

THE THIRD PLAN

The daily Press has made it public knowledge that the publication of the Third Plan has been delayed by a whole month, from May end to June end. A series of Cabinet meetings discussed the draft submitted by the Planning Commission and serious controversies arose. The daily Press in a piecemeal manner has disclosed some of the issues involved but they are not enough to complete the picture of the discussions held inside the Cabinet.

DISCUSSION IN CABINET

★ FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE long-drawn Cabinet discussions and the sharp differences among the specialists of the Planning Commission and the leading Ministers revealed a policy struggle inside the ruling class, not sharp and clear as ardent progressives may desire but pale and hesitant in conformity with the set-up inside the Congress High Command. They have their own significance and should be duly noted.

The discussions revolved round two main issues—the tone as embodied in the volume on "Approach" to the Third Plan and the "resources" available to impel the targets projected.

It is learnt from knowledgeable circles that V. K. Krishna Menon sharply criticised the whole tone of the draft on the ground that it gave a privileged position to the private sector and was not in consonance with the official policy aims as embodied in the Second Plan nor the spirit of the directive principles.

He sharply raised the issue of the Birlas getting the concession for starting a giant aluminium plant and asked how they got it. He gave it as an example of a retrograde practical step that inevitably follows from nebulous compromising policy statements as were now being openly put into the draft.

Prime Minister Nehru agreed and insisted that the tone of the draft, the Approach section, be radically changed and the Socialist aim stressed.

The draftsmen of the Planning Commission have been asked to revise the tone, stress that the Plan aims to change the social structure of the country and highlight the importance of the public sector.

These discussions have to some extent stopped the retreat from declared policy declarations being formally recognised but nothing has been done to guarantee the implementation of progressive objectives.

Mere reiteration of good aims in fine phrases is not enough. There has been enough experience of implementing the Second Plan to learn the lesson—how is it that while the declared aims remain progressive, the actual practice becomes reactionary. No one even posed this problem and this tells its own tale. This is the key issue that will have to be raised from outside the Cabinet and Planning Commission circles and the lessons rammed home.

All that has happened through these high-level official discussions is that there will be less talk of the public and private sectors being "complementary" and "supplementary" and more talk about the "commanding" and "transforming" role of the public sector but in practice the same old game will go on unless something radical is done to change this state of affairs and this is just what one should not expect to get done through Cabinet discussions.

While discussing this issue of public and private sectors, the problem of concentration of economic power in the hands of Big Business was also raised but all that was decided was to study afresh the Company Law and how to modify it further to curb monopoly power.

While these Cabinet discussions were on, the Secretaries of the various Ministries, along with the Chairman of the Industrial Finance Corporation (IFC) met on June 7. The paper that they discussed on the question of "encouraging" small and medium enterprises, and avoiding the "growth" of existing interests on the part of a small number of big houses itself revealed that 170 loans had been sanctioned by the IFC and they were divided as follows:

- a. 130—Below Rs. 40 lakhs (Total: Rs. 23 crores)
- b. 16 — From Rs. 40 to 70 lakhs (Total: Rs. nine crores)
- c. 10 — From Rs. 70 to 100 lakhs (Total: Rs. nine crores)

d. 12 — Over Rs. 100 lakhs (Total: Rs. 20 crores)

We can rightly call the enterprises that need and can use loans of Rs. 40 lakhs and below as small and medium—130 of them got Rs. 23 crores.

We can call enterprises that demand loans of Rs. 40 to 100 lakhs; the big ones—26 of them got Rs. 18 crores.

We can call the enterprises
★ SEE PAGE 4



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 1960
 FIRST, BLAST FURNACE NO. 1
 CRACKS AND NOW.....

ROURKELA Leak In Blast Furnace No. 2

★ From J. B. MOITRA*****

Is it a fact that Blast Furnace No. 2 of the Rourkela Steel Plant suddenly went out of commission in the second week of May last as a result of faulty workmanship? New Age (May 29) had exposed the scandal about the cracking of the refractory lining of Blast Furnace No. 1 in less than 14 months after it had gone into production. And now comes this report about Blast Furnace No. 2.

BLAST Furnace No. 2, as my report shows, went out of commission for six days or so due to serious defects in the construction of its cooling water circulating system.

The cooling system is one of the most vital components of a blast furnace, because the temperature inside it ranges from 800-900°C. The pipes, in which the cooling water circulates round the furnace, are built into the jacket of its huge shell.

The cooling system of Blast Furnace No. 2 consists of 850 metric tons of piping, pumps, etc. About 1,500 cubic metres of cooling water per hour is pumped into these pipes by means of vertical centrifugal pumps. After circulating round the blast furnace the water comes back, heated to 50°C. It is then pumped to the cooling tower. The re-cooled water is gathered in a basin and

pumped back to the furnace.

Blast Furnace Nos. 1 & 2 (capacity 1,000 tons of pig-iron each per day) have been built by GUTEROFF-NUNGSHUTE and their cooling systems by MAN-NESMANN - ROHRLEITUNGSBAU. These are two of the 50 West German firms, to which contracts have been distributed by the Krupp-Demag combine, the designers and contractors for the Rourkela Steel Plant.

Blast Furnace No. 2 was put into commission in the morning of January 11, 1960, by E. N. Singh Deo, Orissa's Finance Minister.

But hardly four months had passed when, it is learnt, water from the pipes in the cooling system in the furnace shell started leaking through the refractory lining inside the furnace.

This kind of defect is so unusual that one is left wondering how it could happen at all.

The shell of the blast furnace is made up of sections, which are lap-jointed in order that they may fit flush with one another.

Hence, the possibility of water leaking from the pipes, built into the jacket of the shell, is normally ruled out.

But, it seems that this happened in the case of Blast Furnace No. 2.

It is another example of the slipshod way in which the West German industrial tycoons are erecting our Rs. 178-crore steel plant.

Dr. Reinrich, Director-General of Krupp & Co., rushed to Rourkela when the widely circulated West German weekly, Der Spiegel (Hamburg), in its issue of March 30, 1960, severely criticised the technical performance of West German firms in Rourkela, specially in regard to Blast Furnace No. 1.

Will Alfred Krupp himself now come to India to hush up what is being heard about Blast Furnace No. 2?

I understand that the damage has been repaired. But how long will the patch work last? Will the damage permanently cripple efficient operation of the plant?

Obviously, a thorough probe into what is happening in Rourkela is immediately called for.

PUNJAB IN TURMOIL

THE Punjab is a problem State. The Congress rulers have solved none of its basic problems which go on accumulating and worsening, and produce periodic burst-ups. One such is now on. The only and bankrupt argument that is resorted to by the ruling circles is that the Punjab is a frontier State and hence the Punjabis must keep quiet. With the passage of time this plea works less and less.

The Congress leadership has, all through, resisted the consistent application of the policy of redemarcating the old arbitrary, disruptive and unjust British-drawn boundaries on the historically sound, scientifically correct and popularly demanded linguistic basis. Popular movements in State after State compelled it to accede to the just demand of the people to which the Congress itself was committed in the old days. The Punjabis alone are being denied their own linguistic State.

The problem in the Punjab is somewhat complicated. Because of past communal tensions and reactionary remnants, the Sikhs on the whole are for the Punjab Suba, while a big section of the Hindus is opposed to it.

After the last agitation, as a compromise with the Akalis, the regional formula was evolved but the Congress Government failed to work it, either in letter or in spirit. This failure has played straight into the hands of the Akali leadership who have come out as the champions of the Punjab Suba.

The Congress leadership which is now talking high and mighty that it is resisting communalism is patting its own back, bent crooked with the load of its own sins, which cannot be easily cast aside nor successfully hidden from public view.

The Akali leaders are making their communal appeal under the slogan of Dharmayuddha. This is further isolating their movement from the Hindus.

Punjab needs Hindu-Sikh unity and not disunity which the Akalis are intensifying. They, however, do not care for Hindu opinion. They are out only to consolidate and expand their base among the Sikhs, with their eyes fixed on the next General Elections. They are playing communal politics with some dare-devilry and exploiting the just demand of a Punjab Suba.

Similarly, Kairon's avowedly anti-communal line only heightens the evil of communalism. The Kairon leadership, by denying Punjab Suba, has no hope of winning Sikh support and by taking a firm line against it, hopes to please and consolidate the Hindu communal opinion behind itself and emerge as a strong leadership that alone can rule over Punjab despite opposition. It is a policy of the iron-hand, not a principled stand.

In such a grave situation, the Punjab Communists alone are taking a principled stand.

While sharply demarcating themselves from the communal outlook and politics of the Akalis, they are supporting the just demand of a linguistic Suba, with fair and just boundaries and are being true to their own people. They are also boldly condemning the brutal repressive measures of the Kairon regime which are leading to elementary civil liberties becoming a casualty in Punjab.

A just Punjab Suba will come into being. It cannot be resisted indefinitely. It is a just demand. The Punjabis should not be denied what the rest of us have already achieved. Political wisdom lies in finding out the ways and means to realise it. The rest of the country owes it to the Punjabis.

Gruesome repression is on in Punjab. It must stop, not only for the sake of Punjab but in the name of Indian democracy. If we let the Congress Chief Ministers act like the Andersons and Halleys of the British days, then Indian democracy will become a mockery and our people will lose faith in the effectiveness of the democratic process for winning their demands.

The wrong tactics of the Akalis and the Congress leaders are splitting the Punjabis into Sikhs and Hindus. The more repression is resorted to, the more iron will enter into the soul of the Sikhs and the less easily they will see the communal unprincipled game of the Akali leadership, of which they are being made the pawns.

The more repression the Congress Government resorts to, the more it will strengthen the Jan Sangh outlook and hold among the Hindus. It is no accident that the Punjab Jan Sangh has hailed the Kairon Government and its strong arm policies.

THE LID OFF AGAIN

NEWSPAPER readers are familiar with devastating yearly exposures of the Community Development Programme which the official Evaluation Reports contain. It is, however, the last year of the Second Plan and the eve of the Third Plan. One hoped against hope that some lessons must have been learnt from past failures.

The Seventh Evaluation Report released to the Press this week, belies all such hopes. Its revelations are so shocking that the guilty and ineffective Ministers and officials concerned have loudly dismissed it as "incomplete, contradictory and unrealistic," but they have not put their fingers on any single statement which they consider to be wrong and are prepared to prove so.

This is such an irresponsible attitude, that even the Times Of India (June 14) editorially protests in these words, "It was most unseemly of the Conference of Community Development, held at Srinagar, to have tried to intimidate the Chairman of the Programme Evaluation Organisation in the way it did."

NOTES OF THE WEEK

The broad and cursory view of the findings of the Evaluation Report will explain this upset of the tinsmiths who can certainly organise a holiday in Srinagar and at public expense under the cover of holding a conference but never succeed in doing anything worthwhile for the Indian peasants.

"Spreading very slowly" are the improved agricultural practices, that is just the main job the programme was supposed to do above everything else.

The distribution of fertilisers, insecticides, improved seeds and implements "leave considerable scope for improvement." Their distribution is handled by departments in the States, leading to all sorts of delays, etc. The blocks are not yet able to administer the function of supply and distribution. Handing over the job to the village cooperatives is a long, long way off! The ruling party responsible for such a state of affairs talks of decentralisation and democratisation!

The officially patronised and subsidised Community Centres which were supposed to act as the hubs of organised community life, have failed to "strike roots" and 14 to 70 per cent of them are defunct.

One of the findings of this study which should stir public opinion intensely is that chronic or perennial unemployment is twice as large in magnitude as the extra-seasonal unemployment of cultivators and agricultural labourers, and three times or so among artisans. It concludes that the rural unemployment situation cannot be eased by the movement of peasants from farms to crafts. In fact, through the past several decades, the movement has been in the opposite direction.

During 1959-60, a few States have passed their panchayat legislations, as recommended by the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report. In the last Evaluation Report, it was stated that at the panchayat level, "it is the officials who really do the job." Quoting this, the current report states, "there has been little improvement in the situation in most blocks."

The Congress Ministers' speeches and the officially published propaganda have been playing up the theme of growing people's participation and the evidence quoted are contributions in cash and kind towards the cost of development projects. The report states that there has been "a tendency to inflate the extent of people's contribution." It also discloses that in some of the blocks, "the authorities had used all means (emphasis added) of persuasion to realise the requisite amount of people's contribution."

The general conclusion of the Report is, "the people's attitude and reaction in most of the Community Development Blocks are not yet generally favourable to the success and growth of the programme. The majority of the villagers do not regard it as their own programme and seem to rely mainly on the Government

for effecting the development of the rural areas. The basic philosophy and approach of the Community Development programmes are inadequately subscribed to by the people."

Again, the report states that there are "lights and shades in the picture of the Community Development Programme in actual operation. The shades predominate and one gathers the impression of an 'inadequately coordinated endeavour rather than popular in character, and sustained more by hope than achievement.'"

No condemnation can be more damning. The country needs more food production. It is clear enough that the Community Development administration is unable to deliver the goods. There is no other way out to improve this tragic state of affairs except massive peasant intervention from below. The Blocks, as they are run today, are centres for passing on aid to the upper strata in the village and for making money by the officials concerned. Peasants from below must be organised to intervene and claim their due.

Stopping the rot in Community Development work is no partisan affair. It is only if the local rural leaders of all our democratic parties get together and plan and support sustained peasant initiative that any improvement can come into being or else the big landowners will continue to grab most of the facilities given through public funds, and the corrupt officials linked with them enrich themselves more and more.

The evils exposed in the report are the inevitable results of the failure to transform class relations in the countryside and reliance upon the bureaucracy to inspire and activate the peasantry.

J. P. AND PAKISTAN

IF J.P. had only written out his "Indian Polity" and left it at that, one would have called him a hopeless utopian. Again, if J.P. had successfully implemented his own principles of an ideal democracy at the village level in any of the numerous Grandam villages for which he campaigned as the leading lieutenant of Vinobha Bhave, we would call him a practical realist. He has failed to implement his own ideas even when he had the chance and means to do so.

J.P., however, continues to propagandise ideas. The more he explains, the more he exposes himself as having become an anti-democratic arch-reactionary. On June 9, explaining his thesis, at a symposium in Madras, he stated, "in all countries of Asia where the party system has been scuttled, it had become inevitable that the administrative structure of the sort that he had suggested had become inevitable...."

"I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of President Ayub to hand over power to a new instrument of democracy... It is not that I have praised

ed the Pakistani system as it exists as democratic, but as being in the direction in which democracy should progress."

So it comes to this that we must first have a dictator a la Ayub to destroy the party system and parliamentary democracy and then if he shares the "sincerity" of Marshal Ayub, he will create conditions in which "democracy" a la J.P. can "progress." It is clear enough that J.P. is not purifying but poisoning the Indian political atmosphere and creating the climate for a dictator's coup and the destruction of democracy in our country.

When J.P. is misusing and distorting the Pakistan experience, it is refreshing to read news from Pakistan itself that comes like new breeze.

Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohammed Ali, answering the questionnaire of the Constitution Commission has boldly stated that the contention that Pakistanis were not fit for parliamentary democracy was a cry that would "take us backward and not forward." He denounced personal dictatorship, criticised basic democracy and favoured the adoption of the parliamentary system in preference to the American presidential pattern.

On the economic side, the Pakistan Times in an article on May 31, urged the Pakistan Government to reject U.S. and British "aid" and go forward "in the path of real economic independence." Its main argument is that these imperialist countries, only give "aid" to keep Pakistan agricultural and backward and prevent its industrialisation.

The article states, "those who devised the First Five-Year Plan, seem to have taken for granted that the basic industries like steel and heavy engineering must continue indefinitely to exist outside our frontiers and that whenever we need a tractor or a refrigerator or a bicycle, we must beg, borrow or earn foreign exchange."

"We have made another Five-Year Plan on exactly the same lines and now we seem prepared to repeat our mistakes all over again."

The article stresses that Pakistan needs to create an industrialised base with power, steel, machine tools, heavy engineering and chemicals. It also pointed out that according to some foreign economists, Pakistan must remain an agricultural country and the Pakistan Times article underlines the fact that it means that Pakistan must go on growing cotton, jute and tea and oilseeds for ever.

New critical voices against the dictatorship and for democracy, against dependence on imperialism and for economic independence have begun to rise even from inside Pakistan.

The fall of Menderes and the nationwide mass upheaval against Kishi seem to have obviously given new courage to the Pakistanis despite Ayub's jack-boot.

—P. C. JOSHI

THE QUEEN'S VISIT

HER Gracious Majesty will soon be among us. Many old and some new loyalists are bursting with impatience for the auspicious day. They were very, very angry with Pandit Nehru for the delay in extending the invitation, thereby allowing Ayub Khan to steal a march.

Some interesting details are now available about what went on behind the scenes. It seems one reason for the hesitation was the involvement of Pakistan.

After U-2 and the Soviet warning it is said that the Prime Minister was not in the least anxious to stress joint links with the neighbouring dictatorship. But his colleagues and especially his I.C.S. advisers soon overcame this minor vacillation.

But more serious was the protocol problem. This has yet to be ironed out. The British Queen is the Head of the Commonwealth and she comes to India, therefore, in that capacity and not as the ruler of another State. Moreover, the convention is that the Almighty Sovereign takes the topmost perch of the protocol tree whenever she visits any of "her" Dominions.

Now this means that the Rashtrapati will go to the Palam airport not to greet an equal but a superior. And the inevitable banquets and garden parties will be given not by Dr. Bajendra Prasad but by Elizabeth the Second.

The poor President, further, will during the duration of the regal sojourn be a guest in his own

SCRAP-BOOK

Rashtrapati Bhavan. It will be the standard of the Windsors that will flutter over the President's palace and not the President's flag.

It was to smooth over these details that the Rashtrapati hustled down the hills when the Prime Minister returned. It would be interesting to find out what the two leaders decided. Let us hope it was a decision to welcome Elizabeth the Second without inflicting any indignity on our Republic.

HANDING OVER DOSSIERS

ANY amount of speculation goes on about what the Government and the Congress are going to do about C. D. Deshmukh's demand for a tribunal to examine his charges of corruption against some mighty VIPs.

One story is that the ex-Chief Justice S. E. Das will be given the papers of one case and Deshmukh will treat the judgment as a test of the impartiality of the judge. This is the reported compromise between no tribunal and permanent tribunal.

It can be questioned whether this sort of ad hoc arrangement is going to be effective against corruption which is backed by a great deal of power. Still, if the Government decides on this type of tribunal no

one can object on legal or constitutional grounds to all the relevant dossiers being made available to it.

Quite a different kettle of fish is the reported move by the Congress High Command to set up its own so-called Vigilance Committee. This committee, to be nominated by Sanjeeva Reddy may be made up of very worthy and honourable gentlemen but it is hard to imagine that — especially with the elections looming up — they will have the guts to decide against, say, the Union Finance Minister should this top leader have to be examined.

The interests of justice apart, more alarming is the news that this Congress Vigilance Committee as a whole or a part of it will be given access to all official files and other documents that may be considered as impinging on any particular complaint that is referred to it. This is a totally unconstitutional procedure and goes right against the principle of no party interference with the administration and possibly also against the Official Secrets Act.

Sanjeeva Reddy was among those who were most vociferous about so-called "cell rule" in Kerala and Communist "infiltration" at a party level into the administration. And yet this very same person has the cheek to suggest that the Congress Vigilance Committee to be appointed

by him, should have the right of access to official documents.

It is essential that this grossly unconstitutional move be thoroughly exposed and the Prime Minister asked if he is prepared to tolerate so open an abuse of the monopoly of power the Congress enjoys.

CIVILIANS FALL OUT

THE I.A.S. officers in West Bengal are learning to their cost that they were born too late. If only they had been lucky enough to have been of age when the British were here and lackey enough to want to be a part of the steel frame which held our country in bondage, they would be much better off today under Dr. B. C. Roy's dispensation.

Already discontent was rife since the I.A.S. officers were being discriminated against in respect of status and scales of pay as compared to those of I.C.S. officers. The burst-up came a few days ago when the State Government decided to appoint J. N. Talukdar, I.C.S., as the Chief Secretary as well as to retain him in the post of Director-General of Transport. The I.A.S. officers felt that this was sheer vindictiveness.

Their Association met and drew up a memorandum. It is reported that the memo stated that while the maximum pay of an

I. C. S. officer was Rs. 2,750 that of an I. A. S. officer was Rs. 2,150. It was further complained that I.A.S. officers were not given the post of Divisional Commissioner — except in the case of one Ivan Surita, who is alleged to have special influence in Delhi. Moreover, several I. A. S. officers who had reached the Joint Secretaries status and were directly responsible to the Ministers concerned were not posted as secretaries to the Department.

Finally the memo pointed out that while all senior posts were reserved for the I. C. S. officers, the status of a particular senior post was lowered or the post was abolished altogether if an I. C. S. officer was not available to fill it.

The I. A. S. Association asked for an interview with the Chief Minister through the Chief Secretary the notorious S. N. Ray, I. C. S. This gentleman not only refused to allow the interview but is said to have threatened the deputation with departmental action.

But the I. A. S. boys were not to be so easily beaten. Four of their representatives rushed up to Darjeeling where Dr. B. C. Roy was staying and waylaid him, as it were. But the Chief Minister was even heavier-handed than the Chief Secretary. He is reported to have expressed his sense of outrage that respectable I. A. S. officers were behaving like "common workers and their trade unions." He refused to even consider the memo. And there the matter rests: But for how long?

—ONLOOKER

June 14, 1960

W. Bengal Govt. Employees In Action Against Victimisation

ONE-and-a-half lakh employees of the West Bengal Government are going into action to protest against the vindictive suspension of 17 of their leaders for the 'crime' of participating in meetings and demonstrations on May 6 last to press their demands.

Protest meetings are being held in every office and department in Calcutta and also in districts and memoranda are being submitted to the authorities protesting against the suspension orders and demanding their withdrawal. A huge meeting was held on June 11 in the Calcutta University Institute Hall.

PAY-SCALES

West Bengal Government employees have been agitating since long for appointment of a Pay Committee to go into the question of wholesale revision of the pay structure which is in operation since 1948 or so. There are still employees in West Bengal Government service who draw only Rs. 20 per month with increment of Re. one after four years of service. More than 70 per cent of the staff are temporary. There are many cases where the employees retire as temporary after full 30 years' service and are deprived of all retirement benefits.

The less said about the Service Conduct Rules the better. The West Bengal Government has reshaped the Service Con-

duct Rules of the British days only to make it more harsh. Under these rules, employees are forbidden from forming trade unions and registering them under the Indian Trade Union Act; they can only form service associations and cannot take any outsider as honorary member. They are forbidden from ventilating their grievances to anybody, even to a member of the legislature, let alone in newspapers and in public. Explanations were called for once for inviting Sidhartha Sanakar Ray, M.L.A. and former Judicial Minister to a meeting. The employees are banned from holding joint meetings, and staging demonstrations. No avenue is left open to them to seek redressal of their grievances except through personal petition to the immediate boss or through him to the higher authorities.

Prime Minister Nehru once termed these Rules as not only pre-independence but prehistoric. Democratic Service Conduct Rules was naturally the other most pressing demand of the employees.

The West Bengal Government appointed a Pay Committee under pressure, but the personnel was such that all expectations of justice vanished. These apprehensions were soon to come true. Most of the employees' organisations were deprived of the opportunity to place their memorandum before this Pay Committee. So the employees demanded its reconstitution and backed it with all

the methods prescribed by the Rules. But nothing came out of it. Dr. B. C. Roy avoided meeting employees' representatives.

Under those circumstances the employees decided to hold mass rallies and present memoranda to the Chief Minister in Calcutta and to the appropriate authorities elsewhere. The day was fixed for May 6. Just previous to that date the Chief Secretary, S. N. Ray, threatened the employees with dire consequences if they joined in the meetings and demonstration that day. But the employees gathered in their thousands and reiterated their demands and took the pledge to continue their struggle.

SUSPENSION

The success of the day infuriated the bosses and powers-that-be. From the cool of Darjeeling, the Cabinet came down wielding the big stick against the employees. On June 3, suspension orders were issued against Ajoy Mukherjee, Secretary, Secretariat Employees' Association, and Santi Bhattacharya.

Employees' Association. Thereafter, till to-date nine more persons in Calcutta, including Amal Ganguly, Convenor of the Co-ordination Committee of the West Bengal Government Employees' Association, and six persons in the districts have been served with "show cause" notices.

These attacks have naturally evoked the anger of the employees. There were spontaneous cease-works in many offices as the orders were served. Mass deputations waited upon the heads of departments and offices and a combined rally was held on June 11. The meeting severely condemned the attacks and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the suspension orders and shows cause notices. The meeting decided on pay boycott on July 1 and the holding of a convention of all trade unions of employees in non-governmental institutions to mobilise sympathy and support.

The trade union movement in general is also very much indignant at this monstrous

attack. The National Insurance Employees' Union in its annual general meeting condemned the Government's action and pledged all support to the employees. The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India has asked the Government to desist from unwarranted attacks on Government employees and fulfil their legitimate demands.

—From AJAY DAS GUPTA.

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THIRD PLAN

* FROM FRONT PAGE

that got over Rs. 100 lakhs as grant. Twelve of them got Rs. 20 crores.

Thus 38 big and giant enterprises got Rs. 38 crores as loans from the IFC while 130 small and medium enterprises got less, a total of Rs. 23 crores. If this is not aiding and encouraging the growth of Big Business and monopoly groups in our country what else is it? This paper certainly must have gone to the Cabinet Ministers and not one of them asked how it is that the IFC is operating not to implement but to sabotage the directive principles of the Plan.

In this context, what was solemnly discussed inside the Cabinet was that village and small industries should be encouraged as part of the policy to prevent the concentration of economic power. Again, the bitter experience was not learnt that cooperatives for village industries are only a cover for patronising and aiding some favourite Congress workers and supporters.

Again, village and small industries by themselves cannot hold back the growth of monopolies in the private sector. In fact, the capitalist economic laws operate the other way. In this discussion the problem of how to master and control the economic process and practices that are leading to the visible mounting growth of the private sector was not discussed with any seriousness.

Again, directives were given to the Planning Commission to play up the role of the public sector in the final draft but this is only in words. The bitter experience of the Second Plan which reveals that the private sector has grown ahead of its allotted targets while the public sector has lagged behind, was not faced nor discussed. Serious remedial measures can only follow such a realistic and honest study.

If things are allowed to drift and the formulation and implementation of the Plan left to the Planning Commission and the Union Government and its various Ministries, it means free rein to the lobbies of the vested interests, which are growing like mushrooms and constitute a menace to people's welfare and honest implementation of the declared objectives of the Plan.

The original estimate of a Rs. 10,000 crores Plan was made by Morarji's Ministry of Finance by its key man Anjaria who is the chief of the Economic Division in the Planning Commission and is also Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and operates in a dual capacity.

This estimate was challenged by the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission and the Statistical Adviser, Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. They submitted an independent paper whose main conclusion was that without raising extra taxes and on the basis of existing level of taxation but through better realisation, the real resources available can amount to Rs. 13,000 crores as the minimum and they may go up to Rs. 15,000 crores. Their calculation covered the domestic resources alone and their basis was past performance and present trends. Their conclusion was that the Ministry of Finance had underestimated the available resources by 30 to 50 per cent.

This in turn was opposed by the conservative elements who had been preaching that even a Rs. 10,000 crores Plan was too big for India's resources. It was a serious matter and a real big difference. The whole issue went to the Cabinet which asked the two groups of specialists to get together and examine each other's estimates.

During these discussions, the Anjaria group pointed out that the optimism of the other group was not justified because they assumed a much larger profit return in the case of public sector enterprises when they did not yield much return. This is a matter that needs a real good probe, for the public sector enterprises must be made to yield the maximum profit possible and all bureaucratic hindrances and mismanagement, etc., cleaned up.

The second argument of the Anjaria group was that the optimists had not allowed for the fact that the non-Plan expenditure had increased and was likely to increase more.

In fact, this was one of the issues hotly debated in the earlier discussions inside the Planning Commission and the Cabinet where Morarji Desai had spoken out his mind. His main argument was that it was totally wrong to consider non-Plan expenditures as unessential and his conclusion was that it had as much claim upon the nation's

resources as the economic Plan. The specific cases for which he wanted large resources provided were much bigger aid to Nepal and Sikkim, huge funds for road building in the Himalayan regions and almost unlimited funds for defence as the topmost priority. This group wanted to provide for still further administrative expansion.

Morarji was really upset when he was faced with the argument that the increased resources should go to increase the targets of the Plan. He started shrieking, "You want the Communists to come into power.... I would rather fight and die...."

The final outcome of these long drawn discussions was the finally two different approaches emerged. The first approach was that Rs. 250 crores increase in resources should be immediately announced but it can really be Rs. 700 crores or so and the problem should be further studied.

The second approach was that the likely increase in the resources should be studied but the draft Plan should not specify any increase.

The final Cabinet decision was in favour of adopting the first approach.

In more concrete terms, the extra Rs. 250 crores have ensured the fourth steel plant at Bokaro and extra power. Rs. 200 crores have been provided for the Bokaro steel plant and ancillary requirements of transport and power. Rs. 25 crores have been provided for extra power. This is intended to cover the Uranium mining and Plutonium plant required as part of the extension programme of the Atomic Energy Commission.

An extra Rs. 25 crores have been provided for food storage. The net national gain out of these Cabinet discussions has been that the fourth steel plant has been guaranteed. It had been included as a project in the draft of the Third Plan but no financial provisions been made for it.

There was much more than honest conservatism behind Morarji Desai's slogan that he could not take responsibility for a pie more than Rs. 10,000 crores.

The steel experts have been pressing that the country would need more steel than provided for in the draft i.e. 9.2 million tons. The tactic of including Bokaro in the Third Plan but not providing financial resources for it was designed to hand over the Bokaro project to the U.S. monopolists plus the Indian private sector. As and when the demand for extra steel became pressing then Morarji could openly argue that his Ministry had no finances to have it in the public sector and if the country needed more steel, the only way out was to have Bokaro in the private sector. This dirty game has been disrupted for the time being but consistent vigilance has to be kept up.

Besides these issues that were discussed, it is also very much worthwhile to note what was not discussed at all. We all know that food is our acutest national problem and it is from the improvement of agricultural production and the transformation of the agrarian relations that the foundations of our economy can be really strengthened and bold perspectives become real. Land to the tiller, the greatest need of the hour, and the solemn pledge of the nation to our multi-million

AUTHORITARIANISM —NO REMEDY

Editorial

AFTER A WHOLE YEAR, the report of the Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission on student indiscipline is out. It

is a document that makes one angry and anxious. It brings no credit to a responsible body like the UGC. It only shows that its authors are no votaries at the "temples of learning," which they want our universities to become, but authoritarian bureaucrats of the deepest hue.

The Report throws bricks all around. It is a slanderous, irresponsible, and reactionary document. If the Vice-Chancellors assembled at Poona to consider, it do not finally reject it, they will only provoke a new and unprecedented round of student unrest.

Instead of seeking the cooperation of the democratic parties of our country to inspire the students to become worthy of our national ideals, the Report opines that it is the political parties that "lead students astray."

Instead of strengthening the university unions to become true centres of students' democracy and unity, they only complain that these have become "a peculiar type of trade union and a forum for voicing grievances."

Instead of a realistic and principled understanding of a serious problem, on the basis of respect for the teachers, and love for the students, the Report only shrieks that university education has become "mechanical activity" and "too often the motives of teachers and students alike are mercenary."

All this reactionary nonsense cannot go unchallenged in our country in the year 1960.

Our Party will wholeheartedly cooperate with all constructive efforts to end student indiscipline. This involves giving high priority to reforming life and studies all round at the University campuses. The teachers need the nation's respect and better salaries before they can fulfil their rightful role. The students need the nation's love and assured employment before they can be authoritatively called upon to act in a disciplined manner.

The big stick is no answer to student unrest.

MOHANGARH MASSACRE

In a landlord-tenant conflict in village Mohangarh, district Sangrur, Punjab, 17 kisans were killed in cold blood by the police. Two landlords also lost their lives.

The issue was ejection. The Namboodripad Ministry in Kerala refused to let the police be used for such an unjust cause. The Kairon Government, however, has acted this way. It cannot escape the righteous curse of the Punjab peasantry for depriving them of their land, with the help of armed police, and through indiscriminate and ruthless shooting.

Nineteen human lives lost, in one remote Punjab village, over a land dispute. Local people say that such an atrocity did not take place even in the British days or under the Unionist Ministry.

The Punjab police are known for their brutality. The Kairon Ministry is just earning a name for callous toughness. They must be called to order by Indian public opinion for such shocking incidents are becoming common under the Congress regimes.

The Congress rulers must be made to respect Indian lives.

The Punjab Ministry must know that the country is watching it.

Police officials must know that trigger-happiness will not pay.

A Joint Defence Committee has been locally set up including representatives of the Congress, Jan Sangh and the Communist Party. Their demands are a judicial enquiry by a High Court Judge, transfer of officers responsible to facilitate a proper enquiry, compensation to the bereaved families, etc.

We hope the Punjab Government will promptly meet these very just demands and assuage outraged public opinion.

peasantry was not discussed at all. No one even raised the issue whether the various State Governments are faithfully implementing or scuttling the Nagpur Resolution.

The second vital issue that was not discussed at all was that of foreign aid. There was a general hopeful attitude that we would get all the foreign aid we need but there was no actual discussion of the issue.

For the Rs. 10,000 crores Plan and to run the economy during the next five years, we need about Rs. 3,100 crores foreign aid. It is common knowledge that neither the World Bank nor any of the Western Governments is prepared to commit

themselves to any fixed sum nor any time-table. In such a situation, to be optimistic really implies that the Congress Government has virtually made up its mind to meet the demands of foreign monopolists.

These two serious omissions clearly reveal that even Nehru and Krishna Menon have given up the fight for implementing the Nagpur resolution against major concessions to the foreign monopolists.

The differences inside the Cabinet and the issues ignored need to be duly noted for they will help shape public opinion in the right direction when the Draft Plan is published during the end of the month.



ABOVE: Workers demonstrating before the gate of the U.S. Atsugi airbase in pouring rain, demanding the immediate withdrawal of U-2 spy jets from Japan. RIGHT: Two hundred thousand Japanese people surrounded the Diet on May 26 demanding the scrapping of the Japan-U.S. military pact.



ABOVE: Police and ruling Liberal Democrats dragging away Socialist Diet members from the house. After opposition members were thus thrown out, the military alliance was forced through the Lower House on May 19. BELOW: Two million people protested the next day, May 20, against the illegal passage of the military pact. The placard says: Dissolve the Diet immediately.



ABOVE: Japanese students demonstrating in front of Kishi's official residence demanding resignation of the Kishi Cabinet. BELOW: Kishi running away under police protection from his official residence to his private home not daring to face women demonstrators demanding interview with him.



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INTUC LEADERS BETRAY RAILWAYMEN'S DEMANDS

The Mysore Conference of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, held on May 29, was presided over by S. R. Vasavada, inaugurated by Jagajivan Ram, the Railway Minister, and among the speakers was the INTUC boss Khandubhai Desai. From what the main speakers told the conference, one wonders whether it was an employees' conference or an employers' conference. The main resolutions passed only confirm this feeling.

THE chairman of the conference and President of the NFIR pleaded for implementation of the Second Pay Commission's recommendations treating them as an award.

Vasavada's Demand

"Referring to the Pay Commission's Report published in November last, Mr. Vasavada regretted that instead of accepting in toto the recommendations contained therein, the Government had attempted to accept the report piecemeal. The Government was a party before the Pay Commission and having placed its case before the Commission, it should have accepted it as an award of arbitration." (Hindu, May 30)

This is not the first time the INTUC leader has stated this. He was the first "labour" leader who welcomed the Pay Commission's recommendations and called on the railwaymen to accept them unconditionally. From such a leader, perhaps, nothing better could have been expected.

What is it that Vasavada wants the Government to accept in toto? The denial of dearness allowance accorded by the First Pay Commission's recommendations and the introduction of the formula by which no increase in dearness allowance would ever be possible? Does he want the Government to accept the increase in working hours and days of all categories? Does he want the Government to withdraw the many existing concessions government employees enjoy like the pass, P.T.O.s, etc.? Does he want the denial of all arrears from 1957 from which date the increase in wage and dearness allowance was claimed? The railwaymen certainly want to know what he means when he talks of accepting the recommendations in toto.

Strike Move Opposed

The way he spoke, only one conclusion is possible—that he is not speaking for the one million strong railwaymen though he is the President of a railwaymen's organisation.

He strongly condemned the strike move of the Central Government employees. He said, "I want, therefore, very humbly to point out to railway workers and their employers, that whoever disturbs industrial peace will earn the condemnation of the people. If the parties to a dispute resort to peaceful means of

settlement, then they will earn the goodwill and the support of the nation."

It is a well-known fact that it is the Government and Finance Minister Morarji Desai who refused to negotiate with the Central Government employees and they are responsible for disturbing industrial peace! Why then is the NFIR President warning the employees? Are the employees responsible for creating this situation? What his warning actually means is that he is very much against a strike move even if the employees are very badly treated. The resolution that has been passed by this conference amply confirms this.

The speech made by Khan-

The deliberations of the Mysore NFIR Conference and the speeches made there make it once again clear that top INTUC leaders are making plans to curb the growing tide of countrywide united action amongst the Central Government employees against the betrayal by the Second Pay Commission.

Employees' Demands

"Demands Day" demonstrations held all over the country on the 25th are but a beginning of the expression of the resentment of the two million employees of the two million Government. It is at this juncture that these INTUC leaders are fretting and fuming backed by the Central Government and its Ministers.

One has only to contrast the six demands put forward by the united body representing the Central Government employees in Bombay and the

food articles and to bring down their prices to a reasonable level, "if necessary even by subsidising them;

2 Improvement in wages and working conditions suggested by the Commission be implemented fully; and

3 Differences on matters arising out of the recommendations of the Commission should be settled finally through arbitration.

The two sets of demands are directly opposed to one another.

The Bombay Committee (representing all Government employees) wants proportionate increase in dearness allowance whereas the Mysore Conference wants stabilisation of prices. It has been repeatedly stated by the Government that it is unable to stabilise prices. Moreover, due to Plan activities and deficit financing prices are bound to rise. Therefore, the Bombay Committee's is a legitimate

and to bring down their prices to a reasonable level, "if necessary even by subsidising them;

The Mysore Conference has nothing more to demand whereas the Bombay meeting categorically demanded that no existing concession, right or privilege be curtailed because leave and holidays have already been cut and Passes and P.T.O.s are also under threat of curtailment. Against this, the Mysore Conference has not a word of protest or condemnation. Through its silence, it approves of these curtailments.

Security Of Service

The Bombay Committee has put up two more very pressing and genuine demands—one, to evolve a principle in recognising unions and to introduce the principle of "one union for one industry" through the process of referendum bi-annually; this is a very healthy suggestion for strengthening the bargaining power of the workmen in future. Two, it demanded curbing of the special powers under Rule 148 of the State Railway Establishment Code. As far as railwaymen are concerned this is a basic issue of security of service. In such a vital issue, the Mysore Conference has nothing to say.

The railwaymen, conscious of their rights and duties from their own experience, can understand the meaning of the voice heard in Mysore and the voice that came from Bombay. They will act intelligently and unitedly when it becomes necessary.

The Railway Minister who spoke had nothing more to say than praising the NFIR for the hand of cooperation extended to him and for not raising difficult problems. As usual, he appealed to the workers to improve efficiency and promised them that while implementing the Pay Commission award, he would be sympathetic to the men. He said that he had directed the Railway Board to hear whatever representations the Federation had to make within the framework of the Pay Commission award. He also deprecated any strike move on the part of the employees.

He conveniently left out the crux of the matter, namely, the question of the upward revision of wages and dearness allowance. He even omitted to mention the grievances which he himself could directly redress—non-withdrawal of the existing concessions, rights and privileges. If he is sympathetic to the men, as he swore so much, he could have given an assurance that existing concessions and privileges would not be withdrawn and satisfied the man at least to that extent.

All the speeches and resolutions of the Mysore Conference, to say the least, have disappointed and disillusioned the railwaymen.

Over a month has passed since the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia launched its "countrywide satyagraha." Though the satyagraha could not become country-wide, only scattered groups of people courting arrests in other States like Rajasthan or Bihar, in U.P. about 1,800 persons have gone to jail.

THERE is a dispute about the actual number of the arrested people between the Government and the Socialist Party. The Government puts it at a couple of hundreds or less. But for the present write-up that is not of much importance.

Reports continue to pour in of the harassing treatment given to the satyagrahis outside and inside the jails and police lock-ups.

Governmental Repression

Our Congress Governments have mastered all the hated techniques of the former British rulers and they employ them with pride for disrupting and crushing people's struggles.

Arresting or detaining people before they have committed any 'crime', keeping them in the police lock-up at some other place for the whole day and then letting them off late at night at the same place or after carting them off to some distant and forlorn spot, causing them petty inconveniences about food, water, etc., humiliating and insulting them at every opportunity, locking them up in filthy, unhygienic and small cells, imposing unconscionably heavy fines on the satyagrahis who in most cases are poor or ordinary peasants or agricultural labourers or small townsmen, confiscating their insignificant properties—their pots and pans, ploughs, bullocks, etc. in the name of realisation of fines, and thus trying not only to break their morale but also to break them economically—all this has become the common practice of the Government. It is taking resort to all this in connection with the present satyagraha also.

Under the circumstances, it is only natural that our hearts and the hearts of all democrats should go out in sympathy to the satyagrahis who are braving all these sufferings and indignities. We know that, whatever crazy ideas the leaders of the Socialist Party may be having for conducting this struggle, the ordinary rank and file workers and sympathisers of the party are guided by the desire of only helping the people, whose lot has if anything only worsened since independence. And hence our sympathy with the satyagrahis is not only verbal. We stand by them when the police and the authorities harass them.

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the mother-tongue of the people concerned. It has consistently supported the demand that for inter-State communications and inter-course Hindi should replace English. True. But, can this demand be realised by daubing a few post offices or signboards on the shops, or a couple of road names black with tar?

Harmful Methods

It is not that such demands or methods devised for their realisation merely make serious-minded people disinterested and cynical; they also divert their attention from their more serious and urgent demands. Secondly, when such infantile methods are made the basis of a movement and there is repression on it, the people tend to adopt an attitude of indifference, as we are witnessing today. So many persons have courted arrest and so many others are having to suffer hardships and privations, but among the common people, there is hardly a stir.

This hurts not only the So-

cialist Party and its movement, but all democratic parties and all people's movements—even revisionism—is created from which only the ruling class and other anti-people elements profit. The SECOND question is of the methods laid down by the Socialist leaders for this movement. These include the picketing of post offices and employment exchanges, taking possession of Government offices and courts and paralysing their work, preventing the movement of trains by continuously pulling the alarm chain, cutting the canals wherever they think they do not serve justly, and so on. It is fortunate that people have not paid heed to this mad advice. This itself should tell the Socialist leaders, in search of the quaint and the uncommon, that these methods are not correct, the people do not regard them in the interests of either themselves or the country.

This hurts not only the So-

or any other form of struggle which the people find easy or convenient to take resort to, which helps to agitate and rally the largest sections of the people and which are in the interests of the people and the country. This must constitute the vital test of any method—that sooner or later it must serve the interests of the people and the country. This is a vital test for all revolutionaries, always and everywhere.

The methods suggested by the Socialist leaders do not pass this test.

Alone Or With People?

The THIRD question is equally important: in the struggle for the achievement of the common demands of the people, should we or should we not try to enlist and take the help and cooperation of all those persons, groups and parties which support those demands, or can be persuaded to support them?

What should be the main aim: to win the demands of the people, get redressal of

such demands as would only create differences among parties and mass organisations and those methods which would rope people and make a laughing stock of the whole show.

These are not the methods of serious revolutionaries. Such things enable the enemies of the people to dub all struggles as stunts.

One has only to compare this satyagraha with the joint satyagraha which was launched by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party, in 1958 on the issue of food, to see the difference. That had moved not only the whole of the State, but the whole of the country in sympathy and support. The people were inspired by a sense of exultation and confidence when it was going on and experienced a sense of achievement and victory when they came out of it. Ten thousand people had gone to jail in the short space of less than a month.

Hence with all our sympathy with some of the demands of the satyagraha, with all our admiration for the workers of the Socialist Party and ordinary men and women who are facing up to bestial governmental repression so courageously, we must state that this satyagraha will not benefit the people of the State or the country in any way. It will not help even the Socialist Party.

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Rumblings Of Protest

From what one hears everywhere, there seem to be already rumblings of protest from certain sections of the party. Others in the party are trying to evade going to jail. And frustration and dismay at the methods of the leaders are spreading all over the party.

Even all this suffering of the people and hardworking and honest activists of the Socialist Party would not be completely wasted if the party and its leaders can learn from this costly experience—that for the redressal of people's grievances and achievements of their demands maximum unity and a serious attitude are essential. If this lesson is learnt, it will stand us all in good stead in the future.

DR. LOHIA'S Do-It-Alone Satyagraha

by RAMESH SINHA

quite a big chunk of Tibet must also be taken from the Chinese! Even the worst agents of the Americans and our jingolsts, who want to go on accentuating the border dispute with China, do not go this far!

After all, one might ask, what could Dr. Lohia and his friends want by putting forward this fantastic demand? Do they think that the "bigger" i.e., more fantastic the demand that they put forward the popular they will become among our people? Do they really believe our people to be so foolish?

Whom Does It Help?

Secondly, even if such a demand were correct, would a satyagraha like this, a few hundred persons going to jail lead to this achievement?

Such demands help only the imperialists and their friends of the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra Party in poisoning the political atmosphere.

Another demand is for the "removal of English." Generally speaking this demand is correct and at least the Communist Party has been an undeviating champion of the demand that all the work of governance should be done in

their grievances, or merely seek to broadcast or endeavour to establish the "fighting character" of one's party? It is true that every political party has political objectives also. Every party must endeavour to win power. Yes, but how? By using the people in fruitless pursuits, or by trying to serve them in the most effective and helpful manner?

These include the picketing of post offices and employment exchanges, taking possession of Government offices and courts and paralysing their work, preventing the movement of trains by continuously pulling the alarm chain, cutting the canals wherever they think they do not serve justly, and so on.

It is fortunate that people have not paid heed to this mad advice. This itself should tell the Socialist leaders, in search of the quaint and the uncommon, that these methods are not correct, the people do not regard them in the interests of either themselves or the country.

Unhelpful Struggle

When faced with the direct question, perhaps the Socialist leaders also will not disagree with us; but, in reality, what they are doing today has not been conceived with a view to achieve anything concrete—not even people's unity for future struggles, nor is it in any way likely to lead to anything except self-opinionated pride for a few top men who consider the people as playthings in their hands and widespread frustration for the many.

It is because of this view—which despite all our sympathies must be characterised as perverted—that the Socialists did not talk to anybody, did not discuss with anybody, did not invite anybody, outside their coterie, to join in the struggle and they placed

NFIR CONFERENCE REVIEWED

★ by K. ANANDAN NAHBIAR

dubhal Desai, former Union Labour Minister and INTUC chief, is equally noteworthy. He has gone to the extent of attacking the very right of the workers to strike. He said:

Strikes Are Outdated!

"The slogan of a 'right to strike' of the 19th century when there was no democracy and no adult franchise and capitalism was going uncontrolled has no meaning today. During the past 60 years, the world had changed and the conditions of the 19th century did not prevail today."

Nothing is more clear than that this trade union leader wants workers not to strike in the 20th century when there are adult franchise and democratic elections. He forgets the simple fact that in the imperialist countries like America, Britain, France, the workers have the right to strike, though institutions of parliamentary democracy and adult franchise have been in existence in these countries for several decades. Even the rulers of these countries do not have the courage to outlaw the right to strike but an Indian trade union leader who is supposed to speak on behalf of the workers wants them to give up their right to strike.

resolutions passed by the Mysore conference of the NFIR, to understand the INTUC leaders' game. The six demands put up by the Bombay Committee are:

- 1 Payment of dearness allowance as per the First Pay Commission's recommendations;
- 2 Grant of a national minimum wage for Central Government employees as per the basis agreed to in the 15th Labour Conference;
- 3 Appointment of a Standing Board with equal representation to settle disputes;
- 4 No curtailment of any existing amenities, rights and privileges.
- 5 Reference to arbitration of disputes and acceptance of the principle of "one union for one industry" through a referendum held bi-annually;
- 6 Withdrawal of powers of summary punishments and Section 148 of the Railway Establishment Code.

Compare these demands with the demands made by the resolutions of the Mysore Conference.

1 While accepting the wage-increase recommended by the Commission, the Federation urged upon the Government to effectively control prices specially of

mate and just demand, more so because of the categorical verdict of the First Pay Commission which dispassionately went into the question of increase in dearness allowance proportionate to the increase in the cost of living indices.

Minimum Wage

The second demand of the employees is for a "national minimum wage" on the basis of the agreed formula of the 15th Tripartite Conference. This is a formula which the Central Government has accepted in principle. But the Mysore Conference wants only the implementation of the wages recommended by the Second Pay Commission, which means the scales suggested by it. It does not even bring pressure on the Government to accept the Government's own decisions of the 15th Tripartite conference.

Thirdly, the employees demand the appointment of a Standing Board with equal representation to settle disputes. As against this, the Mysore Conference demands reference of disputes to arbitration. We know the results of several arbitrations in the past. The disputes that are likely to arise will be voluminous and different in nature, and they cannot be



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REMEMBER THESE SUFFERERS!

★ by BHUPESH GUPTA

**10 to 11 Years
Already
Behind the Bars**

In the silence of West Bengal prisons there languish today thirtythree long-term political prisoners, all sentenced to life imprisonment. And almost every one of them has already spent ten to eleven years behind the bars.

It is with sorrow as well as expectations that they are passing their miserable days in this captivity. Sorrow, because they are denied the privilege of being with the people in the remaking of the country and we have not still got them out, despite the heavy punishments they have already undergone. Expectations, because they have undying faith in the right minded people outside and in the ultimate triumph of political wisdom and human sympathy. Indeed, their protracted suffering and persecu-

tion are a challenge to public conscience.

Yes, as I talked to Pannalal Das Gupta and Bijoy Mandal at the Allipur Central Jail and Gajen Mali, Manick Hazra and Anwarali Sarker at the Dum Dum Central Jail, the thought that the democratic movement had not thus far done enough to rouse public opinion and secure their release always depressingly weighed on my mind. Let me frankly confess that I suffered from an agonising

sense of guilt and felt small before these comrades.

I wonder if they had an inkling of my twinged conscience. However, they made no complaint but only expressed the hope that people and the leaders of public opinion would intervene powerfully enough to impress upon the Government that these prisoners in West Bengal, Tamilnad, Andhra and other places, be all immediately set free.

Who Are They?

Who are these prisoners in West Bengal? Almost all of them have been long connected with the working class and the kisan movement. Some suffered persecution in the hands of the British. Whatever one may or may not say about their past methods that had landed them in their tragic incarceration, every one—even their bitterest enemy—will agree they are a selfless and self-sacrificing lot.

Twentyfour of them, belonging to or associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party, were convicted in what is known as Dum-Dum-Basirhat and Jessop group of cases. The remaining nine were punished in the Kakdwip case which arose out of the widespread unrest in the most distressed southern fringe of West Bengal—thanks to limitless plunder and the tyranny of big landlords. The Kakdwip case prisoners were associated with our Party—the Communist Party of India.

Incidentally Comrade Kansari Haldar, a member of the Lok Sabha, and Comrade Jogen Gurul are now being tried, after 11 years, in what again is called the Kakdwip case before a Special Tribunal in Allipur. Be it said here that the Congress rulers once used to loudly deprecate trials by Special Tribunals instead of normal courts.

People's Hero

Comrade Haldar is no doubt an offender in the eyes of the Government. But it should also be mentioned here that while allegedly "wanted" in the Kakdwip case, Comrade Haldar was put up as a Communist candidate in the last 1957 General Elections in the same Kakdwip area and he won with 247,785 votes, defeating his Congress rival. This would show how the people look upon him, Comrade Haldar is beloved of them.

The demand for the release of the long-term political prisoners has been raised at all levels. Last year before Independence Day, 74 Members of Parliament issued a public appeal to the effect and among the signatories were Srimati Rukmini Arundale, one of India's renowned artistes, and the great scholar Dr. P. V. Kane, now a National Professor and, of course, lead-

ing personalities of all Opposition parties and groups. Many Congress M.P.s expressed sympathy with the move, but for obvious reasons could not lend their signatures. In any democratic country an appeal of this kind by so many members of Parliament would have received the utmost consideration by the Government. But here this important appeal went altogether unheeded.

There were occasions in political prisoners and release them not only in deference to changed political conditions but also for bringing about changes. Many prisoners were set free early in 1931, following the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. When the Cripps Mission came to India in 1942, a number of Congress leaders were set free.

Did not the British commute the life imprisonment sentences of the INA prisoners and set them at liberty before the transfer of power in 1947?

I remember how the British Governor, Mr. Burrows, and the British Chief Secretary of Bengal then used to repeatedly refer to "the serious crimes" of these prisoners in order to resist the demand for their

playing needless stubbornness where even the British revenge-seekers and Mr. Suhrawardy yielded.

The offences with which the present long-term prisoners in West Bengal were charged relate mostly to the years 1948, 1949 and a few perhaps to early 1950—more than a decade ago and largely before the Constitution came

peaceful means. Let me say from my personal talks with the prisoners that they fully and unreservedly acknowledge this changed reality and share this approach.

As an earnest of their changed political beliefs, the Revolutionary Communist Party has surrendered their arms to the West Bengal Government and their leader, Pannalal Das Gupta who is serving a life sentence reminded me of this, adding that he had also written a letter to Prime Minister Nehru to make their present position known to the head of the Indian Government.

As for the Communist prisoners of the Kakdwip case, they, of course, stand wholly by the Party, and our Party's present policies are well known to the country through many a forum including Parliament and State Legislatures. Nothing more need to said about these Communist prisoners.

Changed Situation

Surely in this changed political situation, the release of the long-term political prisoners in the country cannot possibly mean any encouragement to violent methods, much less their recrudescence. On the contrary, a gesture of this kind will prove highly beneficial for it will further strengthen all those who stand for peaceful, popular and democratic methods in our political life. And in the bargain the Government, too, will have won a creditable point. 1960 is not 1949-50 and it ill-behaves a Government not to move with the times in such matters.

Article 161 of the Constitution empowers the Governors to remit or commute the sentence of any person within the jurisdiction of their respective States and it is not as if this power is not used. In fact, the granting of pardons, reprieves, remissions and commutations of sentences form a routine work of administration. Many ordinary prisoners are set free before completing their terms and this is what it should be when the situation so demands.

Since political prisoners are also within the purview of this Article, why should Article 161 remain frozen in their case? If certain special considerations influence the Governor and Council of Ministers to exercise this prerogative in favour of an ordinary prisoner, why should not political and public considerations such as I have mentioned prevail with them so that they find their way to releasing the long-term political prisoners?

Let it be emphasised here that in the case of these prisoners the main consideration, relevant to Article 161, should be political and political alone. And by that cri-

DUM DUM BASIRHAT AND JESSOP GROUP OF CASES	SENTENCES	PERIOD ALREADY SPENT IN JAIL	
		years	months
1. Sachin Ghose	25	11	2
2. Bindhya Singh	"	"	"
3. Mukundo Gupta	"	"	"
4. Shanat Dutta	"	"	"
5. Dinabandhu Kundu	"	"	"
6. Pritish Dey	11	"	5
7. Hirenjoy Ganguli	"	10	9
8. Phatik Pan	"	"	"
9. Kalidash Chakravarty	"	"	"
10. Amiya Chakravarty	"	"	"
11. Biswanath Das	"	"	"
12. Prasad Mukherji	"	9	8
13. Bikeshwar Bhattacharya	"	10	9
14. Bikram Shah	"	"	"
15. Tarapada Ray	"	8	8
16. Pannalal Das Gupta	11	10	2
17. Amar Raha	"	10	2
18. Raj Krishna Chakravarty	20	10	2
19. Saraswati Tiwari	"	7	9
20. Ramjatan Singh	"	10	1
21. Hari Mukunda Ram	"	"	"
22. Makhn Bose	"	11	2
23. Anwar Ali Sarker	"	11	1
24. Kartik Dhara	"	10	9
KAKDWIP CASE:			
25. Maniklal Hazra	25	10	9
26. Gajen Mali	"	"	"
27. Bijay Mandal	"	"	"
28. Tavni Shah	"	"	"
29. Khirod Bera	"	"	"
30. Diwajan Denda	"	"	"
31. Bhushan Kamalia	"	"	"
32. Sujay Barik	"	"	"
33. Bhim Gurai	"	"	"

terion, these prisoners now well deserve to be released.

It must be said to Sanjeeva Reddy's credit that as the Chief Minister of Andhra, he rose to the occasion and advised the Governor to release 50 long-term political prisoners connected with the Telangana struggles and similar other cases in his State. Only two were held back and denied the amnesty. This step did not in any way worsen the political situation in Andhra. It is a pity that Dr. B. C. Roy and Kamraj Nadar (he also refuses to release long-term political prisoners in his State) should have thought otherwise and stuck to their guns. They are not satisfied even with the fact that their political captives have already served ten to eleven years in prison. The only explanation for this attitude is that a spirit of revenge has the better of the judgment of these two Chief Ministers.

Guided By Vendetta

It is surprising that the concerned Governors are taking no initiative in the matter—even though the Constitution enjoins on them certain special responsibilities. When a country's public policy is so guided by vendetta the degradation is of the worst type, the damage incalculable.

Before concluding, a word or two more about these West Bengal prisoners. One of them Kartick Dhara is now 70 years. There are about half a dozen others

who are around 60. And many are suffering from serious ailments, intestinal or otherwise. Comrade Gajen Mali, for example, has had partial paralysis and he is over 60. The families of most of these prisoners are facing extreme hardship, and even destitution, some live on doles from friends and relatives. Should this not, at least, if nothing else, rouse human compassion?

Democratic Task

Here then arise sacred obligations on the part of the entire democratic movement and indeed, every enlightened citizen towards these unfortunate, long suffering political prisoners of West Bengal, Tamilnad, Andhra and other places. Through meetings, appeals and petitions the demand for their release must be voiced from all parts of India. This is an issue which stands on a high moral and political pedestal and it must be taken up by all.

Finally, I would particularly invite the attention of the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister Nehru to the plight of these prisoners in the hope that these two veteran leaders at least will rise above petty considerations and intervene so that the jail gates are immediately flung open for these prisoners to walk back to life outside. That will be an act of political wisdom and generosity of heart—and for the good of all.

JUNE 19, 1960



MOHANGARH MASSACRE

★ DEMAND FOR ENQUIRY
★ PROTEST DAY CALLED

THE Secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party has issued the following statement to the Press on June 11 about the Mohangarh firing:

The people of the State have been most deeply shocked and grieved by the brutal police firing at Mohangarh in which seventeen kisans including six women have lost their lives and twenty kisans including seven women have sustained serious injuries.

This latest black deed of the Sangrur police far surpasses its already black record of atrocities against the people about which repeated protests have been voiced but with no effect. It highlights the urgent necessity of an impartial probe into the conduct of the police especially the responsible officials. This is all the more necessary since most shocking reports about the conduct of the police subsequent to the firing are also being received while a twelve-hundred strong police force is reported to have been mobilised to terrorise the people in the area.

The Punjab Government has ordered a judicial enquiry into the firing but it can serve the purpose only if proper conditions are created for an impartial enquiry. In this connection the Secretariat fully supports the demands raised by the Narwana Action Committee that in place of the Sessions Judge, Sangrur, a High Court Judge should be appointed for the enquiry, the police officials con-

cerned in the firing be suspended and the huge police force despatched to the area be withdrawn.

This unprecedented heavy toll of lives in the police firing in aid of the landlords seeking to evict tenants long in possession of the land has also unmasked the pro-landlord face of the Punjab administration and Government. It is symptomatic of the state of affairs in the State where the police is allowed to run amuck and trample the people's rights underfoot. It calls for a united effort by all public organisations and parties to see that such police highhandedness is put an end to and such butchery is not repeated in the future.

The Secretariat sends its deepest condolences and sympathies to the relatives of the deceased kisans and demands that the State Government should immediately announce adequate compensation to the families of those killed in the firing and make proper arrangements for the treatment of the injured. The Secretariat directs Party branches and appeals to the people to raise their voice in support of all the above demands and to actively participate in the protest rallies on June 26 called by the Punjab Kisan Sabha.

The Secretariat has deputed Avtar Singh Malhotra, Satwant Singh and Harnam Singh Chamak to get a full report of the whole affair and called for an explanation from Pratap Singh Daulta as to his role in the matter.

OUR LONDON LETTER

★ by OHEO GOOPTU

AFTER THE C'WEALTH AND SUMMIT

THE experiences of May, 1960, when two important gatherings of statesmen on which the people in many countries had placed much hope, provide a warning which they must all heed. The results of these two conferences—the tenth Commonwealth Premiers' Conference and the Big Four Summit meeting at Paris which could not be held—have, it is clear, taught very little to Eisenhower, Macmillan, Adenauer, Gaitskell and Verwoerd.

If disarmament and peaceful coexistence are to become realities, if the struggle against oppression in a large part of Africa is to emerge successful, all the people's strength must be mustered, their movement strengthened a hundredfold and all forms of complacency rooted out from their minds as promptly as possible.

Challenge Ignored

The Commonwealth Premiers' Conference which took place in London immediately before the Summit date was faced with a great challenge—the challenge of the pernicious system of apartheid which was, and still is, the firmly held policy of one of its member countries. Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, declared that the issue of racialism struck at the very heart of the Commonwealth and that the warning had already been written in blood for all to read. Yet, how was this challenge answered by the Conference?

The essential importance of the Commonwealth to Great Britain's economic and political strength is understood by many, in spite of lofty declarations to the contrary by interested quarters. Because of her predominant role in the Commonwealth, Great Britain's prestige is enhanced immensely in the eyes of the world and assists her to maintain her shaky position as a global Power.

Confronted with the shadow of the massacre at Sharpeville during the Conference but mindful of the enormous profitable business which the British ruling class carries on in Mr. Verwoerd's regime, Mr. Macmillan, the astute Tory Prime Minister, in spite of his 'wind of change' speech at Cape Town, did everything possible to prevent an outright condemnation of the Union Government's fascist policies in the final communique.

The challenge of the Nationalist Government's racial laws which inflict "oppression, degradation and untold misery" upon the ten million Africans, the 1,500,000 Coloured and the 500,000 Indians within the Union and which treats "four-fifths of the Commonwealth people as 'Kaffirs' and 'coolies,'" was not met with courage, honesty and statesmanship by the Conference as a whole.

Even the liberal Sunday Observer was forced to comment, "There comes a time when ordinary good manners are pure hypocrisy and when silence is dangerous," while The Times went further by warning, "This is not a schism that can be healed with comfortable words."

Meanwhile, ignoring the anger of the world against his Government's barbaric policies, Mr. C. R. Swart, the Governor-General of South Africa, has boasted that under his Government's care and guardianship the black people have always been served adequately and sheltered against many of the evils and vices of the civilised world. Mr. Swart then proceeded on to prophesy that within ten years many of the nations will have sufficient reason to be grateful for the Government's attitude "so consistently and tenaciously maintained through years of misunderstanding." Well, we shall see.

Gaitskell's Campaign

While intelligent Americans like Stevenson, Lippmann, Kennedy are questioning the "judgement, sagacity and political competence" of the Government in Washington, the only almost unqualified support for the American official attitude at the Summit has come from the Right-wing chief of the British Labour Party, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell.

Mr. Gaitskell, since the Summit break-down, has launched a campaign which in its anti-Sovietism and jingoism is unmatched even by the Tory Prime Minister. He, together with his henchmen in the Labour Party, has certainly learnt no lesson from the failure of the Summit.

Here is Gaitskell, at his best a few days ago: If the western alliance gives up its nuclear weapons you put the whole of the west—Europe, ourselves and the rest of the world—at the mercy of... the Soviet Union. I, personally, do not

want to live in a Communist State. Nor do I think it would be wise to assume in the light of experience with the Russians that if they found themselves in that situation they would not use it to expand their influence and power as widely as they could.

Right-Wing Subservience

Gaitskell and his reactionary friends in this country are utilising the Summit break-down as a pretext for advancing their vicious campaign against the growing anti-nuclear movement and the British Left in general.

Instead of recognising and exposing the fact that behind the facade of the White House, the American foreign policy is being dictated by Washington's Pentagon and U. S. Central Intelligence Agency who uphold the policy of cold war as it exists today, Mr. Gaitskell speaking in the House of Commons on the 'provocative worldwide military alert ordered by the Americans on the eve of the Summit' said, "Even if the military people decided that an alert was desirable, was it necessary to make it public?"

To him if the Generals had kept quiet, everything else would have been in order. A true Socialist answer, indeed! While in the Stock Exchanges in America and other capitalist countries the shares in companies likely to make profit from arms went shooting up happily as the Summit was abandoned, the Right-wing Labour leaders and their Tory friends continue their vicious campaign against those who rightly declare that the real menace to Britain comes not from the Russians but from the militarists in the Pentagon and their adventurist nuclear policy. Already Mr. Macmillan has welcomed the leadership of the Labour Party whose advocacy for the nuclear strategy will bring about "a bipartisan approach to British foreign policy."

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PARTY NEWS

Punjab State Council

THE Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India at its recent session which concluded on June 6 in Jullundur adopted a resolution on the question of language and linguistic reorganisation of the Punjab (text printed in New Age last week). This resolution was the result of intense discussions inside the entire Party for weeks together.

Among other resolutions adopted by the Council were those on betterment levy, the Punjab Municipal Bill, 1960, and on repression.

The resolution on betterment levy recalled that the heroic struggle of the peasantry against this levy had compelled the State Government to make repeated pledges and through the Chief Minister's public statements it was committed to finally settling the issue within the financial year 1959-60.

The Government had to postpone realisation of advance payment for kharif of 1959 and appoint a 25-member

committee including representatives of the State Kisan Sabha to make recommendations for further reduction in the levy amount. But this committee has not been functioning—only one preliminary meeting was held in the five months since it was appointed—showing that the ruling party is not serious about solving the question at an early date.

While the committee is thus being put into cold storage, demand slips have been prepared for realisation of the advance payment. It has been announced, however, that only 25 per cent of the instalment is to be realised. This is partial recognition of the Kisan Sabha's demand but is nevertheless unjust.

The resolution has in conclusion put forward two demands—

- Realisation of advance payment be postponed;
- The 25-member committee be properly functioning and its meeting be immediately held to finalise its recommendations and action thereon be taken on an early date to solve the issue finally in terms of the demands of the Kisan Sabha.

Municipal Bill

The resolution on the Punjab Municipal Bill, 1960, states that it has been the long-standing demand of the democratic forces of the State that the present British-made Municipal Act of 1910 be repealed and replaced by a new democratic Municipal Act.

The State Government has repeatedly declared that it intends to give more powers and authority to the local bodies to encourage greater initiative and to do away with the undue and undemocratic interference by Deputy Commissioners in their work. The State Government has been taking its stand on decentralisation of powers and has been promising a greater voice to the people in local Government.

But the new Municipal Bill completely belies these promises, it actually aims at further weakening the powers and authority of the municipal committees and especially of the people and their elected representatives in these committees.

Under the provisions of the new Bill, the committees will consist of not only elected members but of co-opted members also, who will have to be co-opted from a panel proposed by the Commissioner. Hardly is this system of co-optation different from the hated system of nomination. It will be used to defeat the will of the majority.

The Presidents of the committees have been reduced to

* SEE FACING PAGE

CPI SECRETARIAT MEETS

Resolution On Summit

THE text of the Central Secretariat's resolution on the Summit Conference reads:

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India warmly welcomes the new disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union which have once again brightened the international atmosphere, darkened by the failure of the Summit Conference. The Soviet proposals are a bold and courageous effort to meet the suggestions and criticisms of the Western Powers and have already won the support of peace-loving people in all lands.

These proposals are all the more timely and commendable as they come on the heels of the various provocative actions and statements of U. S. Government leaders, headed by President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon and Secretary of State Herter.

The sending of the U-2 spy plane over the Soviet Union, and the statements justifying it and announcing the intention to continue such acts have been described by Prime Minister Nehru as violations of international law and a turning point in the history of the Summit Conference. In the eyes of right-thinking people all over the world, they placed the responsibility for the failure of the Summit Conference directly on the U. S. Government and President Eisenhower, his assistants and his mentors and advisers in the Pentagon.

The Soviet Government proposals, made in this context of the increasingly aggressive policy of the U. S. Government and the Pentagon, are a rallying point round which all peace forces in the world must rally.

Grave Dangers

The grave dangers which exist as a consequence of the desperate efforts of U. S. imperialism, to retain its domination over the world have been sharply highlighted by the actions of the U. S. imperialists which led to and have followed the failure of the Summit Conference. Any tendency to a complacent belief that the imperialists can be compelled to give up their war policies through negotiations alone, have been given a death-blow. Only the militant struggle of the peoples in all countries against imperialism and the cold war can ensure the defeat and final liquidation of the war-making imperialists.

In Asia and Africa particularly, the peoples and Governments condemn the reprehensible sabotage of the Summit negotiations by the U. S. Government.

All Indians, concerned at the fact that the U-2 spy plane was based on a U. S. base in Peshawar and that this has resulted in bringing all the dangers of such bases to our very door step, will particularly support the proposal for the liquidation of

all foreign military bases as among the first steps to be taken to ensure that confidence and mutual security which alone can lead to complete and general disarmament and peace.

The Communist Party of India joins the rest of the world in expressing the confidence that the resolute struggle of the peoples against imperialism and the cold war will lead to rapid creation of the conditions in which the Summit Conference can be reconvened—this time with the active cooperation and participation of the leading countries of Asia and Africa, whose assistance can be vital in ensuring agreement and in combating any further imperialist efforts at sabotage.

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of Indian public opinion to join hands at this crucial time to work tirelessly for complete and general disarmament, for the liquidation of foreign military bases and military pacts, for national independence for all peoples and for the removal of all obstacles in the way of the reconvening of a Summit Conference with Afro-Asian participation and cooperation.

On Punjab Situation

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the recent developments in Punjab. It strongly protests against the widespread attack on civil liberties launched by the State Government. Pressing to curb the communal moves of the Akali Party, the Congress Government has displayed scant regard to the rights of the individual as well as of the press and reduced judicial processes to a farce.

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COMMUNIQUE

A TWO-DAY meeting of the Central Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India was held on June 8 and 9 in Delhi. Members present were Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad, M. Basavapantiah, Z.A. Ahmad, B. T. Ranadive, P. C. Joshi and Bhupesh Gupta.

The Secretariat discussed the international situation which has developed after the failure of the Heads of States meeting. For the failure of the Summit Conference, the Secretariat holds the U-2 spy flight over the Soviet Union and the justification of this aggression and violation of international law by President Eisenhower responsible.

The Secretariat shares the desires of the world people for a new Summit Conference and trusts that all peace-loving people and Governments will play their rightful part in creating the necessary conditions for this. In this connection, the Secretariat notes with satisfaction the proposal of the Soviet Union that India, China, Indonesia must take part in a future Summit Conference (see resolution).

The Secretariat heard reports of the political and organisational situation in Manipur, Bengal, Andhra, Kerala and Punjab.

The Secretariat noted the tremendous mass response to the democratic movement in Manipur and also the intense repression that has been launched by the

Central Government. Particularly did it note the demand for the democratic rights of the people of Manipur which is the guarantee that the people of the State will be able to courageously face the repression that has been launched against them.

The Secretariat reviewed the situation in Punjab (see resolution).

The Secretariat heard reports of the interview which Bhupesh Gupta had with the long-term prisoners in Dum Dum and All-India Central Jails in West Bengal. It decided to draw up a memorandum and lead a deputation on behalf of the all-India Party leadership to meet the Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Madras, Andhra and other States where there are long-term political prisoners still in jail, as well as the President of the Union, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of India.

Apart from transacting business of a routine organisational character, the Secretariat discussed in detail the preparation of documents and collection of material for the Party Congress. The time-table for the preparation of the drafts and their discussions in the Party units, including holding of Party conferences at the State levels was also discussed.

The next full meeting of the Secretariat will be held in the first week of July.

The demand for a State of the Punjab-speaking people whose borders should comprise the Punjab-speaking areas of the existing State, including Kangra, is a legitimate and democratic demand. At the same time, there is no doubt that the situation in Punjab is complicated. The demand for a linguistic State though democratic and in the interests of the people, does not take the shape of a united demand of the people as it did elsewhere. On the other hand, it tends to divide them on communal lines.

The Akali Party's propaganda and mobilisation of the Sikhs alone for the Punjab Suba has strengthened the suspicions of the Hindus, while the Hindu communists and vested interests have roused communal passions to

oppose the legitimate demand altogether, and have gone to the extent of repudiating Punjab as their mother-tongue.

In this complicated situation, the democratic forces in Punjab must work for the isolation and defeat of the communal outlook on both sides so that a proper atmosphere is created for the realisation of a Punjab-speaking State by uniting the common people from both communities.

Instead of adopting this course, the Congress leadership have been pursuing a policy of opportunist alliance and compromise with the two communal forces, postponing the reorganisation of the State indefinitely. It sabotaged the working of the Regional Formula which could have brought the two communities together and paved the way for a better understanding.

Unite The People

There is no doubt that the Congress rulers of Punjab are utilising the differences over the formation of a linguistic State to bolster their own rule and stabilise themselves. It is this policy that has passed on the initiative to the Akali Party and now the Government is relying on force alone to curb the results of its own policies.

Every one will agree that the tranquillity of this border State is of exceptional importance under present circumstances. Unfortunately the policies of the Congress Government and communal politicians throw the State into a turmoil every few months. It is necessary that the patriotic forces while demanding withdrawal of repressive measures and fighting the moves of the communalists, take positive steps to unite the common people of both communities so that the legitimate demand for Punjab State is realised in the interests of all Punjab-speaking people and in the larger interests of India as a whole.

PUNJAB : REPRESSION AGAINST T. U. & KISAN WORKERS

* FROM FACING PAGE

The resolution, therefore, demands that the present Bill be circulated for public opinion, the views of the existing Municipal Committees be especially obtained and that a special conference of the representatives of the municipal committees be held to consider the Bill.

The resolution has further demanded that the Bill be recast and redrafted in the light of suggestions that may be made by the people and the existing committees before it is presented to the legislature for discussion and adoption.

The resolution on repression noted with concern that cases of police harassment, by means of institutions of false cases, abuse of Section 107 and 151 Cr. P. C. and threats and intimidation of Kisan Sabha and trade union workers had been recently on the increase.

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The S. P. of Sangrur and the DSP of Barnala, both of whom had earned notoriety for brutal treatment of kisan satyagrahis during the anti-betterment morcha have carried forward their vindictive policies.

Jathedar Hardit Singh Bhatla has been made a special target. Three cases have been launched against him, threats of murder have been held out. Various other kisan workers have been involved in cases under Sections 107 and 151.

In other districts also, like Ludhiana, Gurdaspur, etc., police harassment and abuse of Sections 107 and 151 has been on the increase. In various villages in Ludhiana, hundreds of kisans have been harassed, beaten up and arrested on the plea of realisation of old arrears of revenue or taccavi. In Dehlon, thousands of people are called to the thana on baseless reports of police informers and touts and are beaten up there.

From Phagwara, Amritsar, Dharawal and Goraya reports of cases of police harassment of trade unionists, of goonda attacks and cases with the collusion of employers and police have been received.

The revolution condemned all these repressive measures and demanded that they be stopped immediately, that the S. P. of Sangrur be immediately suspended and an enquiry made into his conduct.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

—Lessons of 40 Years

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia made an important speech on May 23, 1960, drawing the lessons from the forty years' history of the Communist Party of Indonesia. We reproduce below extracts from the concluding portions of his speech.

The lessons that could be drawn from the above experiences and conclusions (of 40 years) was the importance of a revolutionary theory. Without theory, or with an erroneous theory, a situation that was favourable to the growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement might become harmful to the Party and the revolutionary movement. Theory could save the Party when in difficulty, it could impel the revolutionary movement forward step by step.

The Indonesian Communist Party had put forward the theory, the correctness of which had already been proved, that there were in Indonesia today three forces, the progressive forces, the middle-of-the-road forces and the diehard forces. The Party's line towards these three forces was to develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehard forces.

In uniting with the middle-of-the-road forces, the Party also waged a struggle. The Party united with the middle-of-the-road forces in opposition to imperialism and feudalism, but the Party struggled against them if they wanted to reduce the freedom of the Party and the freedom of movement of the working people.

The Indonesian Communist Party had put forward the theory that in an armed struggle such as that during 1945-48, the Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle in other countries, but it must carry out the method of combining the three forms of struggle. The 1945-1958 revolution would have turned out differently if the Party had practised this method.

The Indonesian Communist Party had put forward the theory that in order to attain victory for the Indonesian revolution, Party members and the masses of

News from brother parties

the working people must be inspired by the combination of patriotism with proletarian internationalism, Indonesian Communists must combat national nihilism and chauvinism.

The Indonesian Communist Party had put forward the theory that in order to take the lead in political development, the Party must pursue the general line: continue to consolidate the national front and continue to build the Party so as to completely meet the demands of the August 1945 Revolution, which was national and democratic in character.

General Line

The Party's general line for consolidating the national front was: to consolidate the unity between the worker, the peasant, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie based on the anti-feudal alliance of workers and peasants and under the leadership of the working class.

The Party's general line on building of the Party was to build throughout the entire country a Party with a broad mass character and fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organisationally.

Under all circumstances, Aidit pointed out, the Party must be able to Indonesianise Marxism-Leninism. This was indeed difficult work; it required determination and hard work, and we still had much to do in this connection. But, it must without fail be done by the Indonesian Communists....

Since the end of the Second World War, Socialism has been victorious in many countries, the Socialist system is proving itself day by day to be superior, therefore, we need not be surprised then in Indonesia, the word "Socialism" is sold like hot cakes, especially now when the Indonesian people have by themselves seen that after fifteen years of our country being independent, the capitalist political and economic system has more and more been exposed as being quite unable to solve the majority of the basic problems confronting the great majority of the Indonesian people.

Do we Communists object if many people talked about "Socialism" or "Socialism a la Indonesia"? Of course, not. If people were bold enough to talk about Socialism that was an advance by comparison with not talking about it at all or condemning it. Should we not be afraid

that some of these people were carrying out deceptions? The answer is again no, because today, Socialism is a force so concrete and so much alive that deceptions could very easily be spotted. Socialism is no longer an abstract theory, it is something that is living vigorously and something for the masses of Indonesian people, too.

Large numbers of Indonesian people already know what Socialism means. Therefore, the people cannot be deceived, especially when the class consciousness of the Indonesian working class and the working people are today advanced enough to distinguish between Socialism and "Socialism".

Today there are some people who say that the Indonesian Communist Party agreed with Socialism but did not agree to the addition of "a la Indonesia". Before replying to this, I should first like to ask: What do you mean by "a la Indonesia"? Did "Socialism a la Indonesia" mean "feudal Socialism" or "bourgeois Socialism" or "petty-bourgeois Socialism"? If this was what you meant with "a la Indonesia", then we who are faithful to the teachings of Marx, not only do not agree, but oppose it.

Growing Party

But if by saying "Socialism a la Indonesia", you mean Socialism, real Socialism, that is, the establishing of a society free from the exploitation of man by man in accordance with the existing conditions in Indonesia as was stated in the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, then we not only have no objection but categorically agree, and in fact, this is what we are fighting for ever since the founding of our Party forty years ago, and for which many Communists have already given their lives.

Aidit noted that the Party was flourishing as well as a banyan tree with many roots reaching deep down into the earth and with shelter. The Indonesian Communist Party was more native than many things that were claimed to be "native" and "national" but yet could not grow on Indonesian soil. It was not the "jabbering monkeys", the graduates from foreign espionage schools whose training was part of SEATO activities, that had the right to say whether something was native or not, whether it was national or not, but it was the Indonesian people, particularly the creative working people that had the right.

The talk about Socialism would be deception of the people if no action was taken to completely eliminate the influence of imperialism and feudalism in the economic, political, social and cultural fields, he added.

In the third part of his speech Aidit dealt with the recent developments of the domestic political situation.

DANGEROUS AMERICAN MOVES

★ by HOHIT SEN

EISENHOWER has set off on his perilous journey. The peril is not so much to America and his own prestige — which has flattened out quite considerably, in any case — as to peace in our continent.

A look at his itinerary shows up the purpose of the tour. Philippines, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea—all outposts, however shaky, of the American aggressive drive in Asia.

Washington columnists, including the redoubtable ones em-

ployed by the New York Times and Herald Tribune, have noted that Eisenhower's tour is a follow-up of the SEATO conference which met in Washington some two weeks ago. These very same columnists warn of likely "explosions" and "blow-ups" in the Taiwan Straits.

Indeed, it had been a marked feature of the SEATO communiqué that dangerously provocative tactics would be employed against China. Ike's visit to Taiwan, which has been preceded by the despatch of a large bomber force to

Taipei, is clearly intended as the first step in the implementation of this American design against Asian peace. The Press of the People's Republic of China has correctly drawn attention to this move and warned Ike that if he goes ahead with his plans the "explosions" in this area may not quite be the ones he expects.

It had been pointed out that one of the more imminently threatened areas of an American-backed SEATO probe would be Cambodia. And just

as the American President takes off Prince Sihanouk, leader of neutralist Cambodia, has written a very important article in his party paper Nationalist on exactly this issue.

In particular he emphasises the point that Cambodia's neutrality is an eyesore to the "free world allies" like Thailand, South Vietnam and Laos. So long as Cambodia prospers by adhering to neutralism she remains a powerful force of attraction to democratic forces in these countries, at present in bondage to the U.S.

The heart of the matter, however, lies in the projected stop-over in Japan. The storm of protest that sent Hegerty scampering over a "low gate" into a helicopter seems to be gathering for more vehement expression when Eisenhower lands. It is not a question of the form of the demonstrations but of its militant content. The National Council Against the Revision of the Jap-U.S. "Security" Treaty has reiterated all its demands, despite all the specious pleadings of Kishi. It still insists that the American President's trip be postponed and the treaty itself be scrapped.

Three Japanese ex-Prime Ministers, who are no singers of the "Internationale" — Higashikuni, Katayama and Ishibashi — have issued a statement on June 10 asking for the dissolution of the present Diet, the setting up of a caretaker Government and the reconsideration of the "Security" Treaty by the newly-elected Diet. They have further demanded the immediate resignation of the Kishi Government to restore calm in Japan.

The Japanese trade unions have declared their intention to launch yet another general strike to "greet" Eisenhower. The students have declared that they will sit on the runway in Tokyo's aerodrome and prevent the American President from landing. A huge meeting of Japan's leading intellectuals, including Nobel Prize-winner Yukawa, met on June 13 to register their strongest disapproval of the visit. They state that at the present time this will be an outright intrusion by

U.S. Monopolists And Indian Fertilisers

FERTILISER production has been given a high priority in India's programme for increasing agricultural production, and rightly too, for its insufficiency so far has proved a big bottle-neck in pushing forward this programme. Still, the private sector had not till recently evinced any interest in setting up fertiliser plants, since they did not look like offering much profit. Its reticence to enter this field obliged the Government to take up fertiliser production, and the result was Sindri, in which the entire country now takes pride.

The success of Sindri, and the great impetus which it gave to the demand for fertilisers, necessitated the creation of further capacities to meet it. The Government launched a few schemes in the public sector, but it opened the door also for intrusion by the private sector. The latter, of course, was only too eager to grasp this opportunity, since its interest in fertilisers had long since been whetted by the gains which they seemed to hold in prospect.

There was one snag however. The Government had adopted a scheme of pooling the entire internal produce, as well as the import quantity, to ensure an equitable distribution between the different regions. It had also fixed a fair price which, in its view, the cultivator could afford to pay. If private manufacturers were now to enter the field they could not be expected to pool their produce with that of the public sector, and agree to its distribution at a mere "fair" price. They had to exact the maximum price to maximise their profit, and also take advantage of regional and other factors, which the pooling system denied. They, therefore, looked askance at this system, and pressed for its modification and amendment.

The Government, however, did not only not give a fitting rebuff to these demands of the private sector, but also began soliciting assistance of foreign private capitalists for setting up new plants. S. K. Pathi, who must have his finger in every pie (from deals in India to PL 480 deals), during his visit to the U. S. explored possibilities of inviting American enterprise into this new new field. Satish Chandra,

Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, also flew to Washington to assist him in this task. Their labour bore fruit and the Wall Street tycoons began riveting their attention on fertiliser production in India. The Americans too, however, insist on their pound of flesh. They, too, it is said, ask for the removal of certain misgivings about the pool system. In addition, they have sought "elucidation" in regard to the relationship between the public and private sectors in India". (The Indian Express, June 14).

It was the desire of these U. S. interests," said Deputy Minister Satish Chandra on his return to New Delhi, "that they should be allowed to charge any price". (Ibid). And the Government instead of resisting this pressure, seems to have already accepted the logic behind it. It is said to be considering three proposals to accommodate the U. S. standpoint, says the Hindustan Times (June 14).

According to the first of these proposals, the private firms may be asked to join the pool with the assurance of a "reasonable profit over the cost of production of an independent agency". In other words, a body other than the country's Government, in fact independent of the Government, and having the confidence of the foreign entrepreneur, will be given the authority to fix the price for the pool, which in that case, cannot be higher than the present one. Thus, a "fair price" to the private manufacturer will be all too obvious.

Another proposal which the Government is reported to be considering envisages voluntarily association of the private manufacturers with the pool. Those not joining it will be left free to market their produce in competition with the pool fertilisers. They will, no doubt, have misgivings, as Satish Chandra testified, that "factories in the public sector may get favourable treatment, and may not be run on strictly commercial lines so that it will become difficult for the private sector". The Government, however, has lost no time in giving them "a reassuring reply on this point" as well.

The last proposal engaging the attention of the Government relates to the abolition of the pool itself,

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

since with increased production, and fertiliser factories being set up in every State, there will not be any need for it anyhow. Thus, from inviting U. S. capital to set up fertiliser plants in the country to accepting it in the pool with guaranteed profit, and then to abolishing the pool altogether, it is but a single chain of sequences which will inevitably follow from letting foreign private enterprise intrude into a domain which should be strictly public sector's. The incidence will, no doubt, be ultimately borne by the cultivator and the nation's agriculture, whose capacity to pay is all too limited. Agriculture has often

—ESSEN

* SEE BACK PAGE

U. S. COMMUNISTS ASK IKE TO CANCEL VISIT TO JAPAN

RELATIVE to the projected visit of President Eisenhower to Japan, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, on June 6 released a statement on behalf of its National Secretariat. The statement follows in full:

The vital interests of the American people require that President Eisenhower abandon the June 19th trip to Japan, which is designed to re-impose upon that nation a policy of war and militarism.

The whole world, with the possible exception of the White House and the State Department, knows that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people want no part of President Eisenhower's visit or of the so-called mutual security treaty which the Kishi Government is trying to ram down their throats.

The almost incredible insistence of the State Department that the President should go in the face of this reveals the crude arrogance of U.S. imperialism which still evidently thinks that the world is its oyster, and which seemingly has learned nothing from South Korea, Turkey, Cuba and U-2. Of course, U.S. ruling circles are notorious for over-riding the wishes of coloured peoples, whether of the Negroes at home, or

the darker peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The so-called mutual security treaty is nothing more than an attempt to make Japan a bastion of reaction and to fasten State Department domination upon it. This treaty serves the aims of the cold war and would immeasurably increase the danger of a nuclear, hot war in the Far East, which could engulf the world. It continues the present war bases in Japan, from which, once more, Allen Dulles' U-2s will be flying their provocative and aggressive spy missions against China and the sovereignty of other nations.

The national interests of our country cannot be served by invading and interfering in the sovereignty of other nations. It can only be endangered that way. Our national interests can be protected only by respecting the borders of other countries, by peaceful coexistence, by ending the cold war, by banning nuclear tests and weapons through total disarmament, and by treating other nations as equals around the negotiating table.

As they have red-baited 650 million Chinese 'out of existence', the State Department and the monopoly Press are trying to

pretend that the current Japanese peace demonstrations are merely the work of a few "Communist and Left-wing agitators."

Although the Communists and Socialists are playing a magnificent role in this situation for the independence and peace of their country, it is obvious that the Japanese demonstrations involve millions upon millions of students, workers, intellectuals, civic leaders and plain people—including a strike of the trade unions which tied up Japanese transportation for hours.

Certain Press services are compelled to admit that every Japanese newspaper is opposed to Kishi's dictatorial war policies. Nor have the Japanese people forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the two nuclear horrors of the "humanitarian" Trumans.

The Japanese people have felt upon their own backs the disastrous consequences of the previous policies of war and militarism pursued by Japanese imperialism during World War II. They have no desire to see these policies returned, to the detriment of their freedoms, and as a threat to China, the Soviet Union, the colonial liberation movements and other peace forces in the Far East.

Under these circum-

stances, President Eisenhower's trip to Japan constitutes an unwarranted and dangerous interference in the internal affairs of Japan and ought to be cancelled forthwith. It is an attempt to do what the Kishi regime has been unable to do—ram this war treaty down the throats of the Japanese people. It can only result in heightening international tension, particularly in the Far East, and in poisoning friendly relations between the Japanese and American peoples. Moreover, it is obvious that Kishi is just another Syngman Rhee.

DEMAND:

1. President Eisenhower cancel his trip to Japan immediately!
2. Hands off Japan!
3. Scrap the "mutual security" war treaty! No more militarism in Japan!
4. Respect the sovereignty of Japan and all other countries!
5. Recognize and admit People's China to the United Nations!
6. End the cold war, and withdraw all foreign bases!
7. For peaceful co-existence!
8. Solidarity with the peace demonstrations of the Japanese people!



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AD CRAFTS

ORISSA LAND BILL

For the Rajas and not For Kisans

CONGRESS MLAs SPEAK UP

by
**RAHAKRISHNA
PATA**

The Congress-Ganatantra coalition in Orissa has meant a regrouping and strengthening of the feudal forces in the State. The feudal Rajas have rolled up their sleeves and begun the battle to regain some of the privileges they had lost in the pre-coalition days.

THE Bill to increase water-cess, enhanced taxes on daily necessities, revival of the allowance to the Rajas, abolished during the previous Congress regime under people's pressure led by the Communist Party, and above all the drastic changes made in the Land Reform Bill drafted by the previous Government—all this is indication of the strengthening of the feudal forces in the State.

This Land Reform Bill was adopted by the Assembly in April last and is virtually a negation of all land reforms. Last but not the least is the "Kendu leaf deal" by which concessions had been given to "Thikadars" to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs resulting in a loss of Rs. 16 lakhs to the State Exchequer. Development Minister Radhanath Rath had threatened resignation from the Cabinet on this issue as was revealed by Bijoynanda Patnaik at a Press Conference not so long ago.

The very regrouping of the feudal forces and their anti-people deeds have created resentment amongst honest Congressmen and led to the concerted attack on the coalition by the rising Oriya industrialists force represented by Bijoynanda Patnaik, MLA, inside the Congress. This cannot be considered as just a factional quarrel between Bijoynanda Patnaik and Hare Krishna Mahatab.

There is a growing urge for more agricultural production. There is a thirst for land, a hankering for agricultural facilities and amenities. There is resentment against increased taxation, a growing desire for industrial development and above all there is a State-wide agitation organised by the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party against the Coalition Ministry's policies and its misdeeds.

Criticism In Congress

Bijoynanda Patnaik in his letter to Chief Minister Mahatab had said that the peasants were going away from the Congress because they were not getting amenities for more production. And he suggested, "in order to help the kisans in agricultural production, small industries, under the control of Congress Committees, should be set up which would manufacture better agricultural implements for the kisans, machinery for producing sugar-haulers, oil and cotton producing machines." This, according to him,

will rally kisan masses behind the organisation if the Congress takes it up.

Also in his Press Conference, Patnaik said that the Coalition Ministry was increasing taxes on the general mass of people. He had charged that instead of increasing non-tax revenue, taxes especially on food and daily necessities were being enhanced. This is mainly due to the Ganatantra Parishad and is a symptom of feudal rule, he said.

Matters came to a head when the Land Reform Bill came up in the Assembly during the budget session. Prahlad Mallik, Padoya Ch. Samanta Singhar, Congress

MLA, Biren Mitra, ex-President of the Provincial Congress Committee, Lokenath Misra, ex-General Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, along with some others vehemently attacked the Bill as "anti-peasant" and concentrated fire on the sections in the Bill which denied sharecroppers their rights and fixed the ceiling at 25 acres which actually amounts to a hundred acres in the ex-State areas, which is three-fourths of the area of Orissa.

Ceiling Provision

The Land Reform Bill is a negation of all land reform. Let us briefly see what this land reform in reality is, what relations it brings about, whether it benefits the landless and poor peasants, gives land to the sharecropper and confers tenancy rights on the landless and poor peasants.

On the question of ceiling, the Bill says: "The ceiling area of land shall be five basic holdings." One basic holding is five standard acres, so the ceiling works out to 25 standard acres. Standard acre has been defined as perennially irrigated land, that is land irrigated for ten months continuously. There is no such land anywhere in Orissa.

Again, one standard acre means, according to the present Bill, two irrigated acres, three rain-fed acres and four dry acres. In the Bill drafted by the previous Congress regime, this was one-and-a-half irrigated, two rain-fed and three dry acres.

Thus according to the present Bill, one family consisting of five will have 100 acres in the ex-State area—since the specification of land will be the responsibility of "supervisors" and "tansildars" (Nayab) and as such can be easily manipulated. It will be very easy to get all the land in this area classified as dry.

Another Intermediary

The Land Reform Bill is supposed to abolish intermediaries. But the present Bill has actually created another intermediary. The tenants cultivating land under the landlords will have to pay rent to the landlords and not to the Government and only the returns are to be submitted to the Revenue Officer by the landlords. Such a tenant who cannot acquire any right and is at the landlord's mercy.

It is these provisions of the Bill which deny the rights to the peasants that became the object of vehement attack by Congress members themselves on the floor of the Assembly. One Congress member said, "This is a Bill for the Rajas, not for the peasants."

Today, in such a situation when illusions about the Ganatantra Parishad are vanishing, when the misdeeds of the Congress-Ganatantra Coalition Ministry are to a certain extent creating discontent among the masses, when a good section inside the Congress is itself openly attacking the so-called Land Reform Bill, it is the appropriate time for a united attack on the decadent feudal forces which have temporarily regrouped themselves.

So long it was only the Communist Party that had consistently fought the feudal forces; the PSP leadership for opportunistic ends was hobnobbing with the Rajas and sacrificing the interests of the people.

The situation now demands not only an all-out effort to release the State's economy from the feudal grip but simultaneously help the peasants to realise its urge for more agricultural production.

Definition Of Family

This is not all. A family has been defined "as the persons, the wife or the husband as the case may be, and the dependent children and grandchildren." If the number of the family exceeds five, the ceiling limit will also go up and a family will be easily able to hold lands from 200 to 300 acres.

Again there are also exemptions from ceiling. Such exemptions are for plantations of coffee, casurina, tea, rubber, sisam, etc., orchards, specified farms, tanks and irrigation sources, homesteads, threshing floor, manure pits, cowsheds, etc., so long as they are used as such. Efficiently managed farms and lands held by cooperative societies also do not come under the provision of ceiling.

There is another section which lays down that persons holding land in excess of one ceiling area under personal cultivation are only to submit returns to the Revenue Officers of the lands held by them. The Orissa coalition thus merely violates the directions of the Planning Commission.

Eviction Of Tenants

Where do the sharecroppers, the poor peasant and the landless peasant stand in relation to this Bill? Do they get any land? Do they get any tenancy right? The answer is—No.

The Bill lays down, "If the extent of the land of the land-

(June 7)

For Solidarity Against Apartheid

SOUTH AFRICA DAY—JUNE 26

IT is impossible to forget the speeches on South Africa made by one African leader after another at the All-African Conference for Positive Action for Peace and Security at Accra last April. It was just after the terrible Sharpeville and Langa massacres and African blood was boiling with just rage.

And as one by one they came to the platform, proved warriors for their national independence, conscious of the new power of Africa, they spoke bitter words against the barbarism of the Verwoerds and confident words about the future of freedom which would inevitably dawn for the African masses of South Africa.

"South Africa is an outlaw and should, therefore, be expelled not only from the United Nations but from all other international organisations. We call upon our brothers in Ghana to move for the expulsion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth of Nations."

These were the sentiments expressed, not by one the imperialists might call an "irresponsible agitator" but by C. A. Casell, head of the delegation from Liberia, a Minister in his country's Government. And let us remember that in imperialism's eyes, Liberia is among the "safest" of African independent countries, for it has been kept since its birth a century ago securely under the tight grip of U.S. capital and the State Department.

Criminal And Butcher

If Liberia spoke thus, what of others? M. Mainza Chona, speaking as the head of the delegation of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, called Verwoerd "a criminal and a butcher" and spoke with feeling of his regret that some Afro-Asian Prime Ministers attended Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences with such "murderers."

"We would ask these Prime Ministers to feel embarrassed"—and the whole conference applauded.

"Stop talking of doing something in the future, do something now," was the burden of every speech on South Africa. Criticism came of the independent African States; they had decided to impose an economic boycott of South Africa as long ago as 1958 but nothing had been done about it. And here even in Accra, we could still see plenty of goods imported from South Africa, some on the dining tables of the hotels in which the delegates lived.

But Sharpeville and Langa had acted as a whip to the conscience of all. The African blood which had been shed could not be quenched with resolutions alone.

And one by one the independent African Governments came forward with

★ Economic & Diplomatic Boycott

★ Financial Aid To Fighting People

★ QUIT COMMONWEALTH

by **ROHESH CHANDRA**

offers of concrete support. The Liberian Government announced an initial sum of 25,000 dollars for the relief of the sufferers of the South African massacres and apartheid. Ethiopia announced a donation of 28,000 Ethiopian dollars plus scholarship for 30 South African students.

Then came the resolution calling for—

- ★ Financial aid and other means of help from the independent African States for the victims of racial repression in South Africa and for the struggle against apartheid;
- ★ All possible help from all religious and humanitarian organisations all over the world;
- ★ Consideration of economic sanctions by the independent African States;
- ★ A boycott of South African goods by the people of Africa;
- ★ Consideration of severing diplomatic relations with South Africa by all independent African States;
- ★ More effective action in UNO by the Afro-Asian Group against the South African Government;
- ★ Expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth;
- ★ Revocation of South Africa's mandate over South West Africa immediately.

Repression Continues

The net "result" has been continued repression on the most extensive scale: up-to-date since March, over 18,000 people have been arrested, of whom one thousand are still detained and the latest news is of another ghastly massacre only last week, with at least 29 Africans killed and several others wounded.

Is it enough for India to rest content with the fact that we have no formal diplomatic or economic relations with South Africa? One has only to be present at a conference on Africa like one at Accra or Conakry, to know how much is expected of India, both of the Government and the people.

At Accra and Conakry, South African delegates were asking whether the Indian Government could take the initiative to bring about a boycott of South Africa by all Afro-Asian countries. But now nearly three months have elapsed since Sharpeville and no such initiative has been taken by India.

And it is left to the Malayan Prime Minister to talk of an Asian boycott, while the independent African countries are meeting tomorrow at Addis Ababa and will undoubtedly decide on some form of action.

At Accra and Conakry, African delegates spoke sharply of the need for independent Asian and African countries, led by India, to quit the Com-

monwealth if they failed to ensure an end to apartheid in South Africa.

But now the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is over and to all intents and purposes, the "happy family" continues to live in harmony with the murderers of Sharpeville.

It is now time for the Indian people to take matters in their hands—the Indian people who have respect for the great traditions of our national movement, which have made our country's name great in the hearts of all oppressed peoples.

Each organisation or group of people, each trade union, each committee or branch of the mass organisation, each peace committee, each cultural organisation, each individual can and must act on this South Africa Day—on June 26.

Let the demands go up—clear and unmistakable:

- For an economic and diplomatic boycott of South Africa by all Afro-Asian Governments and for the Government of India to take the initiative for such a united action;

● For action by India together with other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth, to the demand that the South African Government is expelled from the Commonwealth, falling which they themselves will quit the Commonwealth;

● For official and public aid from India for the victims of apartheid and for the South African peoples' struggle against racialism and for independence (send what you can, send what your organisation can—even the smallest coin will do—on June 26 to New Age and it will be passed on to organisations of the fighting people of South Africa).

Let resolutions be adopted at meetings condemning apartheid, demanding the outlawing of the South African Government, calling for an end to South Africa's mandate over South West Africa.

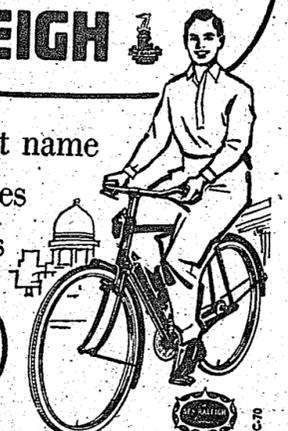
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the father of the Pan-African movement, in his address to the first All-African People's Conference at Accra in 1958 told the African peoples:

"Your nearest friends and neighbours are the coloured people of China and India, the rest of Asia.... Your bond is not mere colour of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt...."

Let us prove that we have not forgotten the imperialist arrogance and discrimination, which was every day a part of our own lives. Let us not forget the exploitation of the British capitalists yesterday and today. Let us prove that Du Bois was right and that we are the nearest friends of Africa by doing whatever we can, individually, collectively, in solidarity with South Africa.

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STUDENT LEADERS ON INDISCIPLINE

THE All-India Students' Federation, in an open letter to the Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities, has expressed "its opinion and suggestion on the question of student indiscipline" about which the Vice-Chancellors have before them a report from the Committee headed by Dewan Anand Kumar.

While welcoming certain observations made by the Committee, the AISF open letter says "that the Committee in its report has not gone beyond reiterating what has all along been said about the problem. Nor does it suggest any sound measures for arresting the corrosion which is eating into the vitals of our academic life."

The letter adds: "It seems the Committee has come out with this report without giving proper consideration and due emphasis to the socio-economic and political problems characteristic of a society in transition."

"The important question which tends to be overlooked," points out the letter, "is that it is not enough to have discipline alone—which is in fact not a very difficult task—but to maintain discipline while at the same time encouraging growth and development."

"The fundamental defect of all the measures suggested so far to combat unrest and indiscipline among students lies in the fact that they are not objective and envisage a considerable contraction of even the already insufficient facilities for higher education, apparently obvious of the repercussions of such a policy on the long-term development of the country. The cause of student unrest is to be found in the colossal void which stares them in the face. Before independence, they had an ideal and a purpose to live and fight for, but after freedom, their hopes are shattered, they are disappointed, insecurity and unemployment have become their lot.

"Side by side with this insecurity, they find that unscrupulous people are making headway in different walks of life. This experience has completely shaken their moral fibre."

The open letter says that "the discontent arising out of the existing meagre facilities make the students disgusted and dull. The branding of their legitimate expression of grievances as an act of indiscipline makes the situation still worse and leaves them frustrated.... They acquire an attitude of indifference towards national problems which sows the seeds of irresponsibility and this in turn generates indiscipline."

The remedy to the problem cannot be the banning of students' unions—that may aggravate the situation. Nor can it be solved by limiting education to a chosen few—that is neither beneficial nor wise.

The AISF open letter then suggests the following measures:

- To have a system of education which suits the needs of independent India and which is intensely national, democratic and popular in character and inspires the youth to work for the radiant progressive future of our country.

- To increase the number of teachers and their emoluments so that close student-teacher relationship is developed and men who stick to their jobs and act as a source of inspiration to students are attracted to the teaching profession.

- Immediate plans to expand scientific and technical education at all levels.

- To respect the democratic rights of the students.

- To help in making the university and college unions living schools in the practice of democracy and centre for organising all extra-mural activities.

Calcutta Reactions

ACADEMIC circles in Calcutta consider the report on student indiscipline, prepared by a committee appointed by the University Grants Commission (UGC), to be lopsided.

Many educationists here think that this conclusion is an over-simplification of the problem, because indiscipline is caused by "many different and complex factors."

A senior teacher of Calcutta University said that it would be impractical to ban students from participating in politics, although it was desirable that younger students should not actively participate in it. Many students, he added, were adults and had earned the right to vote.

He pointed out that the number of political meetings held by students on the University lawns had decreased since Independence.

Describing student indiscipline as a worldwide phenomenon, Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharya, MLC, said that such indiscipline in underdeveloped countries was an expression of the impatience of young men and women at the failure of the older generation to deliver the goods.

Emphasising that unrest was caused by many factors, he pointed out the defects in the education system and the unwelcome atmosphere in the home due to social and economic factors.

While inaugurating a few days ago the Benoy Memorial Hall at Ariadah (24 Parganas District), which has been built at the initiative of the local youth, Dr. Triguna Sen, Rector of the Jadavpur University and former Congress Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, said that it had become a fashion nowadays to dub the student community as indiscipline. But it was necessary to understand why there was unrest among students and youth. The authorities could

- To award scholarships to the poor and needy students and students from backward regions.

The letter concludes: "We earnestly appeal to you to take such decisions that will strengthen and inspire the student community itself, to fight the indiscipline in students ranks for which students alone are not responsible."

"As students and their organisation, we consider it our duty to caution you with all humility that any attack on students rights, their unions, or the curtailments of their education will intensify student unrest and provoke a mass upheaval.

"As the oldest student organisation in our country, we earnestly hope that your deliberations will lead to decisions that will evoke enthusiasm and inspire us to become worthy citizens of our great country."

not be absolved of responsibility for this unrest, he added.

A spokesman of the powerful All-Bengal Teacher's Association pointed out that it would be taking a very superficial view of the problem of student indiscipline if it was considered in isolation from the questions of the methods of examination, syllabus, etc.

A representative of the Students' Federation said that politically-conscious students were generally very disciplined. He pointed out that Calcutta students had peacefully conducted many movements, such as the agitation against the increase in college fees.

A conference to discuss these problems is being convened by the S.F. in Calcutta in July.

PROFESSIONAL COMMUNIST- BAITING

—Bhupesh Gupta's Rejoinder
To Sanjiva Reddy

COMRADE BHUPESH Gupta has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on June 15:

The Congress President, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy is reported to have expressed his concern to newspaper correspondents about what he variously calls "underground" and "subversive" activities of our Party in West Bengal. He further said that these "activities" were mainly connected with India's dispute with China.

After giving out the great news that he had discussed this matter with the Congress workers in West Bengal and was trying to collect further information from his "own source", the Congress President has put out a threat of "strong action" against the Communist Party.

I am sorry for Mr. Reddy, because he does not seem to realise that the President of the Congress Party, which is the ruling party in India, must not be a mere professional Communist-baiter. One can understand the discomfiture of the Congress High Command at the rapid decline of the Congress and the growth of the popularity of the Communist Party in West Bengal, but the Congress President at least should not forget that this sort of irresponsible and wild utterances do not go well with that high office, nor do they help regain political health.

I emphatically deny Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy's false and mendacious allegations and challenge him to divulge his source of information and prove his charge in public. Our Party has no underground or subversive activities whatsoever in West Bengal or any other part of India. On the contrary our activities are much above the ground which however their great dismay, is fast slipping away from under

the feet of his friends in West Bengal. I do not see why even that should cause this sort of loss of balance at Jantar Mantar Road (AICC office).

The underground activities by men of any political party in West Bengal, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy will care to know, are precisely the ones indulged in by his followers and certain well-patronised top officials. These activities range from colourable distribution of permits, licences and contracts, and the black marketing of fertilisers (which incidentally find their way into the hands of Mr. Reddy's friends in Andhra) to underworld offences involving moral turpitude about which the whole of Calcutta is talking.

If Mr. Reddy is interested in true facts rather than fairy tales about "underground activities", he should ask the West Bengal Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy to publish the official enquiry report on the Botanical Garden Scandal in which prominent Congressmen and high officials were involved, inter alia, in unprintable moral offences. Everyone in the country will have then a correct picture of underground activity and Mr. Sanjiva Reddy will have something more profitable to worry about.

If the underworld morals of the Botanical Garden scandal are not to be imported into the country's political life, the Congress President Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy had better stop trying to hit the Communist Party below the belt in this manner through fabrications and stunts from a high place. Brandishing the big stick against the Communist Party all the time frightens none. It only injures the country's democratic norms and offends against the constitution. I wonder if Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy understands this.

AMERICAN MOVES

* FROM PAGE 13

America in matters of Japan's internal politics.

The Kishi Government seems to have decided to take recourse to a show of brazen force. It has started a wave of indiscriminate arrests and proclaimed that the police should use "all measures" — including firing, no doubt — to ensure the U.S. President's security. Characteristically the biggest Japanese monopoly houses have decided to pour out huge sums of money to bring in "demonstrators" from outside Tokyo to "welcome" Ike.

Now the Diet is to be recessed — after three lives have been lost. The game is to postpone ratification — the people want its scrapping.

It should be remembered that one of the most vehement points made by Kishi as to why the "Security" Treaty should be approved and the American President should come, is that neutrality cannot be Japan's policy.

It is Eisenhower's intention to precisely strengthen this

anti-neutralist trend throughout Asia. And the bastion of this anti-neutralist trend is Japan — hence the insistence on going, despite the dangers. It is not only in Asia that America and Britain are stepping up their nefarious game. It has been announced in London on June 13 that the Royal Air Force V-2 supersonic jet bomber force will join the U.S. forces in maintaining a round-the-clock patrol of H-bomb carrying aircraft.

It has been further announced that the U.S. Strategic Air Command has been engaged for some time in this 24-hour patrol. Following the British Defence Minister's visit to Washington to sign the Skybolt missile agreement, the British have also joined in. *Hindustan Times* of June 14 reports that this new coordination would mean "that for the first time RAF V-2 bombers would be able to use U.S. bases all over the world, including those in Pakistan" (emphasis added).

This surely is provocation of the most obnoxious kind. The

slightest accident could send some of these bombers over Socialist territory, which would be followed by crushing rocket retaliation with all its incalculable consequences. And we are closely involved since one of the bases to be used by this so-called patrol is in neighbouring Pakistan.

Naturally enough, if such is the attitude, then the disarmament talks in Geneva can scarcely make any headway.

The Soviet delegate V. A. Zorin has summed up the results of the proceedings under three points:

- 1 The Western Powers are obviously evading discussion on the basic points of the Soviet disarmament plan and trying to sidetrack the Committee to secondary issues;
- 2 The U.S. representative is opposed to some of the key propositions of the Soviet proposals and adheres to the policy of increasing international tension;

- 3 There is as yet no evidence of the Western delegations making any concessions to the Soviet Union which, for its part, has met many Western proposals half-way.