is only the enemies of the people and enemies of democracy who fear and tremble—to borrow a term used by President Sukarno—at the prospect of general elections.

cial clarification of the 1945 Constitution, referring speci-fically to Articles 19, 20, 21 and 23, it is made clear that "Parliament exercises bud-getary rights. In this way, Parliament controls the Gov-ernment."

For Interim Reorganisation

In order to ensure the imcontrol it is easy to under stand why it is necessary that. until such time as a Parlia-ment has been set up on the basis of general elections, the present Parliament should be reconstituted' so that it conorms with the gotong royong forms with the gotong royong principle and conforms with the balance of forces among the Indonesian people.

As we know, the forces are constantly undergoing change. Everyone knows that the present Parliament was set up

sont Parliament was set up five years ago, at a time when the balance of forces was different from what it is now. The masses of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Nationalist Party (PNI) and the Nahdlatul Ulama, which have developed during the recent period, are not fully represented. This also applies to the

The 1945 Constitution is also very clear about the ele
speaking at the reception reducing promised that he would comply with the hopes would comply with the hopes for a "gotong royong Parlia- based upon the present balment". There is surely no anne of forces.

Aidit's Telegram To Sukarno

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, in a cable to President Sukarno on March 7, 1960, two days after the Presidential Decision of March 5, 1980, putting an end to the exercise of task and activities of the members of the People's Legislative Assembly (Parliament), savs:

"Every patriot who upholds democratic principles very seriously regrets the action taken to put an end to the exercise of the task and activi-ties of the members of the People's Legislative. Assembly, an Assembly which was elected by the people and which has already been brought into conformity with the 1945 Constitution.

The Indonesian Communists regard this event The Indonesian Communists regard this event as being one which seriously endangers democratic life in our country because it can be utilised by elements who are indeed deliberately trying to establish an anti-democratic and anti-people's regime, something which we think that Your Excellency, too, does not favour.

Therefore, on behalf of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Communic Posture Indonesia I support the proposals.

mittee and the entire membership of the Com-munist Party of Indonesia, I submit two proposals to Your Excellency: FIRST, that general elections for Parliament be held in this very year in keeping with the pledge once made by the Government.

pledge once made by the Government. SECONDLY, that the composition of Parliament be immediately renewed based on the feelings of justice of the people, that is, in conformation mity with the balance of forces among the people, in conformity with the gotong-royong spirit, and that it should truly be only temporary in character, remaining in office only up to the time a new Parliament is formed as a result of general elections held during the course of this year."

functional groups.

Speaking at the reception categorically promised that he other way than for beld to mark the 50th anniversary of International Wo- for a "gotong royong Parlia" based upon the present and process of forces.

ed in the rest of the con-tinent. He was Jomo Ken-

vatta, who was sentenced

to seven years' imprison-ment, which he completed eighteen months ago but still remains in detention

"at the pleasure of the

His organisation also re-

national leader, was not allowed to come to the con-

ference at Lancaster House.

Has the Conference, which lasted for five weeks, been able to solve the basic poli-

tical issues of the country?

pledged to realise the follow-

ing seven-point programme:

Elections in 1960 on the
basis of universal suffrage and a common roll.

@ Division of Kenya into 80

constituencies, and the majority party to form the

the position of Chief Minister.

Abolition of the system of

nominated and

absurdity knows no

Governor."

The absence or non-activisation of Parliament raises a number of constitutional problems. The 1945 Constitution stipulates (Article 4) that "the President holds that "the Pre Freedom

In order to assess adequately the recent constitu- forming the Kenya African tional conference on Kenya held at Lancaster House, London, the following background information may

G REAT BRITAIN, in 1895, 'assumed' Protectorate rights over Kenya. This was quite simple, as the British plunderers were the first to set foot in the country before their counterparts of German origin could succeed to do the There were only 13 white

settlers in Kenya in 1901.
Today, the number has
swelled to 30,000 approximately. There are more than 51 million Africans, too in the country. But the Furopean settlers, who form the minority, have grabbed on an average 195 acres of rich land per per-son. They hold 37 per cent of the country's best agri-cultural land; 94 per cent of Kenva's agricultural ex-ports come from farms and plantations owned by the European settlers. On the other side of this encourag ing condition, 70 per cent of the Africans are engaged in subsistence production, receiving no cash income, on land which is poor in fertility or in areas with insufficient rainfall or infested with the tsetse fly. This piece of bare-faced obhery ensured that no one

but a European could ever be allowed to own land in the rich and temperate Highlands Meanwhile the average

At the head of the move-nent was a man whose times higher than the Africans similarly employed. The working day of the African agricultural labourers is 'un-limited' and child labour and courage, foresight, sincerity and popularity have secur-

also forced labour still exist Robbed of his land and subjected to vicious working conditions, the Africans in Kenya were also not thought fit to enjoy the benefits of education and

elementary political rights in their own country. For some time they remain-ed puzzled. Many of them were converted to Christian were converted to Christianity and were taught "thou shalt not steal." Only slowly could they realise the terrible parody of truth that lay behind this teaching.

Independence Movement

Soon the African people started a movement which in due course demanded free-dom of assembly, freedom of the Press, legal trade unions, democratic election and Uhuru (independence). Organisations responsible for such "premature" demands were swiftly suppressed. The East Africa Association, formed in 1921, was promptly banned in

the following year.

It was followed by the Kikuyu Central Association which too was soon banned.

The Africans retaliated by party, except those for De-

NEW AGE

OUR LONDON LETTER bu omeo gooptu

fence, Legal Affairs and Ex-Union which by 1952 had 100,000 dues-paying members and emerged as the strongest political force in the country. ternal Affairs who would be chosen by the Governor. Restoration of free speech and assembly, release of Jomo Kenyatta and all detai-

nees, and the right to form an all-Kenya national movement. The White Highlands to be opened up for African farmers and landless Africans.

Opposition to Kenya being

After the publication of the British White Paper on Kenya, it is clear that the decisions reached were far short of the original demands short of the original demands of the Kenya Africans, though they were more to the liking of the moderate Euro-pean settlers led by Blundell. The essence of the compro-mise formula at the end of the Conference was:

The British Government will continue to nominate Ministers and also retain the right to nominate persons to the Legislative Council in addition to the elected members.

Out of the sixty-five members in the council, thirty-three are to be elected on a common roll white there would be twenty "reserved seats" (ten Euro-peans, eight Asians and two Arabs). The remaining twelve will be "national" members (four each for Europeans and Africans, three Asians and one Arab), chosen by the fifty-three elected members

* SEE BACK PAGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

NEW AGE

MARCH 20, 1960

State Sector Needed In Imports And Distribution Of Oil

* FROM PAGE 13

dustry. Just by mopping up the annual excess profits of these foreign monopolles, even according to Government's own reports, almost the entire cost of India's oil imports in

the Third Plan can be met.
The Cost Accountant's Report is far from being exhaustive. The relevant figures that The relevant figures that are required for finding out the correct values of the costthe correct values of the cost-ing of the entire oil price structure, from c.i.f. prices to the retail prices, were never available to him. Yet there is available to him. Yet there is enough material in it for the Government to put the fore-ign monopolies in the dock and to propose necessary le-gislative measures concerning oil price investigation and controls

According to this report, any play in pressing upon the delay in pressing upon the companies to come to a final conclusion based upon its findings will drain from this country another Rs. 25 crores every year.

The report also makes it clear that it is in the distribution system that the foreign monopolies are making huge profits. It shows, for instance, that immediately the Government started examining the accounts, there was 500 per cent increase in the total expenses of service stations while not a single pie has been spent in relation to the total volume of increase in trade. ume of increase in trade.
The cost accountant has also

found cut that the minor products give more money to the oil companies than the major products. A reference is made to 13 items of specialised oil products which are sold in this country whose pricing formula we have never enquired into.

quired into.
Drawing attention to this report, T. C. N. Menon demanded in the Lok Sabha, "Government should take measures to direct the cost accountant to have a fresh enquiry and if required.... legislation should be brought

before the House for com-pelling these companies to bring the entire documents before the cost accountant so that the cost accountant will be able to see the company's accounts and arrive at a pric-

ing formula."
Extraordinary indeed is the picture that emerges from these considerations. There is the Government complaining of its inability to find the ne of its inability to find the necessary resources to meet the minimum requirements of a developing economy. There are the Government committees, pointing out the places where these resources can be tapped. Yet no headway, practically, is being made.

Biggest Profits From India

Giving an analysis of the international profits of the biggest oil companies, the Cost Accountant's Report Cost Accountant's Report finds out that the only place where they take so much percentage of profit on net block capital investment in this industry is India. And yet we have Oil Minister Malaviya sermonising: "We do not want to produce more oil to spoil somebody else's market outside; we do not want to sell more oil ourselves to spoil anybody's ourselves to spoil anybody's market inside." (Speech the first meeting of Committee constituted the Government to advise on problems relating to pe-troleum products.)

Is it not clear that it is just

their hold over our market, that has enabled the foreign monopolies to dictate any price they like for the oil products? And how are you to break that hold without yourself entering into your own

The audacity of these mo-The audacity of these mo-nopolies dictating their own terms is in fact a measure of the timidity of our own Gov-ernment in taking firm mea-sures to put a curb on them. The latest instance of their audacity was brought before Parliament by Bhupesh Gupta last week.

Story Of A Tender

Director-General Supplies and Disposals had called for tenders for petro-leum products worth crores leum products worth crores of rupees. When the tenders were opened, it was found that some foreign monopolies had submitted identical quotations for a number of oil products. Bhupesh Gupta placed before Farliament two cases—that of the aviation turbine fuel tender opened on February 16. 1960, and another of the der for kerosene, inferior and superior and motor spirit, opened on February 10, 1960. Burmah Shell, Caltex and Standard Vacuum had given identical prices.

A comparison of these prices with those worked out in the Cost Accountant's Report based on the data given by these very same companies, is very revealing. We cite below only two instances: KEROSENE SUPERIOR

Landed cost in the Quotations given in the tenders f.o.r. main installation, Indian port on 10-2-1960. Cost Accountant's (Report on 1-4-1958. for 8 I.G. for 8 I.G. Bombay Rs. 6.0676 Rs. 8.15 Cochin 6.1400 8.15 Madras 6.4380 8.49 Calcutta 6.5100 8.64 KEROSENE INFERIOR Rs. 7.88 5.9092 Bombay

5.9332

What other conclusion can be drawn from this instance and this comparison, than the and this comparison, than the fact that taking full advan-tage of their monopoly hold over our oil imports, the three foreign monopolies conspired together to raise the prices by about 30 per cent more in about a year's time? And moreover, the increase has been effected while the Govbeen effected while the Government was investigating the old price structure. It only shows what worth the oil sharks attach to the Government's "threat" to force a reduction in oil prices and to the work of the Government's investigation committees.

Calcutta

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Dr. B. Gopala Reddy, was in the course of the discussion in the Rajya Sabha, finding difficul-ty in understanding our ob-jections, so he got busy in jections, so he got busy in discovering "lurking suspi-cions" in others' minds, instead. This example, let us hope, might help him to rea-lise that the objections are nse that the objections are not to aid from particular countries, but to foreign "aid" which plunders our economy and places foreign monopolies in a position to dictate terms to us,

Even in the USA, similar attempts to dictate prices are considered illegal. Recently, considered linegal. Recently, as reported in the American journal Newsweek (February 22, 1960), "one of the biggest anti-trust trials in history" was instituted against 29 oil companies. The charge was "that some oil executives talk-ed prices with their affilia-

Privilege Of Monopolies

In our country, when such a case is brought to the notice of Parliament, all that the Oil Minister has to say is: "that is a feature which is the privilege of a monopolistic organisation. But it is a question for consideration."

It must be realised, however, that no substantial development of the oil industry in the Third plan-or in any number of plans for that matter—can take place, unless the foreign monopoly grip over the imports and distribution of oil and oil products is broken, as it now exists in India.

Another important problem concerning the oil industry, for which the Third Plan has no answer to give, is the pro-blem of training technical personnel to man this indus-

If the Government is seriabout developing our oil

industry, then Cambay requires just as much attention as Bhilai and Rourkela. Just as there is a programme for training technical cadres for the steel industry, there should be a programme for training technical personnel for the oil industry also.

8.52

There are enthusiastic talented young men in our-country, eager to avail them-selves of training opportuni-ties in the field of oil. At Jwalamukhi and at Cambay, they are showing their mettle. technical training opportunities are offered by the Soviet Union and Rumania; maintenance and travelling expenses are all that the In-dian Covernment has to incur and that too in rupees

Why then is the Government so lethargic in building up technical personnel for this industry? Who will run the refineries when they are built? Who will repair them? Who will handle the highly technical equipment used in search of the "liquid: gold"? So far, very little has been done.

Problems Of Third Plan

These are some of the pro-blems the Third Plan has got to solve, if it is to be an "Oil Plan". Liquidation of the foreign monopoly grip over-the imports and distribution of petroleum products, a much bolder penetration of the State sector into this vital branch of the oil industry, a much more serious program-me for oil exploration and exploitation in the country, and much more serious atten-tion to the building of technical personnel to man this industry, are the imperative needs of an "Oil Plan".

An almost fossilized Oil and Natural Gas Commission. whose technical management lacks much that is desired, a. national oil distribution company which exists only on paper, and about a dozen rigs all over the country, are to say the least, the poorest testimony to this "topmost priority" sector.

YOU NEED MORE MONEY

Soviet periodicals. Write for Soviet periodicals. Write for Subscription Plan to: MAGA-SZINE SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY, 91, Warden Boad, Bombay 25.

"DILUTED DEMOCRACY" FOR KENYA

* FROM PAGE 15

Voters have to be over twenty-one years of age and be able to read or write, or hold a post in the national or local Government, or be over forty, or have an annual income of £75.

Income of £75.

The majority of the white settlers, led by Group Captain Briggs of the United Party, have denounced even this limited compromise by the British Colonial Secretary, Macleod, as "a Mau Mau"

rictory."

They consider the final proposals as "calamitous" and in protest, the Speaker of the Kenya Legislative Council, Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, has resigned. Already plans are afoot by the Europeans to defeat completely the Conference proposals. This attitude on their part eloquently indicates how much of a living anachronism all of them are.

Criticism Of Leaders

From the African point of view, some of their leadof view, some of their leaders have been strongly criticised for agreeing to whittle down the country's original demand. Joseph P. Mathenge, General Secretary of the Kenya People's Convention Party, and James Dennis Akumu, Chairman of its Monibasa section have declared that section, have declared that Macleod's proposals "fall far short of even their far short of even their minimum demands which the African people agreed to put forward." "A consti-tution which will deny the majority of Africans a vote," they continue, "and one which will not effecti-

transfer power into their hands cannot be ex-pected to win their appro-

The Africans are also genuinely disappointed because their leader, Kenyatta, and other political detainees are still denied the right to par-ticipate in Kenya's political

Meanwhile, Odinga Oginda, one of the elected members of the Legislative Council, has come out with a state-ment condemning the attempt on the part of a section of the African leaders to become Ministers under the existing Lennox-Boyd Constitution.

Termos Unsolved

It is impossible for the peo-ple of Kenya to be satisfied with the "diluted democracy" doled out at Lancaster House, in spite of the sophistry of

in spite of the sophistry in language used to characterise the Conference formula.

No doubt certain concessions were made to African national feelings. The Government, above all, has been formed by the strength of the

ernment, above all, has been forced by the strength of the national movement to acknowledge the rights of the people of the country to govern themselves.

But important issues remain unsolved and the Africans are dissatisfied and angry. The concessions of Lancaster House are only a step forward in the struggle for Kenya's independence. pendence.

The vitality and sacrifice of the Kenya Africans and their capacity to learn from the basic experience of the worldwide anti colonial movement is "a guarantee of their future victory."