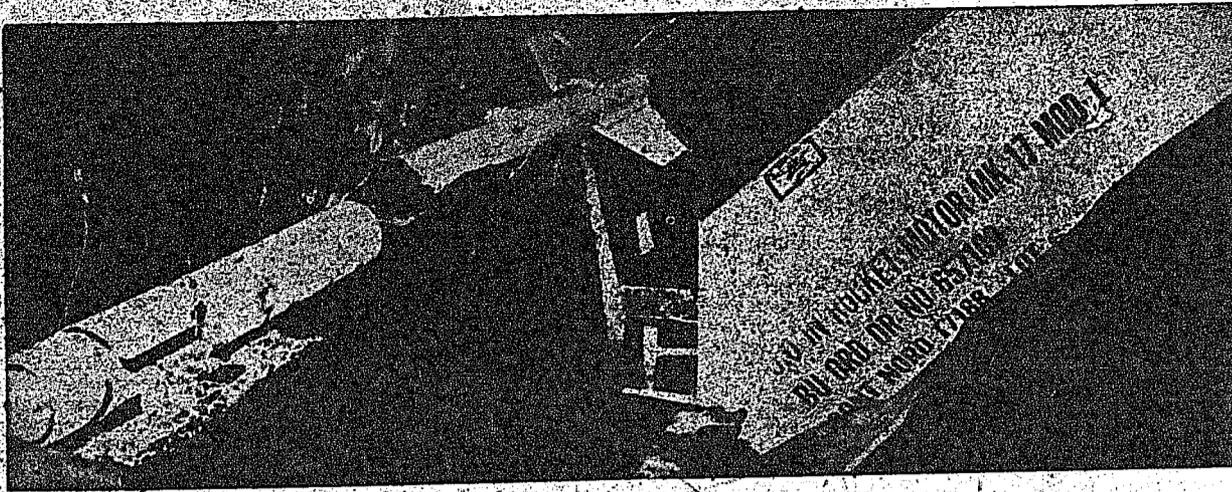


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The Criminals: USA & Chiang



September 24, just after 9 a.m. Brasshats of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique were holding talks in Taipei when Chiang's air force intruded into China's air space and made 143 sorties. In the air battles that ensued, Chiang's air force used United States-made "Sidewinder" guided missiles to down a Chinese aircraft. For this criminal provocation are responsible Chiang Kai-shek and the United States imperialists who have supplied his air force with F-86 and F-100 aircraft, "Sidewinder" guided missiles and other modern weapons. The Radiophotos alongside show the parts of the guided missile which were picked up in the Wenchow Julian area.

Morarji Ranchodji Desai returns from his pilgrimage, his mission fulfilled but with India's name tarnished and need unmet. He returns to the same labours which preoccupied him abroad—unstinted service of big money, homespun and foreign-made.

Morarji's fabulous interview to the Time Correspondent and his subsequent jabberings about Quemoy and Matsu have already sounded the warning signals. The Democratic movement and its representatives in Parliament have responded ably to his insulting challenge.



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25 nP.

MORARJI RETURNS

developed country can make an effective contribution...."

Despite all this, Congress leaders put on an air of injured pride when the Communist Party calls the Indian public sector a form of State capitalism!

To make matters crystal clear, Morarji Desai gave the example of the steel industry where "the Government of India is also helping the private

help the expansion "of the engineering industry, which is almost entirely in the private sector."

To set all doubts at rest he went on to state emphatically: "LET ME MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRIES IS NOT A CREED WITH US. NOR IS IT AN INTEGRAL PART OF

with foreign monopoly capital, which would reduce us soon enough to the status of some of the South American satellites of the United States of America.

Going on to point out the fields for private foreign capital to invade, he mentioned fertilisers, the machine-building industry, synthetic fibre and aluminium.

As for profits for private foreign capital he drew the

After Selling Our Honour

BUT behind the fanfare of more than odd views on celibacy, prohibition and vaccination, Morarji's hard-headed and eminently profitable attitude to foreign capital might escape attention. However, much he might object to the injection of foreign substances into his own body, he has quite another approach to the entry of foreign bacteria into the body of India itself.

Millionaires' Meeting

The most important indication of this attitude was his speech in New York on September 11. Delivered under the presidency of one of the big-guys of the Stanvac Oil monopoly and in the expansive atmosphere of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel Morarji was more than usually uninhibited.

At the outset he told the audience invited by the Far East American Council of Commerce and Industry that he had come to create understanding and remove misunderstanding.

He got down to his subject straightaway by saying:

"The first question which, in one form or another has often cropped up, is about the role of private capital in India's economic development. I WISH TO SAY CATEGORICALLY THAT IT IS THE FIRM POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR."

As for the public sector, Morarji made it clear that its role essentially was to serve the private sector, to do for it what it could not do for itself. "The development of the public sector... is no attempt to oust private capital. We are seeking instead to supplement it and to create conditions in which—and in which alone—private capital in an under-



steel plants in the country to expand. It has done so by giving interest-free loans and in many other ways." Besides, the fresh steel produced would

OUR POLICIES."

Still it seems the American tycoons were not appeased. But Morarji had foreseen that and went on to deliver the following gem: "I have been asked whether industries in the public sector are not excluded from the scope of foreign capital enlistment. The answer is in the negative. While the State has reserved to itself certain industries for development there is nothing rigid about this policy. Our whole approach to industrial policy, as to all economic policy is essentially pragmatic...."

Here we have a clear violation of the Government of India's own Industrial Policy Resolution which had strictly demarcated the sphere which would be exclusively under the public sector. What is more we have here the first glimpses of a plan to enmesh the State in India directly

heartening picture: "I do maintain however that conditions in India are favourable to the investor and on this point I am heartened by a statement made by the top executive of an American firm, which has been operating in India for the last 20 years, that they are perfectly satisfied with the conditions under which they function. The fact is that profits in all countries are good as long as generally dynamic atmosphere of expansion is maintained all round, and I can assure you that we intend to maintain just this dynamic atmosphere for investment by means of all suitable policies at our command." In another part of his speech he had stated that "there is no restriction" on remittance of dividends.

Here we have a fuller glimpse of the Morarji

★ ON PAGE 15

THE PLAN DEBATE IN

RAJYA SABHA

THE debate on the Plan was repeated in the Upper House this week and the Government fared worse. Planning Minister Nanda had to admit that the Government had made serious mistakes in estimating the resources. He also owned up Government's failure in arousing adequate public enthusiasm. He added that even the revised target of Rs. 4,500 crores was difficult to achieve, owing to a gap of Rs. 240 crores.

The anti-climax was reached when he had to admit that the publication of a second document on the appraisal and prospects of the Plan had been a mistake and had "landed us in a mess".

Even the *Hindustan Times* summary (September 25) of the debate, states: "Shorn of the maze of figures the Rajya Sabha debated on the Second Plan today boiled down to the question whether the Planning Commission's latest appraisals of unfulfilled hopes and resources could be taken as the last word on the subject."

Communist Warning

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta, speaking on behalf of the Communist Group, demanded a change in the outlook, approach and methods of the Plan. He argued that during the last two years "harmful and dangerous" policies had been pursued in favour of the big private and foreign capitalist interests. Unless these policies were reversed "it may be the end of the Plan."

He stated that it was the third year of the Plan, when the tempo of development should have been heading towards the climax. "But, we find in the field of industrial production, the rate of increase declined by 1.5 per cent in 1957-58. Agricultural production in 1957-58 had also declined by 7.9 per cent."

Comrade Gupta also pointed out that the total foreign capital investment in the private sector now stood at Rs. 650 crores, higher than at the beginning of the First Plan! India's indebtedness to the International Monetary Fund had gone up to \$1,300 million. Add to it another \$1,000 million in the private sector and it showed that the country's foreign liabilities were growing, simultaneously with the growth of foreign grip on our economy as a whole and the private sector in particular.

He gave ample evidence to show that the big capitalists were being aided to become big monopolists. Capital and foreign exchange allocations to the private sector were going up. He drove home the point that the Plan was being revised to meet the demands of the big industry in the private sector.

The resources crisis, he stated, was Government-made, the result of its policy of appeasing the vested interests and burdening the people. He made several suggestions for

raising the necessary resources. For example, nationalisation of big banks and coal mines and utilising their profits for development purposes, getting at the gold hoards in the country, making the rich pay for the Plan and not only make money out of it and dodge the taxation due.

The Opposition attack went home and the Planning Minister admitted the need to devise means to associate the Opposition leaders with the work of planning. Commenting on this the *Times of India* (September 25) columnist "Observer" states: "One aspect of the malady which at last has begun to receive some attention is the ruling party's unwarranted disposition to look upon itself as the repository of all wisdom."

Mr. Eugene Black, the World Bank chief, the moment he landed on Indian soil, reiterated his earlier opinion that our Plan need not be "over-ambitious" in relation to our needs, but it was so in the context to our resources. There should now be no doubt in which direction our Plan is going to be pushed by him.

Along with him has arrived Dr. Per Jacobsson, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, for the annual meetings of the two Bretton-woods institutions to be held in our country. The *Hindustan Times* (September 28) columnist has welcomed them as "good friends of India and its development Plans, though critics of some of our economic policies."

Their frank criticism is by now well-known and it is that we should concentrate upon agriculture and producing raw materials for export, as before, under the British. Again, that we should not be ambitious enough to pursue big industrialisation plans, for we don't have the resources for the same and would break our necks. They are prepared to aid the "development" of our country if we listen to their advice. They will also help us to get foreign capital provided we give it the free run of our country. They and their masters have already put all this across to Morarji Desai. All this will be discussed once again in the international conferences of the Finance Ministers and experts of the capitalist countries, who will assemble in New Delhi next week.

Their proclaimed aim is to "aid" India and other underdeveloped countries. Their real aim is the economic invasion of our and other Asian and African countries.

We have learned from bitter experience that when Dulles and his doubles in the other imperialist countries talk of saving world freedom, they are only working for their own world domination. We have similarly to realise that their economic counter-parts, when they talk of aiding us, are only masking their plans to economically enslave us.

The policy of saving the Plan with their aid is nothing else but the policy of selling the country, mortgaging our economy to the foreign imperialist Government and their financial institutions.

KERALA AGAIN

THE Parliament session began with the debate on Kerala and ended the same way. The actors are worth remembering: Sri Asoka Mehta the first day and Sri Masani the last. This time it was a privilege motion against the Chief Minister. The Congress formally did not take the initiative, but it was Congress M.P.s who got up to support Sri Masani and give him the chance to be able to shoot his mouth.

Communist M.P., V. P. Nair, quoted constitutional and legal texts and rulings to show how fantastic the proposal was. The Law Minister felt uncomfortable and at the end, senior Congress M.P., Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, got up and appealed to the House to drop the whole matter for if it was proceeded with, most unhappy consequences might result. The Congress cohorts realised they were playing with fire, but they did not want to give up the prey so easily and the issue has been held over for the next session.

Something more than constitutional propriety is involved. It is a vital matter of constitutional principle, the relation between the Centre and the States, the future of democracy in India, the observance of decency in public life.

This week the Union Food Minister has refused to give any rice to Kerala, though it is 50 per cent deficit, the highest in India. He has stated that Kerala can buy rice in the Andhra market, which is surplus. He has not cared to answer from where the funds to pay the blackmarket price and subsidising this price will come to keep the fair-price shops running.

The Congress leaders in New Delhi know, that if the Kerala Government bought rice from the Andhra market, the Kerala Congress leaders will get another chance to attack the Communist Ministry for making money on rice for the Party funds and so on. Political slanders from above and starving the people below are the Congress tactics against the Communist Ministry.

THE CLIMB-DOWN

THE powerful food movements in U.P. and West Bengal have compelled the Congress Governments to come down a peg or two. On September 23, Sri Sampurnanand had stated before the U. P. Congress Legislature Party that his Government would not be coerced into negotiating with agitating Opposition parties, as it would amount to submission of a majority to the minority.

During the next few days, he had to release the Opposition leaders, talk with them and the latest reports show that the arrested satyagrahis will be released and all-party committees formed and the demands and suggestions of the Opposition discussed.

In West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, on September 28, declared at a Press Conference that

he was alive to the "seriousness" of the food situation and was trying to put it above party groupings. He announced some concessions. The next day, the 11-day old Statewide food satyagraha movement was called off after its leaders had met the Chief Minister and secured the necessary clarifications and guarantees.

The *Times of India* in its September 25 Editorial has called it "a new policy of attempting by various gestures, to mollify the Opposition." It gives the examples of the students' agitation, the tram strike, and the food satyagraha.

Even the *Times of India* realises that the Congress cannot continue to rule the old way and states: "This realism—for it is nothing other than that—promises well for the State and more particularly for the Congress itself, since a policy of constructive conciliation is more likely than anything else to yield political dividends."

Again, the *Times of India* has to go further. Referring to the exposures made in the official Food Report, which Dr. B. C. Roy was compelled to publish, it does not share the Chief Minister's unprincipled partisanship in continuing to shield and retain the Food Minister: "The matter is not simply one of constitutional propriety but—what is more to the point—one of inspiring public confidence in the administration's ability to guard against any recurrence of serious errors. Such confidence cannot, however, be achieved if the Minister, constitutionally and otherwise, responsible for lapses persists in office."

The stage has come when even the Right-wing Press cannot as before defend the Congress Government.

RIFT OVER TENANTS' RIGHTS

THE Punjab landlords were engaged in large-scale eviction of tenants and transfers of land to escape and nullify the land reforms. The situation was so serious that the Planning Commission through the President, got the Governor issue an Ordinance on July 30, declaring all land transactions made after April 1953 mala fide.

During the current session of the Punjab Legislature, the Punjab Security of Land Tenures Amendment Bill, incorporating the above Ordinance, was discussed. The Punjab Government, under pressure from the landlords accepted an amendment which reversed the gains the peasants had made in the ordinance.

This created a furore. The Congress Party was sharply divided. Congress M.L.A. Ranjit Singh sharply expressed the view that the present measure had ceased to be progressive and had become retrograde.

Another Congress ex-Minister, Prithvi Singh Asad, thought that the Government was playing a "joke" on thousands of landless tenants. He regretted that the Government had failed to redeem the Party's election pledge. It was not living up to the Congress ideal of land to the tiller.

—P. C. JOSHI

September 30, 1958

notes of the week

OCTOBER 5, 1958

Morarji's

Wild-Goose Chase:

THE Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference at Montreal was expected to provide a triumphant finale to Sri Morarji Desai's trip abroad to procure foreign exchange for the Second Plan. Judging by its final communique, however, one is inclined to dismiss it as yet another wild-goose chase, which an indulgent Government charitably permits its Ministers to periodically stage overseas.

For, contrary to the expectations which had been raised, all that Sri Desai has succeeded in making the dignitaries assembled at Montreal yield is a set of platitudinous sentimentalities, dripping with "bonhomie"—supposed to be the prevailing relationship in this unique comity of nations—interspersed with some operative decisions of a character too generalised to bring any immediate benefit.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE

Before discussing these decisions, however, let us recall the problems faced by our economy—in common with other economies of a like character in the Commonwealth—to which solutions were expected to be forthcoming from the Montreal Conference.

First of these was the problem of instability of prices of primary commodities—industrial raw materials and other agricultural goods—which constitute the main exports of these countries.

Ordinarily, it would seem that the easiest, and also the most direct, way to solve it would be to decide to exchange fixed quanta of these commodities for industrial goods which these countries so badly need. Efforts in this direction could, besides, be reinforced by a resolve to stick to Commonwealth markets as far as purchase of these commodities is concerned.

This is not, however, what Montreal has decreed—for, instead of directly deciding to take immediate steps to support the prices of these commodities, it offers to undertake studies commodity by commodity (no body knows when) "to find ways of moderating short-term fluctuations through international price and marketing pacts." And—as far as the maintenance of the preferential system is concerned, the accent is now on expanding the Commonwealth in an "expanding world."

NOT SO INNOCUOUS

A fine sentiment indeed this of loosening the implicit inhibitions of the Common-

wealth in the sphere of trade—and that too in the interests of expanding trade with outside countries. In its implications, however, it is not as innocuous as it seems. For, with the framers of the communique the utmost that the world should expand is to have "the cooperation of other countries, especially the U.S."

Thus, in plain words, once again it is only the American colossus to which the leaders of the Commonwealth look for providing succour to help them meet the problems of their respective economies. As for the other countries—in the Socialist sector—the world to which they belong does not simply exist for them.

BARREN RESULTS

In relation to our economy, however, it is apparent that the vistas of economic co-operation with the Socialist countries—in the sphere of trade as well as in obtaining technical know-how for industrial development—which have been increasingly unfolded of late hold out immense possibilities, if only we care to utilise them for our benefit.

NO NEW ASSISTANCE

Another—and from the point of view of Sri Desai's mission, the most important—problem to which the Conference was expected to provide an answer was that of availability of more funds. In this line, however, all that has been offered is the possibility of establishing a new Commonwealth financial institution, details of which would be discussed after the forthcoming meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in New Delhi.

Obviously, dependent as these countries—particularly the U.K. and Canada—are on the sweet will of the U.S. Administration, even in the sphere of balancing their own economies, it was too much to expect them to offer any new assistance to India or other underdeveloped countries.

EARLIER EXAMPLES

In the wake of the likely decision of the New Delhi meetings of the two international organisations to increase the funds at their disposal, it would probably not be too difficult for these leaders to beguile the credulous into believing that the need for such a Commonwealth effort, having already

Montreal Fails To Provide Triumphant Finale

been fulfilled, they are no longer obliged to pursue their efforts to establish a separate institution.

Thus, through subtlety of tactics they hope to conceal their incapacity to play an independent role in providing funds for the development of economies like ours. Unfortunately for them, people are not so easily hoodwinked, for already they have before them the example of the earlier British credit of nearly forty million sterling which, instead of helping us to procure any new goods for our industries, was directed mainly towards paying off exporters in the U.K. itself. And that too, for goods which had already been imported.

BARREN RESULTS

In the same line again, some new credits would be forthcoming, at a rate of interest at which the U.K. Government itself borrows "plus management charge of one-quarter of one per cent" (altogether amounting to nearly five to six per cent). How much of it would be earmarked for our country, however, is as yet unknown.

From Canada, too, some new contributions would be made available through the Colombo Plan. Since these have so far mainly comprised of items of little consequence to industrial development, the new allocations either are not likely to help much in the solution of the foreign exchange problem.

Thus, in promoting trade, in stabilising commodity prices, as well as in procurement of additional foreign funds, the Montreal Conference has been barren of results. And rightly, too, because in the context of a declining trend of intra-Commonwealth trade, which has attained significant proportions since the early fifties, and the preponderant intrusion of the United States, Japan and West Germany into the hitherto close preserves of Great Britain, the continuance of a heterogeneous conglomeration of nations—bound by so tenuous a bond as that of imperialist exploitation—could hardly be feasible.

WHEN WILL OUR GOVT. LEARN?

Lately, the emergence of the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist countries as alternative sources of indus-

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

trial goods as well as centres for absorption of primary commodities, and the possibility of the newly independent countries utilising the potentialities arising therefrom, have made the existence of such a grouping all the more untenable. Our Government, however, tenaciously continues to hug it to its bosom. One wonders when it will learn the prudence of divesting itself of the burden of a carcass which only stinks, besides proving a costly deadweight in so many spheres.

One such sphere in which it directly inhibits our independence to pursue an economic policy beneficial to us is that of utilisation of our sterling balances. Even as late as the visit of Sri Desai to Britain the incongruity of such a limitation was sharply

brought home to us in the form of the U.K.'s agreement to a further scaling down of these balances to a new minimum of 105 million pounds.

In the words of the *Economic Weekly* this agreement is of far-reaching significance, concerning as it does "the possibility of the existence of firm undertakings on the part of the overseas sterling area to maintain a minimum of sterling assets and to only revise these minima by agreement with the banker" (i.e., the U.K.). Obviously, as the weekly has demanded, it is only proper that the Indian Government "announces the nature of these undertakings to the United Kingdom" and also "how far this is relevant to the statutory cover to the issue of internal currency."

Dangerous Agreement

THE *Hindustan Times* told its readers on September 26 that following the "Convertibility" agreement between India and the United States, signed in September last year, several U.S. firms are understood to have applied to the U.S. International Cooperation Mission for investing amounts totalling more than seven million dollars in India.

One such proposal, has in fact been approved apropos setting up a factory in Bombay to manufacture surgical dressings, therapeutic and sanitary products. The Indian firm, collaborating in the venture, will hold only 25 per cent of the share capital.

DEMAND FOR NEW CONCESSIONS

Lest anyone be unaware of the implications of the "Convertibility" agreement, under which the plant is to be established (and more are reported to be in the offing), we might recall its main clause, which prescribes a guarantee on the part of the U.S. Administration that it will convert the profits, as well as capital invested in these plants, into dollars, as and when the sponsors please. Ultimately, however, it is the Indian people who will stand to lose the foreign exchange which will go towards making these conversions possible.

As if this guarantee were not enough the U.S. business circles are now demanding new concessions, this time in the sphere of taxation. According to the *Times of India*, negotiations between the Governments of India and the USA are expected to open in November to discuss these concessions.

VIRTUAL EMBARGO

The National Foreign Trade Council (NFTC), an important foreign trade tax organisation in the USA, has suggested that the Indian Government should recognise as "companies" all the U.S. Corporations, organised under the U.S. laws, and that no tax should be levied on dividends paid by an Indian subsidiary to an American corporation. Since the India (limiteds), proliferating in the country, are mostly only subsidiaries of the giant American corporations, the acceptance of the Council's suggestion will virtually amount to an embargo on any taxation of their profits.

Is it too much to hope of the Indian Government, which has already granted too many incentives to foreign investors, that this time it will put its foot down and refuse to grant any further concessions to make their investment more profitable?

—ESSEN

September 29, 1958

SCRAP - BOOK

ELEPHANTS AND TRACTORS

AMONG the Union Ministers who have specialised in heroics, the Rehabilitation Minister, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, is one. He is no doubt competent in rehabilitating himself at least. Not that he does not care for his hapless refugee brothers, for, does not he hold up before them the golden prospects of Dandakaranya.

But the mischievous Opposition parties are spoiling Mr. Khanna's chances of selling Dandakaranya. We are told tractors and bulldozers are on their way to make an idyllic forest abode out of the dense jungle.

Hearing this a friend of mine has sent me a rather heartening report from Assam, where also much care and compassion are being bestowed on the ungrateful refugees.

In the District of Cachar, there are about four lakhs of refugees, with whom the Assam Government does not know what to do. Some time ago, a report came that some of these refugees squatting in an area were kindly moved out with the help of elephants which gently tore down their huts. But elephants always don't solve the problem. And so the Assam Government, too, has had a brain-wave.

A scheme was drawn up covering 4,780 acres which was to have been reclaimed with the help of the Central Tractor Organisation. The cost was estimated at Rs. 32 lakhs, but what does that matter when it would resettle 2,390 families. On paper, it was worked out that each family would get two acres for Rs. 500 which amount would be treated as a loan.

From the Governor in his address to the Assembly and the Finance Minister in his Budget Speech, down to the lesser VIPs like the Deputy Ministers and Secretariat officials, everybody praised the great project. But praises apart, how was the money spent? Three lakhs of rupees went for building some quarters, garages and offices. Huts which would normally cost Rs. 300 were put up for Rs. 1,400. Some of these collapsed within two months of their construction.

UNCROSSED BRIDGES

A bridge was put up over a small river for the tractors to pass over them. But after it was built, it was found to be too weak to carry a tractor. So the tractors abandoned the bridge and crossed the river which did not have more than two feet of water.

Two bungalows for the officers were constructed at Rs. ten thousand each. Similar buildings in a neighbouring Community Development block cost only Rs. four thousand.

An essential part of the tractor operation—the blade (the dozing machine)—reached after operation was over, and so the top of the mounds though reclaimed could not be levelled. A tractor got burnt, but still it was transported 500 miles before it was abandoned on the roadside—after a big sum had already been wasted on it. Along the river bank, for long stretches, tractor parts could be seen scattered like the bones of a prehistoric animal.

After these tireless efforts, the Government has now suspended the operation though of course the monthly expenditure of Rs. 25,000 has to be borne on account of the Central Tractor Organisation.

ALL THIS WASTED

A friend of mine has calculated the cost of this piece of nation-building: after working for 2,580 hours and spending Rs. 144,000, only 240 acres have been made ready for resettlement. If the work is now stopped for good, then you will have to add another Rs. three lakhs spent on preliminary establishment, and so we have the grand total of Rs. 444,000 which, of course, does not include the money spent on the VIP visits to the project area.

The story does not end there. No displaced person has yet been resettled on this lavishly nurtured site. And jungles are growing where the tractors did such strenuous job. I wonder if Mr. Fletcher is also taking the help of the Central Tractor Organisation for the Dandakaranya reclamation. But I must not talk of all this lest it might impart a sense of insecurity for Mr. Khanna.

MUNDHRA DEAL IN MINIATURE

I HAVE come across the story of a financial transaction which very much smacks of affaire Mundhra—though on a much less ambitious scale. After all it is difficult even for the Congress regime to produce two such flamboyant adventurers as Mundhra in the course of a couple of years.

This was a transaction on a much smaller scale, involving only Rs. 30 lakhs. Let us begin at the beginning.

The Swadeshi Cotton Company of Kanpur belonging to the Jaipurias some time ago expressed its willingness to start a factory in Rajasthan for the manufacture of textile goods. The proposal was to set up the factory in Udaipur with 25,000 spindles.

Nothing abnormal about the proposal, one would say—except that the company expected a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs from the State. Sukhadia's Government always ready to oblige in such cases, agreed.

Trouble began when the company did not get any licence to install spindles. This did not at all deter the Sukhadia Government or the company. They found a way out of the difficulty.

A BIT OF PERSUASION

Another firm, the Raniwala Company of Beawar, had a licence for 15,000 spindles and it was prepared to set up a spinning mill if it was given a loan of Rs. ten lakhs. But no loan was forthcoming to this company. Instead it was "persuaded" to sell its licence to the Swadeshi Cotton Mills.

Once the licence was secured by this rather round-about method, the question of loan arose again. And there were plenty of difficulties, the first and foremost being that if funds from the Consolidated Fund were to be used, sanction from the Government of India was necessary.

To add to the problem, the Finance Department of the State Government, when it examined the question, raised objections mainly on the ground that the loan of Rs. 30 lakhs was on the basis of 25,000 spindles and since the licence was only for 15,000 spindles, the loan amount should be reduced. This objection was overruled.

The Finance Department also said that a penalty clause in default of payment of interest should be inserted in the agreement. This was disregarded.

The Finance Department gave its written opinion that the loan should be treated as the first charge on the assets of the concern which was being opened in Rajasthan. Totally against this recommendation, the agreement allows the firm to take loans from the Rajasthan Finance Corporation and such loans could be treated as the first charge on the industry.

AGAINST ITS OWN RULES

What the Sukhadia Government did was to use the funds of the Devasthan Department to grant the loan. According to the rules framed by the State Government itself, the Devasthan funds are a sort of trust fund kept with the State and cannot be used for granting loans to any private party. This rule was not amended and the opinion of the State Law Department seems to be that since this has not been done the loan would be illegal.

Somebody seems to have been very much anxious to give this loan under any circumstances. And to add to its seriousness, my correspondent writes everything was done under the direct instructions of the Chief Minister.

—DIARIST

ONE MONTH OF THE GUJARAT SATYAGRAHA

● FROM HARI DESAI

Despite black-out in the national Press, the satyagraha in Ahmedabad for the restoration of the martyr's memorial has continued without stop or slackening. Despite the show of "firmness" on the part of those in power, the movement has cemented the unity of the Gujarati people as never before, bringing about unprecedented fraternisation and understanding between the Gujarati and Maharashtra people.

NEARLY two lakhs of people had come out on the streets of Ahmedabad on August 27 when the batch of Maharashtra women offered Satyagraha. And the streets continuously echoed with the slogans of "Gujarati-Marathi Bhai-Bhai".

This demonstration of Gujarati-Marathi unity produced an amazing reaction among the present-day "toadies". The Congress Press started a shameful campaign to arouse anti-Maharashtrian sentiments and the City Congress Committee passed a resolution dubbing the movement "Communist-inspired".

The Secretary of the Committee issued a statement to the Press charging Sri Indulal Yagnik and the leadership of Mahagujarat Janata Parishad with having incited the people to acts of violence and incendiarism and attacking them for "giving away" Bombay city to the Maharashtrais. He could not restrain his ire at the participation of Maharashtra women in Gujaratis' satyagraha, even going to the extent of decrying the slogan "Gujarati - Marathi Bhai-Bhai".

Smashing Rejoinder

While this proved hardly of any help to the Congress bosses—for the man-in-the-street only sneered at these antics in contempt and ordinary Congressmen felt flabbergasted and dismayed—it brought a smashing rejoinder from the Secretary of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad.

He exposed the hypocrisy of the Congress pointing out that while the Congress rulers hailed bilingual Bombay as a great success, they opposed fraternisation between Gujarati and Maharashtra people and stooped to rousing narrow provincial and chauvinistic feelings.

As the slander campaign recoiled on its initiators and indignation at these dirty tactics mounted among the people, the Parishad decided to widen the satyagraha allowing batches from other districts of Gujarat to participate in it.

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee meeting on September 7 retreated from these positions leaving out the anti-Communist part of it. Nevertheless the resolution it adopted condemned the "violence" and opposed the demand for a judicial enquiry into the firing saying that would lead to weakening

of the morale of the forces of law and order.

The most significant part of the GPC resolution, however, was the one deploring the tendency among certain responsible Congress quarters to make confusing and unclear statements on the issue of bilingual Bombay, creating sometimes an impression that the issue was open to reconsideration. The GPC emphatically asserted that the bilingual set-up had come to stay.

Knowledgeable circles revealed that this was the result of the guidance from a certain "strong man". I was given to understand that last month's happenings in Ahmedabad and Gujarat had caused deep concern in New Delhi. Both Pandit Nehru and Pandit Pant were said to be worried and felt that something had to be done to mollify the sentiments of the people of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Then followed the letter from the Rashtrapati to the Prime Minister suggesting reopening of the issue.

I was told that at this stage Pandit Nehru had sounded both Sri S. K. Patil and Sri Morarji Desai. While, according to reports, Sri Patil expressed his readiness to have the issue of bilingual Bombay reopened, Morarji Desai is reported to have put his foot down, saying that could happen only "over his dead body".

Fearing that the issue might be reopened in his absence Morarji issued instructions to his lieutenants in Gujarat. Hence this resolution deploring "unclear and confusing statements" being made by responsible people, presumably the Prime Minister and the President, and a firm declaration from the GPC that the bilingual had come to stay and the issue was not subject to reconsideration.

On September 17, to mark the completion of one month of the satyagraha, representative batches from all over Gujarat as well as a batch of workers from all States of India who have settled down in Ahmedabad and made it their home, offered satyagraha. They were greeted by crowds of thousands upon thousands on their way to the memorial site.

The send-offs to batches from districts has itself become a big mass movement embracing the whole of Gujarat.

OCTOBER 4, 1957, SAW THE DAWN OF THE SPACE AGE

Fourth of October, 1957, has gone down in the history of mankind as the dawn of the Space Age. The new vista of knowledge that is opened up for earth-bound man has unlimited possibilities. The launching of the sputnik on that day (sputnik incidentally is part of Russian phrase Iskustvennyi Sputnik Zemli—meaning 'artificial fellow-traveller around the world') followed by two bigger ones by the Soviets and three small ones by the Americans, was one of the major items of the programme for the International Geophysical Year (IGY, from July 1, 1957 to December 31, 1958).

No Accident

IT IS no accident of history that it was the Socialist humanity that first blazoned the glorious path of humanity's advance to conquer space. The breath-taking achievements in science and technology in the Soviet Union in a brief span of forty years demonstrate anew to what pinnacle of glory man could reach, once the inequities of the capitalist system are done away with and the creative energies of the people liberated.

Let there be no mistake. The soaring of the sputniks is not and could not be the achievement only of a few scientists. It requires the concerted effort of a whole generation trained in the sciences and the scientific outlook. This is not to underestimate the achievement of American science. But as is common knowledge, America finds it difficult to devote the same concerted co-ordinated efforts for fear of its industries being denuded of their scientific and technical personnel. America's yearly output of science graduates is at the moment less than half that of the Soviet Union, as is freely admitted.

The IGY is the greatest scientific research programme that has ever been undertaken. More than 5,000 scientists of 87 nations are engaged in a far-flung assault on the secrets of the earth; the sun and the space.

It is worth recording that even in these days of cold war and international tension, 67 nations from Argentina to Yugoslavia (in the alphabetical order), from the Soviet Union and China to the USA and Britain, from India and Pakistan to Indonesia and Iran are engaged in studying the major phenomena of the earth simultaneously.

Co-operation

More than 2,500 scientific stations and bases scattered around the globe are involved, from the Arctic to the Antarctic, from the Pacific to the Atlantic and now in a certain sense also in space for the sputniks should really be considered as scientific research bases in space.

The cold war could not stand in the way of this gigantic international cooperation because the major phenomena of the world are so vast that observers can see only a small part from within the boundaries of a single country.

Indeed not merely the whole earth but even the space and the outer space, the biggest difficulty the scientist faces is that all experiments and observations carried out on the surface of the earth take place at the bottom of the atmosphere, surrounding

the earth—a kind of ocean of air, hundreds of miles deep.

This atmosphere is, of course, absolutely essential for our survival not merely because of the much-needed oxygen it provides, but also because it protects us from the many lethal radiations that abound in space—the cosmic rays, the ultra-violet rays, the charged particles from the sun, etc. This ocean of air lets through to us, living as we do on the surface of the earth, only some narrow regions of the spectrum of electro-magnetic waves emitted by the sun, the stars and other heavenly bodies.

For ideal scientific observations, therefore, a laboratory in space beyond the atmosphere is necessary. This is precisely what the sputniks are. Various automatic instruments, installed inside as well as the very movement of the sputnik itself, are providing us with much valuable information hitherto inaccessible and they literally open the gateway to the heavens, to the moon, the planets and ultimately to the stars.

comes to the earth from space; the nature of its various types of radiation the corpuscular, the ultra-violet and short-wave X-rays; and the somewhat mysterious cosmic rays which constantly bombard the earth.

One of the main concerns of the IGY is the sun, for almost all geophysical activity is related in one way or another to solar activity. The suggestion to hold it in 1957-58 was made because the sun would be at the peak of a sunspot cycle and the results of its heightened activity could be studied most effectively then. The next sunspot cycle will not occur till 1970.

Information

The amount of information being gathered is so vast that it will take a couple of years to compute, interpret and marshal it pro-

perly. This great collection of facts will be used by scientists for comparison with data collected during future geophysical "years" and will serve as the standard for scientific reference between such "years." It may take two or more of these "years" and a prodigious amount of scientific effort between them before the earth sheds her mysteries.

It is difficult in a short article to encompass all the aspects of the study involved. To mention a but a few of immediate use to us in our everyday life: The causes of the climatic changes producing sudden changes in weather, long droughts and devastating floods may be discovered. The mineral resources of the last unexplored continent, Antarctica, are being investigated. The size and shape of the earth are being carefully measured and navigational and aeronautical techniques will be improved. An attempt will be made here to deal with some of the particular studies in relation to the sputnik.

Ocean Of Air

In studying some of the heavenly bodies around us and the outer space, the biggest difficulty the scientist faces is that all experiments and observations carried out on the surface of the earth take place at the bottom of the atmosphere, surrounding

their initial passage through the ionosphere.

When a primary cosmic ray penetrates the atmosphere to a height of between 35 and 15 miles, it causes a single but immensely powerful nuclear explosion in any atom of the air it hits. The debris are hurled at the earth causing a "shower" of particles that may be a mile in circumference.

In the lower atmosphere, at heights of ten to six miles, the cosmic rays collide with an atom of nitrogen, the gas forming 78 per cent of our air. The nitrogen atom splits into one particle of radioactive carbon (carbon 14) and one particle of radioactive hydrogen (tritium). Carbon 14 disintegrates at fixed rate so that half of it disappears in less than 6,000 years, yet remnants are measurable for more than 25,000 years. Radioactive hydrogen of tritium has a half life of 12.5 years and disappears completely in about 18 years—at which time it has turned into helium gas.

Carbon 14 enters carbon dioxide which is important in the processes of plant and animal life, while radioactive hydrogen enters water and falls on the earth as rain or snow. Carbon 14 will tell the age of any object in which it is found as far back as 25,000 years and radio-

active hydrogen will give age for the past dozen years.

From Space

It is interesting to note that even a proper study of our earth is impossible unless we are able to "observe" (not

One Year Of The Sputnik

● by DILIP BOSE

necessarily with the naked eye) her from space. It was so long impossible to compute correctly the curvature of the earth for the usual means adopted by the geological surveys could not be resorted to when it came to high seas. The orbit and the speed of the sputniks will enable us to compute the curvature more correctly, almost to a few feet.

There is a natural magnetic field around the earth. Its properties are known for long and much utilised in practice, though the nature of the geomagnetic field as also its origin remains a mystery. Recent observations confirm further that this magnetic field consists of two parts; one due to sources in the interior of the earth and the other to sources outside the earth.

The earth's magnetic field affects the motion of charged particles coming from the sun to the earth through the outer space. The measurement of the extent of the sun's corpuscular radiation with the help of the sputniks will provide important clues in unravelling much of the mysteries of the geomagnetic field.

The sputnik will enable us also to measure the intensity of the cosmic rays, varying according to latitude (this will be possible because of the rapid motion of the sputnik round the earth), as also to study fully the composition of primary cosmic radiation, which was so long impossible as the cosmic rays lose their primary characteristics in

the ionosphere was established. It was found by the old astronomical method of triangulation, similar to that adopted by Eratosthenes in 230 B. C. in computing the circumference of the earth. A radio wave was sent up and a receiving station, 17 miles away, below the horizon, heard the "bounce." By measuring the time it took for the wave to go up and return and the angle, it was found that the layer was 62 miles high.

Before 1925 anything beyond ten or 15 miles was almost unknown territory. By 1935 it was clear that the ionosphere is not only affected but created by the sun and that some of its properties vary almost minute by minute with the sun.

Inside Knowledge

The sputniks are giving us an inside knowledge of the ionosphere, the high thin air that extends from 35 to roughly 250 miles. That the thin air high above the clouds might be electrified (ions are electrically charged gas atoms) was first suspected in 1882, the year in which the expeditions of the First Polar Year (the forerunner to the present IGY) set out to study the mysterious daily changes in the earth's magnetic field.

Prof. Balfour-Stewart of Manchester University suggested that only electric currents flowing high above the earth could explain the rapid changes in the earth's magnetism. When Marconi in 1901 could successfully send a wireless message from England to Newfoundland it proved a problem for physicists for the radio waves, like light, travelled on a straight line and, therefore, could not bend over the horizon. It was concluded that radio waves were bouncing off a high layer in the atmosphere, which was probably electrically charged.

Unknown Territory

Twentyfour years later, in 1925, the first layer of the

Advance Scouts

The geophysicist suggests that the process creating the ionosphere begins when the ultra-violet ray emanating from the sun enters and is absorbed by each of the layers. This ultra-violet ray is almost completely absorbed by the time it reaches the lowest or D layer of the ionosphere so that practically none of the dangerous radiation comes through to the earth. The small amount that does get through is, in fact, beneficial for it destroys bacteria and is the source of vitamin D. In the ionosphere this ultra-violet energy ionizes or electrifies the atoms or molecules of air. The exact process is only beginning to be understood.

The sputniks are our advance scouts in conquering this unknown territory—the ionosphere and the space. They are already furnishing us with a wealth of information as to the extent of full spectrum of this energy that comes into the ionosphere.

What is the amount of this energy? What kind of atoms and molecules absorb the energy? What is the nature of the particles bombarding the atmosphere? There is only one way to learn the precise nature of the energy waves and particles in space—and that is to go above the layers of the ionosphere and "see" them before they are absorbed, measuring them by sensitive film or by instrument.

With the launching of the sputniks, paving the way for man's eventual stepping out in space in person, humanity, it could be said, is getting past the adolescent to the adult stage. The earth-bound man, nursed so long with loving care by mother earth protecting him from the hazards of the lethal radiations in space by her atmospheric blanket, is reaching out in space to encounter those very hazards, very much as the grown-up adult, leaving his mother's care, goes out into the world to face its dangers.

The sputniks today and manned space stations and space ships to the moon and the planets tomorrow are extending and will extend the frontiers of human knowledge almost without limit and man as one will have to go out to fight Nature and conquer it.

Punjab has in recent days been seeing huge peasant demonstrations. In response to the call of the Punjab State Kisan Sabha, supported by the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha (Agricultural Workers' Association), these demonstrations have been held to demand speedy implementation of land reforms and to rebuff the moves of the landlords.

HINDU and Sikh peasants have stood shoulder to shoulder in these demonstrations raising slogans of Hindu-Sikh and village-town unity, gladdening the hearts of the common people who are getting tired of the atmosphere of communal bitterness created by the vested interests.

A new welcome feature of these demonstrations—and a good augury for the future of the movement—has been the participation in large numbers of agricultural workers, mainly Harijans.

Successful Demonstrations

The success of these demonstrations can be gauged from two of them—the 5,000-strong one at Ferozpur which local people say has been the biggest in the place and the mobilisation of 4,000 in Karnal in the Hindi zone which surprised the Kisan Sabha leadership itself because it has started work there only recently.

The demonstrators in all the places marched to the District Courts and presented their memoranda to the Collectors for sending on to the Government.

The memoranda put forward the demands that—

- Ejection of tenants in all forms be stopped forthwith and all those ejected in the past be reinstated;

- Ceiling be reduced from 30 to 20 standard acres, both for local and displaced landlords (at present for displaced landlords it is 50 and 40 standard acres respectively for the erstwhile Punjab and Pepsu areas) and the exemptions granted for well-managed and special farms and orchards be abolished;

- All surplus land be taken over by the State Government in pursuance of the Second Plan directive and be used to settle evicted tenants, give land to poor peasants and agricultural workers who should be enabled to acquire ownership on payment of light compensation;
- Rate of compensation under the Punjab Tenancy Act which has been fixed at three-fourth the market value should be drastically reduced to a rate not exceeding that suggested by the Second Plan, according to which fair rent should be fixed at one-fourth or one-fifth the gross produce and an instalment of compensation together with land revenue should not exceed the fair rent.

These demands are being backed by numerous peasant rallies, meetings and conferences. The Punjab Kisan Sabha is now preparing a comprehensive memorandum on tenancy reforms in the State to be presented to the Planning Commission.

A deputation of the Kisan Sabha is to seek an interview with the Planning Commission to apprise it of the serious situation that has been created by the defective and inadequate character of the tenancy legislation, failure of the Government even to implement this legislation, the havoc created by the landlords utilising the loopholes in the legislation and the long period granted them for evasion through official connivance.

The Sabha will also suggest the necessary legislative and administrative steps to solve

the problem in the Punjab. Communist legislators, putting forward the demands of the Kisan Sabha, have sought to include a provision in both the Punjab and Pepsu Tenancy Acts that all transfers and sales of lands by big landowners to circumvent the ceiling be banned.

Land reforms in reverse gear have indeed played havoc with the land problem in Punjab.

Communist legislators, putting forward the demands of the Kisan Sabha, have sought to include a provision in both the Punjab and Pepsu Tenancy Acts that all transfers and sales of lands by big landowners to circumvent the ceiling be banned.

Surplus Lands Disappear

But the Congress rulers under pressure from landlords would not even consider this demand—with the result that all the surplus lands of big landlords have practically disappeared. In certain villages like Khaspur, Sudharanpur and Momin in Patiala District, entire lands have been sold away in small pieces. Through sales

the Congress majority has whittled down the progressive clause regarding nullification of mala fide sales and transfers. Landlords will now not be required to pay back the consideration money. They will be allowed to run away with millions of rupees secured in circumvention of the spirit of the Act.

(Lands transferred are, however, being declared as surplus lands. This will lead to conflicts between the tenants who are to be settled on these lands and the small purchasers who self-cultivate them.)

(Another complication is that transferee relatives of the landlords will claim that they have the right under another section of the Act to reserve the permissible area for self-cultivation.)

(These complications will lead to a deadlock and with tenancy reforms in doldrums as they have been for the last so many years, the landlords have launched their offensive against even the existing provisions.)

On the day the Assembly Session began, three hundred landlords held a silent demonstration outside the Assembly

at Karnal, the Sardar Bahadur is reported to have opposed the very idea of ceiling and called the planners of Government land reform measures as politicians or idealist theoreticians having no practical experience of real life (Tribune, June 28). The Sardar Bahadur was again present at a similar assemblage at Patiala next month which was presided over by Jathedar Nagoke and was addressed among others by the Maharaja of Patiala who attacked ceilings and called on landlords to organise themselves and recreate their natural leadership in the rural areas.

Waiting For A Hitler

The Jathedar visualised the appearance on the scene of another Hitler who would make a clean sweep of all the Jews. He has since then toured the entire State to organise landlords for the "holy crusade".

Further grist to the mill of landlords is being provided by the writings in the Press by Dr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Dr. Mahajan, himself the owner of a big modern farm near Pathankot, claims to be a practical farmer who can show the way out to the nation through large-scale mechanical farming.

In his article in the Tribune of September 7, entitled "Food Policy of India", Dr. Mahajan once again ridicules the slogan of land-to-the tiller and writes: "I, therefore, say that only large-scale farms, run on scientific lines, having tractors to plough the land and with workshops to maintain them, will be able to increase food production. The slogan 'land to the tiller' will have to be kept in abeyance."

The answer to these landlords and their ideologues has come from China where, through the redistribution of land to 30 crore peasants a tremendous labour force has been harnessed for agricultural production and a miracle in production has been achieved—300 to 350 million tons against India's 70 million tons.

The kisan movement in its advance to realise the slogan of "Land to the tiller" has to fight back this organised offensive of the landlords and, at the same time, struggle against the weak, vacillating policies of the State Government. And in Punjab today, the possibilities are great of mobilising the agricultural labourers, tenants and landless peasants for land reforms.

The purchasers of the lands were to be paid back the sale money by the landlords and the lands thus released were to be included in the surplus area. These ordinances were a thorough vindication of the stand taken by the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha all these years.

These Ordinances also gave relief to those tenants to whom lands had been sold or mortgaged by landlords but from whom the lands had been taken away through pre-emption or redemption of the mortgage. They had thereby lost their tenancy rights too. The Ordinances provided that they would get back their tenancy lands—a provision which would benefit thousands of tenants.

The Punjab Ordinance placed the ceiling on future acquisitions of land, but no limit was imposed on existing holdings, while the Pepsu Act had already fixed ceiling on both existing holdings and future acquisitions.

(Since writing this article, the ordinances have come before the State Assembly and

SLOW PACE OF INAM ABOLITION IN MYSORE

Govt. Still Tinkering With Problem

There are about 2,100 Inam villages in Mysore State, mostly in the old Mysore part. The Mysore Government had passed a legislation for the abolition of the Inam system some years ago. Even though this Act had come into force in 1954, the Government has so far taken over only 473 Inam villages.

THE rest are with the Inamdars and they are subjecting the peasants of these villages to severe hardships. According to the Revenue Minister, Rs. 420,000 has been paid to the Inamdars of 77 villages as part payment of compensation. The rest will have to be paid now.

The peasants of these villages are subjected to innumerable hardships. The Jodidars, as they are known here, are virtual lords of these villages. They are all-powerful. Even village officers are appointed by them with the result that the peasants cannot even get justice.

The Act passed by the Mysore Government is itself very unsatisfactory and its implementation has led to serious discontent among the peasants as many of them are denied their permanent rights on the ground that their names do not appear in the land registers.

In most of these Jodi villages there are no land registers at all. Even where they exist they are extremely defective and the tenants are denied their rights over the lands which they have been cultivating for generations.

The implementation of this Act has also been very slow and after four years of enforcement, the Government has stated that 473 villages alone have been brought under its control. The explanation given is that there is not sufficient staff to survey those villages which, according to the Act, is necessary for taking over by the Government.

This is just a lame excuse. If the Government is really serious about it, the Act can be amended in such a manner as to allow taking over of the villages without the survey being made. This will at least give some relief to the tenants of those villages.

The Revenue Minister, Sri Kadidal Manjappa, made the tall claim some time ago that

the Government would bring in an amendment to this effect. He said that all the Jodi villages would be taken over by the Government on October 2 this year. There are no signs, however, of this being accomplished since the Assembly has not met and no amendment to the Act has been passed.

With a view to focusing attention on this vital issue and to ventilate the grievances of the tenants of these Inam villages, the Karnatak Provincial Kisan Sabha held a conference of the kisans of these villages on September 6 at Chintamani (Kolar District).

Delegates came from various parts of the State. Among them were Assembly members like Gangi Reddy and Venkatappa, former Congress leader like Papanna, Muguvalappa and others. B. V. Kakkilaya, Secretary of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, presided over the session where delegates narrated the situation in the Inam villages, the irregularities that are being

committed in survey settlement, the repression by the Jodidars, the way they deceive the tenants, etc.

After prolonged discussions, the conference passed a detailed resolution on the subject. It drew attention to the fact that many of the Inamdars had not kept records even though they were expected to keep it. Nor were the tenants being given any receipts for the rent they were paying to the Jodidars. The village officers, appointed by the Jodidars, are naturally on their side.

Consequently the tenants are denied the rights over the lands held by them in most cases when the Government survey takes place. The resolution, therefore, demanded that the authorities should also take oral evidence in deciding the

rights and also cases should be reviewed when objections are raised by tenants.

The conference further demanded that Advisory Committees should be formed for this purpose in every taluk, including representatives of all parties and the Kisan Sabha. In those cases where the tenants have purchased the lands from the Jodidars they should be given the ownership rights and the money which has been taken from them by the landlords should be returned to them. Also in those cases where the Jodidar has illegally sold lands to other who have no right over them such transactions should be set aside.

The resolution urged upon the Government to take steps to take over all the Jodi villages immediately so that the peasants are saved from the exploitation of the Jodidars.

The conference also considered other problems and demanded that the subsidy for wells should be increased from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1,000, measures to reduce and control prices, distribution of waste lands to landless peasants, etc.

It was decided to send a strong deputation to meet the Chief Minister in this connection. After the delegates' session, a public meeting was held under the presidentship of P. Venkatagiriappa, President of the Provincial Kisan Sabha.

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★ From N. L. UPADHYAYA

NEPAL: Britain's Secret Agreement For Recruitment Of Gurkhas

THE recent agreement between the Royal Government of Nepal and the British Government allowing the British imperialists to open two centres to recruit Gurkha troops on Nepalese territory has not yet seen the light of the day. Its clauses are being kept secret from the people.

Nevertheless it is difficult to hide certain facts and the evil consequences of the agreement have begun to show themselves, portending more evil to follow in future.

Butwal and Dharan are the two strategic points inside Nepal on the Indian border where these recruiting centres have been established. All-weather roads connecting them with Indian lines of communication are now being briskly built.

Beside their strategic location, these places have been centres of movements against various British missions that have come to Nepal in the past for Gurkha recruitment. The surrounding area is populated by the most backward, illiterate and "martial" races of Nepal which traditionally have been the main source of recruitment by the British.

Of the two recruiting bases Dharan is the more important one. It is a mountainous town populated by the famous martial caste of Rais. It is in this region that the important Ghopa military base also lies.

The British Government is spending nearly three crores of rupees over road construction which would connect Dharan with the Indian border town of Joggani. The amount being spent on various installations and constructions at Dharan alone equals half the total national income of Nepal.

Additional crores of rupees will be similarly spent at Butwal. Together the two bases will be maintained at a cost somewhere in the region of 75 per cent of Nepal's total national income!

One consideration which seems to be decisive with the British in recruiting Nepalese Gurkhas for their army is that the recruit should be absolutely illiterate. Persons who have even a touch of literacy are rejected.

No one is allowed to go anywhere near the bases. Pressmen are most scrupulously excluded.

The agreement allows the British Government to keep ten thousand of the recruited Gurkha troops at these bases, besides those whom they regularly ship off to various parts of their empire in Asia and Africa to wage war against peoples fighting for their liberation.

The significance of this 10,000-strong recruit army under British control can be grasped from the fact that the total strength of Nepal's own army is only 6,000!

The innocent and illiterate recruits are rapidly indoctrinated and converted into fanatical pro-British elements. They are daily drugged with imperialist propaganda through re-

gular training classes. An anti-Chinese angle is particularly emphasised in this training. Patriotic and nationalist elements campaigning for the removal of these British recruiting bases are painted to them as diabolical elements plotting to take away their "bread" which they could earn by joining the British army.

Already the British army officers and other officials, in close collaboration with the U.S. Intelligence personnel operating under the garb of technicians, etc., are playing a part in local politics. The language and citizenship problems brewing in communal forms have to a considerable extent been incited by them. If they succeed in fanning these conflicts as they are trying to do, this may well provide the ruling circles with a convenient excuse to postpone the general elections now set for February 1959.

Besides interference in internal politics, the daily life of the people is also becoming difficult in areas adjoining these British bases. Women are afraid to go near them even to fetch drinking water. The British officers, dead drunk, roam about and drive around the villages. There have been several cases of outright misuse of diplomatic passports carried by the British officers.

The Nepalese Government, though aware of all this, prefers to keep quiet. The two recruiting centres have practically become British "protecto-rates" while local Governors

have become discreet money-makers out of bribes doled out by the British.

The Director of the U.S. Operation Mission in Nepal, one Mr. Drake, who boasts of great achievements in Greece in 1946-48, recently visited Dharan and inspected the base there. The Americans are concentrating on infiltration into Western Nepal through missionary schools, hospitals, tourism, village development, etc., while the British are concentrating on the Eastern part (besides parts of the Western Terai area).

The Communist Party of Nepal and sections of the nationalist Press have strongly condemned the agreement allowing British imperialists to establish recruiting bases. It is, however, a matter of shame that the so-called Socialist Nepali Congress together with the U.S. puppet Randaite Gurkha Parishad has supported the agreement. These shameless Government propagandists and corrupt politicians are propagating that recruitment is "beneficial" to Nepal's economy.

The Nepalese people who have always looked upon the Indian people as their elder brothers once again look towards them to realise the seriousness of the situation that is developing as a result of the agreement and the establishment of British recruitment bases which are inevitably becoming a threat to Nepal's independence and the peace of the region.

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★ From N. L. UPADHYAYA

Punjab Kisans Demonstrate For Land

LANDLORD OPPOSITION HAS POWERFUL BACKING IN CONGRESS CIRCLES

By HASTER HARI SINGH

the land problem in the interest of the 36 lakh tenants and agricultural workers in the State.

This situation is now being widely recognised. The Tribune of September 14 had a special article on the subject by "Observer" which said: "The result of agrarian legislation in the State so far has been displacement or eviction of tenants."

Landlords' Tactics

The author describes how the landlords were enabled to get rid of their surplus land: "The Government left ample time to owners to dispose of, or 'absorb' their surplus lands in a suitable manner. It is significant that the Department of Registration of the State Government reported a record number of registrations made during the last two years. According to official figures immovable property of the aggregate value of Rs. 331,561,209 was registered in the Punjab through 153,134 do-

and by other methods tenants have been evicted in some villages of Patiala.

The State Government was, therefore, compelled recently to issue the Punjab and Pepsu Tenancy Ordinances to salvage the surplus areas. All transfers and other disposals of land by landowners after April 15, 1953, in the case of Punjab and August 21, 1956, in the case of Pepsu were nullified by these Ordinances.

The purchasers of the lands were to be paid back the sale money by the landlords and the lands thus released were to be included in the surplus area. These ordinances were a thorough vindication of the stand taken by the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha all these years.

These Ordinances also gave relief to those tenants to whom lands had been sold or mortgaged by landlords but from whom the lands had been taken away through pre-emption or redemption of the mortgage. They had thereby lost their tenancy rights too. The Ordinances provided that they would get back their tenancy lands—a provision which would benefit thousands of tenants.

The Punjab Ordinance placed the ceiling on future acquisitions of land, but no limit was imposed on existing holdings, while the Pepsu Act had already fixed ceiling on both existing holdings and future acquisitions.

(Since writing this article, the ordinances have come before the State Assembly and

House, led by Raja Mahesh Inder Singh, M.L.A., an uncle of the Maharaja of Patiala.

The landlords bitterly oppose the recent Ordinances and the imposition of the ceiling, dubbing it as discrimination between the urban and rural people.

The landlords have powerful backing inside the Congress Party and some Congress leaders are actually advising them and instigating them. Jathedar Udharn Singh Nagoke, M.P., is one such.

Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh, retired Director of Agriculture, Punjab, and at present said to be an Adviser to the Union Ministry of Agriculture, is the main theoretician and ideologue of the landlords in their opposition to ceiling.

At a gathering of landlords

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EDITOR: B. T. RANADIVE

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B. T. Ranadive: China's Leap Forward
Benoy Ghose: Brahmoism And The Bengal Renaissance
D. D. Kosambi: Feudal And Renaissance Literature In Europe
Ramesh Sinha: Food Movement In Uttar Pradesh
Arun Bose: Marx's Falling Rate of Profits

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MANAGER.

FOOD

Orissa Faces A Difficult Situation

From C. M. PANIGRAHI M. P.

Harekrushnapur is a little village in the Band Sub-Division in Orissa. A recent event there has brought this village into the limelight. A farmer went out for work in the fields early in the morning. His wife was taking midday meals for him to the fields. While on her way, another man came and snatched away the food from her, ate it in her presence and gave her back the empty utensils. He had been starving for three days.

NEWSPAPERS in Orissa often report such incidents from different parts of the State.

Since 1954 Orissa has been subjected to repeated natural calamities of floods and drought. In 1954 due to drought, Orissa lost food crops worth about thirty crores of rupees. In 1955, till the last week of August, Orissa experienced another severe drought. It affected 5,000,000 people in the State. Then came the severest food within a century in September 1957 came as the last straw on the camel's back and it shattered the backbone of the peasantry in Orissa completely.

One has only to look at the composition of the rural people in Orissa, to see what misery drought brings upon the poor peasantry of the State. Those having plots from one acre to five acres constitute 70 per cent of the agriculturists. And they possess only 30 per cent of the total cultivated area in the State. Those having lands from six to ten acres constitute 14 per cent and they possess 22 per cent of the cultivated land.

Then there are the vast army of landless agricultural labourers. They have been also hit hard by the drought, because they get no employment. In Orissa the peasant usually remains unemployed for five months in a year because employment in agricultural operations is seasonal. Drought affects even what exists of this seasonal employment.

FIGURES MADE TO ORDER

At the beginning of the 1957 drought, the Food Department of Orissa calculated a deficit of six to ten lakh tons of rice. The State Government in its memorandum to the Taxation Enquiry Committee had stated that the State faced a deficit of 370,370 tons of rice. Then the Government of India sent the Sivraman Committee to make an on-the-spot study of the prevailing scarcity conditions in the State. The Committee was not satisfied with the amount of deficit calculated by the State Government.

The State Government was asked to recalculate the deficit on the basis of a fresh crop-cutting survey. After such a survey the State Government came to the conclusion that as a result of drought damage to paddy crops was to the extent of 25 per cent. What does all this show?

It shows that the Govern-

ment has not even a proper machinery to assess the deficit of the State. The deficit is calculated and again re-calculated to the order of the Centre. Can the hunger and misery of a people be assessed to the order of a higher authority? The Sivraman Committee in

its brief report about Orissa has stated that the average production of rice in Orissa is 21,40,000 tons a year. Even according to the statement of the Supply Minister, who finally assessed the loss to be 25 per cent, the quantity of rice produced in the year 1957 comes to 1,605,000 tons. This was the gross amount available for consumption in the State. After deducting ten per cent for seeds, the net quantity available for consumption comes to 1,445,500 tons.

Now let us see what the requirement of the State is. The State contains a tribal population of 2,98,334. The tribal people are so poverty-ridden that a large number of them do not have the means to eat rice all the year round. A majority

of them live on roots and handia (a kind of drink) for more than three months a year.

Then there is the age-group of one year to four years. Although in Orissa a child after his first year knows no other baby food except rice, we may exclude this group for our purposes.

After making allowances for these two groups, if we calculate at an average rate of 4.5 maunds of consumption of foodgrains per head of population a year, then the annual requirement of rice for Orissa comes to 2,286,481 tons.

This requirement of 2,286,481 tons is against the average annual production of 2,140,000 tons. Thus the question of Orissa being a surplus State in respect

of rice is more an assumption than a fact.

Sri Thirumal Rao, a Congress M.P. and member of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, said that the States were not giving adequate priority to agriculture. He quoted Bombay State as an instance and pointed out that the area under foodgrains had dwindled from 40 million acres to 22 million.

It is the same in Orissa, too. In 1921, the area under crops was 129 lakhs of acres. In 1931 it came down to 123 lakhs of acres and in 1941, it was only 111 lakhs acres. In 1955-56, it fell still further to 9,921,000 acres.

It is the same story in relation to irrigation facilities in the State also. In 1921, the area irrigated was 24 lakhs of acres, in 1931 it was 15 lakhs of acres and in 1953-54, 1,910,808 acres.

A question may be asked: how is it that Orissa used to export two to three lakh tons of rice annually before 1955. The answer is that Orissa exported rice not because it used to have an exportable surplus,

(Continued on facing page)

ASSAM: GOVT. IGNORES OFFER OF COOPERATION

From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

An Assam Government Press-Note recently said that there is "no cause for apprehension of scarcity of rice in Assam." A statement by the State Food Minister followed, again saying, "no cause for anxiety."

THE official Press-Note, however, had to admit that "for some time past the prices of rice and paddy in Assam have shown upward trends and naturally complaints have been received from many quarters about the high price of rice and paddy." But neither the Press-Note nor the Food Minister's Statement mentions the exact extent of this upward trend—that in the course of the last one month or so the price of rice has gone up by not less than seven rupees a maund and that rice does not sell below Rs. 35 a maund, and that in some places, including the State Capital, some qualities of rice sell at even Rs. 40 a maund.

The Government Press-Note further tried to give the assurance that the position was "not very unsatisfactory as compared to other deficit States of India" and that "the shortfall in production as a result of drought has been considerably made up by supplies of imported rice and wheat by the Government of India."

The Food Minister made a bolder assertion, "whatever shortfall we have had in production in Assam has already been met almost fully from the imported rice and wheat."

What exactly is the reality? In the current year Assam has an overall shortfall of one to one-and-a-half lakh tons, one lakh admitted by the Government itself.

For three years successively there have been crop-failures in the Central and Western Districts of the State due to floods and drought. This year also the early rainy season crop has only been one-third

of what was expected. How the main crop turns out has yet to be seen—floods and rains are still continuing. Cattle mortality, to make the situation worse, has been abnormally high, the Government itself admitting the destruction of 40,000 due to rimderpest, etc. Unofficial estimates are that the figure would be in lakhs. Sri Krishnananda Brahmachari, Congress MLA from Kokrajpur in Goalpara District, told the August Session of the Assam Assembly that in Goalpara District alone about 150,000 cattle had died.

FOOD WEEK OBSERVED

This situation did create concern in the minds of the people. The Kisan Sabha observed the first week of July as Food Week. The Communist Party supported the call of the Kisan Sabha and rallies and demonstrations were held in many places, joined in by Congressmen and PSP members in some places.

Leave aside what the Opposition parties and the Kisan Sabha have said, even the Provincial Congress Executive, in a meeting some time ago attended by Union Food Minister Jain, noted the near-famine conditions in at least three Districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and expressed grave concern at the situation. The Executive also suggested certain long-term and short-term measures to tackle the situation.

But all this does not seem to have made any impression on the Food Minister. He dangles some figures as though

figures can feed the people. He says: "We are issuing 108,000 maunds of rice monthly at a subsidised rate through 1500 fair price shops. We are issuing 81,000 maunds of atta per month."

Leave alone the fact that these "impressive" figures have not made any appreciable impact on prices, if the Minister had cared to verify facts he would have known that most of the fairprice shops possess nothing but their signboards.

Not to speak of the mofussil areas, this is the experience in the State Capital itself. The right under the nose of the Food Minister. Whenever approached, the shopkeepers give the stock reply that they had not received any rice. On the other hand, there is the widespread allegation that the subsidised rice finds its way into the blackmarket.

It is the fashion these days for Congress Ministers to call on the people for cooperation to get over any difficult situation. But whenever such cooperation is offered, the Government fights shy of accepting it.

In Shillong, for instance, an All-Parties Food Committee was formed last year and the Government did accept its cooperation in the beginning, as a result of which the situation eased to some extent. But for eight months or more, the Government has not cared to contact the Committee and the Committee's own efforts to contact the Food Department have proved abortive.

What the Government wants when it asks for cooperation is that all the parties should ditto whatever the Government proposes. Notwithstanding the bitter experience of the past, public

bodies are still willing to cooperate with the Government in fighting the food crisis provided the Government is ready to take a reasonable attitude.

The Secretary of the Shillong All-Parties Committee Sri Benoy Lahiri in a recent statement reiterated the Committee's desire to cooperate. Comrade Phani Bora Secretary of the Assam Committee of the Communist Party, demanded recently an all-parties convention to discuss the food situation in the State and ways to tackle it. He has also demanded that 20,000 tons of rice should be allotted to Assam for the next three months, till the harvest. The Government, he has said, should issue an ordinance to fix the selling prices of essential commodities like rice, atta, mustard oil, dal, etc.

The PSP also raised this demand when its Provincial Executive met last week.

NO CHANGE IN POLICY

The Government, it is becoming clear, does not intend to change its pro-hoarder policy on food. After all, the Congress leaders have to show their gratitude to the Assam Rice Mills Association which donated a few lakhs to the Congress Election Fund and the Pragjyotishpur Congress Session Fund.

The Government is placing all its hopes on getting through the next few lean months somehow. But if it persists in such a policy, it will have to meet with the resistance of the people who refuse to be passive victims of starvation created by Congress policies.

Madhya Pradesh is normally a surplus State. The Chattisgarh area of old Madhya Pradesh is a veritable rice bowl and the Madhya Bharat region is rich in wheat and jowar. Yet this year the State is in the throes of a famine and food crisis.

MADHYA Pradesh is in the wheat zone with Bombay and Rajasthan. Bombay City which till this year was excluded from the zone has from the beginning of this season been brought into it as a result of the pressure exerted by wholesale dealers. This immediately led to a spurt in wheat prices.

Prices Shoot Up

At the Indore Mandi the price position was: wheat which was being sold at Rs. 12 to 13 a maund in January-February 1958, rose to Rs. 15 in March and Rs. 22 in August-September. Jowar rose from Rs. nine in March to Rs. 13.75 in August-September; gram from Rs. 10 to 12 to Rs. 17 to Rs. 18 and gur from Rs. 20 to 26.

Last year, wheat prices in March and April had gone up only to Rs. 16. After April, it came down to Rs. 13 to 14. These prices were the highest for the last eight to ten years, a fact admitted by the Government itself in the Assembly.

Rice of the cheapest quality is selling at between Rs. 20 and 22 per maund—a very high price compared to the usual price of Rs. 15 to 18.

Parties and organisations including the Congress have been demanding a ban on the export of foodgrains from the State and bulk purchases by the Government.

ORISSA

(Continued from facing page)

but because for the cultivators in Orissa rice is both a staple food and also a cash crop. They have to sell a part of their produce to pay rents and other dues and to meet ordinary household expenditures. There is no other subsidiary source of income for the vast number of peasants in the State to fall back upon. Hence distress sale of rice used to be a common feature.

According to the minimum standards of consumption, the annual requirement of the State, as I mentioned earlier, comes to 2,286,481 tons of rice. But the Chief Minister of Orissa, Sri Harekrushna Mahatab, declared on the floor of the State Assembly that Orissa's general annual requirement of rice was 19 lakh tons.

Even taking the annual requirement of rice to be 19 lakh tons as stated by the Chief Minister, and only a net quantity of 1,444,550 tons being available for consumption, the deficit works out to 455,500 tons.

How has the State Government faced this difficult food situation? The State Government has deluded the people and misguided the Central Government by repeatedly declaring that the situation was well under control. As the result of such a policy, there is widespread distress in the villages of Orissa today. The Communist, Socialist, PSP and Ganatantra members in the State Assembly have repeatedly brought to

The Communist Party raised this question by an adjournment motion in the State Assembly last year and it received wide support. After about a month, the Central Government intervened to ban the export of rice. But such was the slackness of the Government machinery that the State Government came to know of the ban order only four days after the order was passed. This again has been admitted in the State Assembly itself.

In spite of this ban on export, large-scale smuggling of rice out of the province is going on. Thousands of maunds are booked out by bogus firms which never reach their destination but are smuggled out of the province. It was alleged in the Assembly that about two lakh maunds of rice have gone out of the State in this manner.

But more distressing is the fact that the State Government has not taken any action under the Essential Commodities Act either to prevent smuggling or to requisition the stock. This, despite the fact that the Government admitted in October-November last year that it wanted to build up a stock of one lakh maunds of rice through purchases in the open market but could secure only ten thousand maunds. All this naturally led to the above-mentioned spiralling of food prices.

The notice of the Government instances of starvation deaths from different parts of the State. But the State Government has perfunctorily brushed them aside.

Not only the Opposition parties in the State, but important Congress leaders of Orissa have also declared that the food situation in the State is very acute. Sri Biswanath Das, M.P., an important Congress leader and an ex-Congress Chief Minister of the State, said, in the course of a speech in the Rajya Sabha on September 16 last, that "the food position in Orissa is very acute. When I speak of acute food position in Orissa one may not feel, one may not believe readily. But you have to realise the standard of life and living in Orissa, which is the minimum in India. There the food price, the price of paddy, the main food of the people is about Rs. 20 to Rs. 22 per maund."

Instead of making all-out efforts to meet the needs of the starving millions, the Chief Minister of Orissa is now negotiating with the Chief Minister of West Bengal to sell about 20,000 tons of rice from its reserve stock of 60,000 tons—because, according to him, there is not very much demand in the retail grain shops. He conveniently ignores the fact that there is actually a growing demand for more retail shops.

Prices Beyond Capacity

The State Supply Minister Sri Nilamain Rautray has always one pet argument to put forward. On March 4, 1958, the Supply Minister said in a statement that in the fair price shops there was much less than the expected off-take of rice. If instead of merely stating this fact, the Minister had made even a cursory examination of the actual situation, he could have found that the off-take of rice from fair price shops was less than expected because the

GOVT. POLICIES LAND SURPLUS STATE IN SCARCITY CONDITIONS

From HOMI DAJI, M.L.A.

When prices began to rise and the demand for opening of fair-price shops gathered momentum, it was the Communist Party which was in the forefront of the agitation. At various centres there were demonstrations and hunger-strikes. At Gwalior, an all-party committee gave the call for strike on September 11. It was a complete success. Under pressure of this movement, the Government was forced to open fair-price shops.

Famine Conditions

Because of the early failure of the monsoons last year, large tracts of the State were seriously affected. They include parts of the Jabalpur and Jabhua Districts, Chattisgarh and large parts of the former Vindhya Pradesh.

The worst conditions obtain in the seven Districts of Rewa Division with a population of about 35 lakhs of whom 85 per cent depend upon agriculture. Since October 1956, the area has faced successive

crop failures bringing the peasantry almost to the brink of disaster. The Government claims that it has taken all the steps needed to meet the situation there.

No doubt the Government has moved and taken some steps but totally inadequate compared to what is needed. These Government measures include: Rs. 413,000 as free relief; Rs. 10,800,000 spent on relief work employing about a lakh of workers; taqavi loans amounting to Rs. 13,500,000; postponement of land revenue recovery to the extent of Rs. 16,500,000; and total remission of revenue of the extent of Rs. 12 lakhs.

The Government marshals all this to prove that everything necessary has been done but the reality is different. Even the Correspondent of the Statesman on July 20 complained of the worst scarcity conditions and of people living on barks and leaves, of the miserable provision for gratuitous relief, and of bungling in the running of relief works.

Legislators including those

belonging to the Congress have repeated the same story. Starvation deaths have taken place. A Socialist MLA during the food debate in the Assembly actually listed 80 cases of starvation deaths.

A close scrutiny of the imposing relief figures given by the Government themselves discloses the mockery of its claims. The Government says that it has spent about three crores of rupees on relief work. This includes free relief loans and money spent on other relief work.

Govt. Apathy To Land Reforms

In an area with a rural population of 28 lakhs this works out to a little more than ten rupees per head for ten months—about a rupee per head per month. The amount is actually much less because of the rampant corruption—about 25 per cent of loans have gone in some way or other into the pockets of some officials. Thus all told, despite the all the relief measures, the situation in the Rewa Division is becoming increasingly distressing.

Despite the fact that in Madhya Pradesh the pressure of population is very low compared to other States, the land problem is very acute. According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, 25 per cent of the peasants have no land, while about 14 per cent have very little. Thus, about 40 per cent are land-hungry.

The Government has done very little to effect any land reforms and concentration of landholding continues as before with two per cent of landholders having 20 per cent of the land area and 72 per cent owning less than ten acres possessing only 26 per cent of the total cultivated land. Government has taken no steps towards imposing a ceiling. It has done very little even to distribute about 96 lakh acres of cultivable land that is lying fallow.

Similarly development works have miserably lagged behind in Madhya Pradesh. The progress report of the Second Plan reveals that the State lags behind as the last in India with only 39 per cent of the Plan targets fulfilled in the first and second year. Against an increase of food production by 14.61 tons envisaged by the Plan, the State hardly has achieved an increase of 1.72 lakh tons or less than one-third of the target.

As against the Plan target of irrigating 10.85 lakh acres in the first two years, only 11,000 acres could be built while out of this also only 7,000 acres could be actually used.

AITUC'S STRENGTH CREATES PANIC IN BIG BUSINESS

With the submission to the Union Ministry of Labour the strength of affiliated membership of the All-India Trade Union Congress revealing the fact that the AITUC is nearly a million-and-a-half strong, stronger than the INTUC, Big Business has begun to rage in panic, the INTUC and Congress leadership have begun to fret and fume.

But was this such a secret? Hadn't the General Elections proved that in Bombay and in Coimbatore, in Calcutta and in Jamshedpur, in Kerala and in Kanpur, in Bhopal and in Indore, in Ahmedabad and in Nagpur, in every predominantly working class constituency, candidates of the INTUC had been defeated and mostly at the hands of AITUC leaders? And hadn't the working class struggles breaking out everywhere, in spite of the stubborn opposition of the INTUC, shown that the INTUC had lost much ground among the workers? Is it not a fact that most of the INTUC leaders, instead of serving the workers and sharing their sorrows and struggles, confine themselves to lobbying in the Government Secretariats and hunting about in Congress offices?

That is why the workers ask them—and quite firmly: "On whose side are you, Messrs Leaders of the INTUC?"

The workers' consciousness of their rights and of untried action has grown tremendously and is growing daily and hourly. That is why the INTUC is inevitably giving way to the AITUC.

And the spectre of a conscious, organised and united trade union movement haunts the business magnates. The Birla scribe in the Hindustan Times, commenting editorially on September 4, 1958, gives vent to this panic in Big Business circles. According to him, the membership of the AITUC should be "strictly verified." The inference is clear: "Slash the AITUC's membership by technical administrative tricks."

It wants to provoke the INTUC by saying that it would be unseated in the ILO. The Hindustan Times conveniently forgets that the ILO Constitution permits any country to form its labour delegation by mutual consultation. It is the Government and the INTUC leadership which have refused representation to the other central labour organisations in the country. But the AITUC has always maintained that delegations going abroad to represent Indian labour should be composite and truly representative.

As if in excruciating agony, the Hindustan Times points out—and does so viciously—that accession to AITUC strength would jeopardise industrial peace. The inference, again, is clear: In the interest of industrial peace—through the law and order machinery presumably—do not allow the AITUC to grow in strength.

The Hindustan Times is amply justified in concluding that the AITUC will not oblige Big Business as probably some of the INTUC leaders do and will. But the Hindustan Times is mischievous and vicious when it suggests that if the workers gain more and more consciousness and get more and more united under the banner of the AITUC, they are a danger to industrial peace.

But the reality is that in

such a situation, industrial relations are more businesslike and normal—many industrialists themselves have come to realise this. It is, of course, true, that Big Business will no longer be able to bribe and corrupt and cheat and disrupt the trade unions which presumably, the patrons of Hindustan Times have been doing and want to continue to do.

INTUC CHIEF FRETS AND FUMES

SRI G. R. Ramanujam, the President of the INTUC, was visibly fretting and fuming at his Press Conference in New Delhi on September 15 against the growing strength of the AITUC.

Sri Ramanujam was probably trying to look at AITUC leaders in his own image when he with impunity suggested an enquiry into the funds it gets from the Communist Party and attempted to slander the AITUC with the allegation that unity of the means had been adopted by the AITUC in securing its present strength in the labour field.

Sri Ramanujam would have done better to attempt a probe into the affairs of his own organisation rather than try to slander the AITUC. The strength of the AITUC is derived from its selfless service to the working class.

And the strength of the INTUC is primarily the Congress and the employers.

Has Sri Ramanujam so soon forgotten what an industrialist of the name of Sri Vithal Chandavarkar said with such brutal frankness on July 28 this year in Bombay? Sri Chandavarkar, by no means sympathetic to the AITUC, condemned those employers who tried to control trade unions "by giving

LABOUR NOTES

● BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR
Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress

ing funds to a political party for that specific purpose." It was again Sri Chandavarkar who in the same speech told certain unpalatable truths. He declared "...that despite the best efforts of the Government to build the INTUC, the influence of the INTUC was fast disappearing..."

And what had the Free Press Journal of Bombay, surely not partial to the AITUC, to offer to the INTUC?

Editorially commenting on Sri Chandavarkar's speech, the paper wrote in its issue of July 30, 1958: "The real nature of the INTUC has been known for long. The workers have spurned its wooing and whenever a showdown came, as in Jamshedpur and Bombay and many other places, they made it clear that whoever they might listen to, it would not be the INTUC leadership. The employers have known it but have preferred participation in pretence and politeness either for fear of Government disapproval or for convenience of dealing with unions which functioned 'most like company unions.'"

The editorial further observes: "The INTUC has had the best of auspices. There was Government patronage and there were plentiful funds secured through the good offices of the Congress leaders. It only needed workers for their membership rolls and many companies were willing to let it compile them through all kinds of facilities like collection of union dues on pay days inside the company's premises. Its files were complete and the most the leadership had to do was to mill around Government Secretariats for seeking interviews with Ministers."

The paper bluntly and forthrightly told the truth: "When the conflict between workers and employers or Government came, they (the INTUC leaders-RBG) often forgot their role as leaders of the workers and played the part of junior Government or company mini-

strators. By and by the company owners have also found that though it is nice to talk to the INTUC, it is more rational and expeditious to deal with others."

This is the reality whatever Sri Ramanujam might say in his mad rage.

Sri Ramanujam forgets that the AITUC has been consistently growing in strength due to its correct policies and selfless service to the workers. He forgets that last year and the year before, the AITUC had not submitted its returns to the Government of India protesting against its policy of discriminating against the AITUC in matters of representation on the various bodies. He also conveniently forgets the fact that even otherwise, according to Government's own admission, the AITUC had been the most representative organisation particularly in the Travancore-Cochin, Madras, Andhra and Hyderabad States.

Since then the AITUC has been only growing. Howsoever Big Business and the Hindustan Times might indulge in their ravings, the AITUC shall continue to grow.

Whatever be the provocation from the INTUC and some of its leaders, the AITUC shall continue to strive for the unity of the working class and fight inter-union rivalries by adhering to the inter-union code of conduct evolved at Nainital in May this year by mutual consent of all central organisations.

But the workers are fighting back and support from the people is growing.

GOVT. SIDES WITH FOREIGN MANAGEMENT

THE workers of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers (Private) Ltd. are engaged in a bitter struggle against the foreign-dominated management of this factory manufacturing worsted yarn and cloth and woollen blankets.

Châmanlal, a worker was on hunger-strike for just and vital demands like stoppage of illegal fines and wage-cuts, wage increase and fixation of grades. After 30 days' hunger-strike the Government arrested him. Another worker, Ram Singh, took his place and continued the hunger-strike.

The Punjab Government has surrendered to the British interests here in this small working class town of Chhehar-ta near Amritsar.

It has resorted to arrests. The police parade right inside the departments. Employers are allowed to disregard all laws and codes with impunity. Even conciliation proceedings are either not instituted or are withdrawn.

But the workers are fighting back and support from the people is growing.

COLLIERY CLOSURE

THE Muslia colliery in Burdwan District in West Bengal was closed down on September 10 throwing 500 workers out of employment.

That day there was an explosion in the mine, but fortunately no worker was injured. The workers came out and the union informed the Mines Department officials. The Regional Inspector of Mines and the Inspector of Mines inspected the mine. They refused to take the union into confidence and said the cause of the explosion was a "secret" to be shared only between the management and the Government department. The mine was then closed down.

Comrade Kalyan Roy, General Secretary of the Indian Mine Workers' Federation and the workers' representative on the steering committee on safety in coal mines, has issued a statement condemning this closure.

He has asked why the mine had to be closed down twice between March and September this year. He has asked the very inconvenient question as to whether all the dangers that led to the closure in March had been removed before the mine reopened in June 1958.

September 27

GUDUR MICA STRIKE

THE workers of the Seetaram Mica Mines in Gudur in Andhra Pradesh have been on strike since September 8. It was in May this year that the management victimised 19 workers, including a woman worker, when the workers struck against the alleged misbehaviour of the manager with the woman worker.

The Assistant Secretary of the union went on hunger-strike, followed by a strike of the workers.

The Regional Labour Commissioner and the DSP intervened and an agreement was reached between the union and the management that 12 workers would be reinstated and a committee with two representatives each of the management and the union with a Chairman approved by both was to go into the cases of the remaining seven.

In fact the atmosphere was so informal that the employers almost created an impression that the seven workers would be reinstated within a week. The employers continued with their dilatory tactics. The Committee was not formed.

The union gave notice of strike on August 22, 1958. The employers then offered to form the committee but insisted on a lawyer to work on the committee as their representative.

On September 8, when the strike was to commence, they wanted three days' time to settle the matter, saying they

THE GERMAN QUESTION

TIME and again, Adenauer and his clique of atom war politicians in Bonn have tried to obscure and drown in a welter of propaganda, the self-evident facts and clear conception of the solution of the German problem. I, therefore, believe that it is necessary to speak bluntly and put the issue squarely, so that truth and right may finally prevail over the policy of brute force followed by today's heirs of fascism.

★ The formation of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was a constitutional act independent of recognition by any other State. Whether or not the Federal Republic recognises the German Democratic Republic has no bearing whatever on her existence. The GDR is there, has a right to exist, lives and functions as a sovereign State by virtue of her own right.

Of course, it is a different matter if the German Democratic Republic states that she speaks and acts in the interests of all Germany. This claim is based on two facts: first, the faithful carrying out of contractual obligations as manifested in the observance of the clauses of the Potsdam Agreement and in the rooting out of fascist and militarist remnants and, second, the founding of a democratic peace-loving State.

THE CONTRAST

In the GDR, former lower rank Nazi party members were given the chance to become citizens with full civic rights. Leading fascists, monopolists, junkers and militarists were treated in accordance with the directives of the Potsdam Agreement, which constitutes the basis in international law for the existence of both German States. They were deprived of their economic and political power and it was made impossible for them to influence our course of development.

That way we not only honoured the letter and spirit of the Potsdam Agreement, but discharged a heavy responsibility towards the German people and all those who had suffered under the yoke of fascism and imperialism, who had sacrificed everything and who had fought against fascism on the battlefield. Therefore, we are also entitled to claim the moral right of speaking on behalf of all Germany and of functioning as the representative of the German nation.

But what is the position in West Germany? There important key posts in the Adenauer Government are held by former fascists:

Dr. Theodor Oberlander, Refugees Minister, Major in Hitler's Brown Shirt organisation and "Reich Leader of the Federation of Germans in the East";

Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of Interior, member of Hitler's Storm Troops since 1933;

Hans Joachim Meerkatz, Bundesrat Minister, member of the Nazi party and board member of the fascist supreme Law Office;

Dr. Hans Globke, State Secretary in the West German Chancellor's Office; commentator of the Nuremberg Race Laws responsible for the death of thousands of Jews;

Dr. Brautigam, head of the East European Department of the West German Foreign Ministry, responsible for the deportation and murder of 85,000 Jews.

In West German law courts we find blood-stained judges of the Hitler era.

A State whose Government is run by the same old Nazis and whose legal system is dominated by jurists who passed death sentences on hundreds of anti-fascists under Hitler, has forfeited the right to speak for Germany and the German people.

TWO SYSTEMS

It cannot be denied that the social systems of the two German States have developed in diametrically opposed directions. Our State, led by the working class and the peasants in alliance with other groups, above all the intelligentsia. In the Federal Republic, however, the concerns, cartels and other monopoly organisations have crept back into power and are now endeavouring to lay their hands on the last remaining public undertakings, which are

managed only very reluctantly by the State.

It stands to reason that the great rift which has opened up between the two States as a result of this divergent development cannot be bridged mechanically by a simple device like so-called free elections. Under the circumstances, the only course to take is an exchange of opinions between the two sides. Negotiations must be held with a view to clearing the way for reunification, which will probably not be an easy matter. Naturally, nationwide democratic and free elections will play their part, but these cannot be the first step but only the final link in a long chain of events.

Before the Federal Republic

joined NATO and embarked on its rearmament programme, at a time when the monopolists were not exclusively in control in West Germany, we proposed the holding of all-German free elections by secret ballot.

These possibilities no longer exist in the monopoly-ridden imperialist Adenauer State of today, whose Government spokesmen flatly reject any offer of negotiation and whose Parliament decided in favour of atomic armament. The first thing to do now is to create conditions in West Germany which will ensure a peaceful and democratic development.

A good starting point for such discussions was suggested by

CHINA VOTE IN U. N. U. S., "Champion Of Resistance", Has No Longer A Majority

THE U.S. plot to keep China out of the United Nations has succeeded once again. The General Assembly has once again approved the U.S. proposal to postpone action on the China issue.

It was first in the Steering Committee that Sri V. K. Krishna Menon on India's behalf proposed the inscription of the Chinese representation issue on the agenda of the General Assembly. This was immediately opposed by Cabot Lodge, the U.S. delegate, "the Champion of Resistance", as Menon called him.

Only a fortnight earlier this "Champion of Resistance" had told the American Legion:

"On more than thirty occasions already we have been successful in keeping Communist China out of the U.N. The attempt will undoubtedly be made again in the next few weeks and we will undoubtedly deal with it successfully."

The U.S. before it launched upon its new series of provocations and threats around Quemoy and Taiwan, had circulated a memorandum to Governments on its policy of non-recognition, thus proclaiming that it was determined to persist in its policy of discrimination and aggression at any cost.

Sri Krishna Menon addressing the Steering Committee drew their attention to the fact that India was raising the issue for the third time. Every time the General Assembly had merely adopted an interim measure—what has become known as a moratorium resolution, Sri Menon said.

In refusing to discuss, the

China issue, he added the Assembly had disregarded the Charter obligations of making itself a centre for harmonising relations, an instrument of peace and the universal character of the organisation. "A refusal to discuss it", he pleaded, "is totally unrealistic and inconsistent."

The "Champion of Resistance" however, refused to come out in the open and again moved for a moratorium. The U.S. move was carried by 12 votes to seven with two abstentions.

When this recommendation came before the General Assembly seven Asian nations moved an amendment asking the Assembly to "accede to" instead of "rejecting" the Indian proposal and delete the moratorium clause. The seven Asian nations being: India, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan.

A fact noted by everybody about the debate that followed was that very few of the U.S.-supporters dared open their mouths to advance any arguments in support of the stand they were going to take. Besides the U.S. delegate himself only Britain, Canada and the KMT rump spoke up. On the other side speaker after speaker, including those from Ireland, Sweden, Finland, Indonesia, Afghanistan, besides those of the USSR and other Socialist countries, assailed the U.S. position.

Krishna Menon again challenged the U.S. saying, if the arguments against discussion were as persuasive as the U.S. claimed why did

not the American delegate come and try to persuade? "Just because we refuse to look at them", said Menon, "the States will not disappear." "To put China out of bounds", he said, "is to put ourselves (U.N.) out of bounds."

Already he had told the Steering Committee that some 29 countries recognised China representing 1,114 million people. In fact some 64 per cent of the peoples of the world including the Chinese themselves were in favour of having the question discussed.

He referred to the unfortunate exhibition of the power of the majority to prevent discussion. "The question had been brought forward seven times and it did not say much for the Assembly's prestige that each time it had been put down."

Voting in the General Assembly was closer than on all previous occasions: the Asian motion receiving 29 votes—higher than ever—against 40 for the U.S. proposal, with 12 countries abstaining. The total of those dissenting from the U.S. was thus 41 and for the first time America's supporters on the China question constituted a minority in the Assembly. Even of the votes cast in favour of the U.S. position, a great majority was the result of "arms-twisting".

The debate showed that American imperialism's persistence in resisting China's entry into the U.N. is becoming another tightening noose round its neck—the harder it pulls the sooner it will get choked to death by it.

the GDR Government which, if accepted by West Germany, would simultaneously help to relax tension and safeguard peace in the whole of Europe:

1. An agreement on the banning of the stationing or manufacture of atomic bombs and weapons on German territory, and a ban on propaganda for atomic war;

2. The two German States should leave NATO and the Warsaw Pact respectively, conscription should be abolished in West Germany (there is no compulsory military service in the GDR) and agreement should be reached on troop strength on both sides;

3. A joint request or separate requests to the Four Powers for the withdrawal of their troops, step by step, from the whole of Germany;

4. Setting up of a confederation embracing both German States as a realistic step toward ultimate reunification. Agreement on these points would provide a sound basis for the gradual reunification of Germany and at the same time contribute towards lessening of world tension. In this connection the chance should be grasped of demonstrating the earnest intention of the whole German nation and of translating into reality its rejection of nuclear warfare and atomic death by accepting the plan of Poland's Foreign Minister Rakowski for the creation of an atom-free zone in Europe which is of tremendous importance for European peace and security.

However, this implies willingness to talk and to realise that the question of reunification is a matter of national significance, falling within the competence of the two German States, notwithstanding any obligations on the part of the Great Powers to do everything possible in support of a reunification along peaceful and democratic lines.

REDICULOUS

This initial phase of talks and negotiations is realistic. All the more ridiculous appears the hysterical clamour for the "integration of the Soviet Zone" and the "liberation" of seventeen million "slaves". Once the two sides enter into discussion, recognition of the prevailing situation, both in Germany and in the international sphere will lead them to the conclusion that the only key to German unity is confederation.

As it is, many people seem to have forgotten that there is little new or alien about the idea of a confederation and certainly nothing in this to obstruct the natural course of events. There are numerous examples of confederation in our own history, as well as contemporary examples in other parts of the world, as witness the United Arab Republic.

The founding of a confederation embracing two sovereign States such as the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic would guarantee an undisturbed, peaceful and democratic development. Such an institution would not further the plans of demagogues and political card-sharps, but enable the German people finally to take their fate into their own hands and decide on the exact measures necessary to bring about the reunification of their country.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Hiren Mukerjee On Gandhiji

GANDHI—A STUDY: Hiren Mukerjee. National Book Agency (P) Ltd., Calcutta. 220 pages. Rs. 5.50.

GANDHI Jayanti has been duly celebrated all over India and wherever our diplomats are abroad. This as usual has been made the occasion for saying all sorts of things about Gandhi and his 'method'. One can be sure that a lot of semi-religious nonsense will have been said by all sorts of people who are known as 'Gandhian experts'.

One thing is true about Gandhi—while now everybody talks of his great contribution to Indian independence movement, no one is sure or can explain why he did so many different, and often contradictory, things.

Of course many attempts have been made in the past, and will be made in the future, to build a spurious social science round him—Gandhian economics, Gandhian politics, Gandhian methods, etc.—which is all right in print though not in practice. The Left has been so far critical.

It seems that the true Gandhi was somewhere between the two—those who looked upon him as messiah and those who denounced him as a mountebank. It seemed that he neither wholly belonged to the bourgeoisie nor to the proletariat; for what are they without machines which Gandhi disliked?

He took his stand between the two great classes into which contemporary society is split: neither wanting to hurt the exploiters nor leave the exploited where they were: So it is a curious fact that all criticism of Gandhi has failed to explain or understand him completely and satisfactorily.

Therefore, anybody would turn to Hiren Mukerjee's short biography to see what a well-known Communist has to say about him now, a decade after his death. As a biography there cannot be any complaints about this book and the narrative is well integrated and valuable. But Hiren

Mukerjee calls it 'A Study' too. This is not exactly true. While the narration is all right, the study is not all we are promised with its phrases with monotonous regularity: 'It is difficult to follow his trend', 'strange words these', 'fathomless incongruity', 'strenuously cultivated fixation', etc. Even the author is conscious of this: 'I have had to be repetitive and perhaps a little muddled'.

But Comrade Mukerjee need not be apologetic about his writing about Gandhi from his outlook as a Communist, nor need he after all have been apologetic about the business of 'ends and means'; it is now well known that those who swear by Gandhi have themselves discarded all that is known as Gandhian methods.

The recent period is the history of how quickly those who climbed to power with Gandhi's name on their lips have given the go-by to all truth, non-violence and honest means. While ours have been honest mistakes, theirs have been hypocritical postures. Indeed, these words have come to acquire new meanings which neither Gandhi nor common usage knew. Comrade Mukerjee's last chapter does attempt to illuminate this problem but somehow it fails.

However this is a well written book, with a remarkable flow of language except where conscious efforts are made to load it—'left no stone unturned' or a cutlet uncooked'. This is not to cavil at the author, who has written the chapter on Gandhi after independence in true biblical grandeur. One almost feels one is reading about Prophet Moses, having led the Israelites through all the vicissitudes, getting an agonised glimpse of the Promised Land and regretting why at all he struck the stone for water: an independence that 'stinks in the nostrils'.

—M. B. RAO

A PRICELESS COLLECTION

REMINISCENCES OF MARX AND ENGELS: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Price Rs. 1.87.

THIS is one of the finest things to come to us from Moscow in recent years. Our chagrin is only that it has taken so long to get together these priceless images of the founders of Communism as they were formed in the minds of their contemporaries. Many of these memoirs are being made available for the first time.

The book itself is divided into four sections.

The **FIRST** contains the writings of the colleagues of Marx and Engels—Liebknecht, Lafargue, Theodor Amo, Bebel and others. The **SECOND** section gives us the impressions and personal letters of Marx's wife and daughter Eleanor. In the **THIRD** section we have the descriptions of meetings with Marx by Russian revolutionaries and in the **FOURTH** Engels and Mehr-

Our Defence Problems AS THEY EMERGED OUT OF THE NEW DELHI EXHIBITION

© by JAIPAL SINGH

Neatly tucked in a remote corner of the Jan Path, flanked by the imposing Eastern Court, the Defence Production Exhibition attracted large crowds in the Capital. The first ever to be held in this country, it afforded the Indian people with an opportunity to estimate the extent of the efficacy of their defence material.

ONE has reasons to grumble over the site of the exhibition. It would have been better if the planners of the exhibition had sited the show-pieces in their natural setting. As it was, divested from their 'natural' surroundings, the weapons and equipment imparted the spirit of a commercial display. This, undoubtedly, could not have been the aim of the organisers.

One noted with satisfaction that a major portion of the conventional infantry weapons are now indigenously produced. Our ordnance factories now turn out Bren guns, .32 pistols, .303 rifles, sub-machine guns (automatic), M. E. and smoke grenades, 2", 3", 4" mortars, bayonets, inter-communication equipment and other administrative and operational accessories. Bombs and other ammunition for the

ing round off the collection. A detailed chronology and wonderful pictures add to the value of the work.

It is invidious to attempt to pick out the memoirs which particularly salt the imagination. In any event the choice would be overwhelmingly personal and to write about it might become melodramatic or more. To each his own response.

But one may be permitted to point out a few impressions that are immediately made. **FIRST**, there is the range of the thought of these two men. The whole world of knowledge they took for their province and, to alter a phrase, knowledge made them godlike in their humanity. **SECOND**, there is the compassion and concern for their colleagues, the time ungrudgingly spent on improving the understanding and equipment of "these lesser souls". **THIRD**, there is a moving nobility in the face of privation and slander, a steadfastness and integrity in the face of all the winds that blow. These two men were as great as their thought and one has, alas, not seen their like again.

FINALLY, these memoirs bring to life the unity that Marx and Engels were able to establish between science and action, between fundamentals and the immediate needs of the movement. We can better appreciate the quality of mind that this required since we know of even great beings who have been torn asunder by their failure here. Perhaps the best tribute to this book can be stated in the words of Franz Mehring: "And we hear the ring of their voices as clearly as if they were still living among us every time that over the agonising world of misery... we see the dawn of a new revolutionary epoch."

—MOHIT SEN

NEW AGE

infantry weapons are now locally produced.

Keeping in view that we have had only a decade since freedom this is undoubtedly a significant achievement. Only a beginning in this direction had been made in this country by the British imperialists. The Second World War saw a net-work of ordnance factories spreading all over the country producing small arms and clothing accessories. War exigencies imposed this necessity upon the imperialists because India, due to its geographical position, served as a forward base for operations against the Japanese in Southeast Asia.

The equipment displayed in the exhibition convinces one that while no original efforts have been made by the present Government, the work started by the imperialists in this direction has been pursued with vigour, necessitated by operational exigencies of the country. We did not produce most of the above-mentioned articles before independence. We do so now. In this one feels a sense of national achievement.

Heavy Armaments

That no significant efforts have, however, been made in the direction of manufacturing heavy armaments is established when one discovers that we are yet, and would remain so for many years to come, unable to manufacture any type of light and heavy tanks, mountain artillery pieces, heavy and anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank guns, etc.

Under these heads we are as yet able only to produce 25 pounder gun and carriage, small calibre naval gun (two-pounder). In the field of ammunition, we are able to manufacture indigenously 40 M.M. cartridges for anti-aircraft guns, 20 M. M. cartridges for M. G. depth charges, sea mines and shells for the 25-pounder guns, etc. We were not producing these items before 1947.

Artillery and tanks are the main supporting arms of the infantry. In the British period the metropolitan forces provided this support to the Indian infantry units, thus emphasising the cannon-fodder character of their Indian infantry base. Today, we have Indian Artillery and tank units. But our inability to manufacture armaments for these units, our abject and precarious dependence on the imperialist countries, reveals a very serious gap.

Necessities of modern war demand a strong navy and air force in addition to an adequate infantry base. The

uneven development of these three services may render the whole defence effort a failure. While we have a suitable infantry base (minus an adequate 'ground supporting arm'), we have appallingly neglected our navy and air force. After a decade of independence, these two arms of our defence have failed to develop on an even pace in relation to our infantry base.

Weak Navy and Air Force

In the naval sphere, we are yet unable to manufacture even an elementary type of operational naval ship. We are collecting an obsolete mass of discarded imperialist ships having no relation to our specific requirements of strategic naval defence.

The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. is a pioneering effort in the direction of aircraft manufacture. It is, however, an inadequate effort compared to the vast requirements of our strategic air defence. It is as yet unable to manufacture transport planes, light or heavy bombing aircrafts. In the field of fighter aircraft manufactures, it is as yet lacking in any original effort, its present efforts remaining restricted to assembling aircrafts.

It would be appropriate for us to suggest that a determined effort should be immediately made to eliminate the unevenness in the composition of our three Services. The miniature air force and navy that we possess now should be allotted the highest priority and more attention in our defence budgets.

I know the army brasshats would shout, and inter-services rivalry, unavoidable in the present set-up, would come into play. But the army brasshats should be told to concentrate more on building a small and efficient infantry capable of a huge and accelerated expansion in time of an emergency. Most of our defence budget funds should be allotted to developing a heavy armament industry, an efficient ship and aircraft industry.

On this basic structure of planning, the super-structure of supplementing these items from foreign resources should be built and developed.

Attempts are being made by the private sector, to spread its tentacles into the defence industries. Commerce has set the tone in its review of the Exhibition. It has demanded that defence material production should be entrusted to the private sector. At the same time it has severely criticised the production of certain civilian items by the Defence Ordnance factories. This is a very dangerous proposal.

The intrusion of the private sector in this strategic sphere of production unavoidably introduces a corrupt element into defence planning. In the recent his-

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KERALA NOTE-BOOK

DR. K. B. MENON'S ANTICS

I WAS more amused than surprised at seeing Dr. K. B. Menon as the champion of the Constitution and the fundamental rights of the people of Kerala. That is because I am fairly well acquainted with the Doctor's record in Indian politics. At the moment I wouldn't go into all of it, but just mention one incident which took place after the Communist Ministry assumed office in Kerala.

Dr. Menon wrote a letter to the District Collector of Cannanore on October 26, 1957. There he cited a few instances and made the charge that "the police are not fair and impartial in dealing with the case." His "experience shows that they are quick in action when the complainants happen to be Communists and indifferent and inactive when complaints are received from persons other than Communists."

This was a letter the Honourable Member of Parliament wrote to a District Collector. And his respect for the Constitution of the Republic is such that he did not consider it necessary to send a copy of it to the State Government though under the Constitution by which he now swears the subject matter of the letter fell entirely under the jurisdiction of the State Government. Perhaps Dr. Menon's understanding of the Indian Constitution is that for a State Government to win his recognition it has to be formed by his own party or by the Congress. So Dr. Menon sent the copy of his letter only to the Home Minister of the Government of India.

So much for the respect he has for the Constitution.

The instances he quoted in his letter also bear some examination.

ONE: "On 4th August, 1957, a clash took place between the supporters and opponents of the Kerala Government's Education Bill at Cannanore Town Hall, resulting in injuries to two Congress workers. The police did not take any action as far as my information goes."

There was an incident on the particular date in the place mentioned. Teachers of various schools had called a meeting in the Town Hall to support the Education Bill. Opponents of the Bill had gone into the hall to create trouble and there was a certain amount of beating up. Dr. Menon's account so far is absolutely correct, but there Dr. Menon and Truth part company.

The Cannanore Town police charged a case under Section 147 and 323 I.P.C. After an enquiry, the case was referred as non-cognisable on October 1, as the

offence fell under Section 326 I.P.C.

This date—October 1—is rather important, because Dr. Menon was writing on October 26, full 25 days later that "the police did not take any action as far as my information goes."

TWO: Some PSP workers were assaulted by Communists under the very nose of the Law Minister. The police registered a case, but nothing so far has materialised, again according to his information.

When Dr. Menon was writing his letter and sending its copy to the Union Home Minister, the offenders had been charge-sheeted by the Judicial Magistrate of Cannanore before whom the case was pending trial.

THREE: Again a charge of assault on Congressmen by Communists in which the police did not take any action. In this case also, those who were alleged to have committed the assault had been charge-sheeted under Sections 323 and 324 I.P.C. and the case was pending trial. But that does not prevent Dr. Menon from writing that nothing has so far materialised according to his information.

Take off your blinkers, Dr. Menon, and your information will be fuller and correct.

INSECURITY —FOR CONGRESS

CONGRESS President Dhebar after his Kerala tour pointed his accusing finger at Trichur District and said: Look at what is happening here. This is insecurity.

For once, events have confirmed what Sri Dhebar said, insecurity in Trichur has been proved.

Two bye-elections took place last week to the Trichur Municipal Council—in Ward 20 and Ward 22.

The Congress candidate in Ward 20 was opposed by a worker leader of the Sitaram Mills—where Sri Panampilli Govinda Menon had launched his liberation struggle against Communist rule.

In Ward 22, the Congress candidate who opposed the Communist candidate was the Joint Secretary of the PCC and Vice-President of the Sitaram Labour Congress.

In both the wards, one of them had been earlier held by the Congress, the Communist candidates won. If this doesn't prove insecurity—for the Congress, we would like to know what it is.

Meanwhile, I am awaiting Sri Dhebar's comment that it was because of the insecurity and terror that the people went and gave their votes to the Communist candidates.

—OBSERVER

T. B. CUNHA

NEW AGE mourns the death in Bombay on September 26 of Tristao Braganza Cunha, the noted Indian patriot and leader of the Goan liberation movement.

When in 1946 the great Satyagraha struggle began

joined the Goan freedom struggle.

During the last four years he has been constantly striving to bring all the Goan parties together and to build a single organisation of Goans devoted to the cause of intensifying the struggle for Goa's liberation. He was a thoughtful and powerful writer and his books, "Denationalization of the Goans," "Portuguese India" and "Devaluation of the Rupee" as well as his articles in Free Goa which he edited to the end of his life are a striking contribution to Goa's freedom struggle.



In Goa Dr. T. B. Cunha was the first to be arrested. The Portuguese military tribunal sentenced him to eight years imprisonment. He was imprisoned in Fort Aguad and later in prison in Lisbon. In 1954, he escaped from Lisbon and re-

turned to Goa where he was paying its homage to the memory of this great fighter, the Communist Party pledges to carry forward together with other people the cause of the liberation of Goa for which he gave his all.

Dr. T. B. Cunha was the pioneer and doyen of the liberation struggle of the Indian people living under the rule of the Portuguese imperialists. He founded the Goa Congress Com-

mittee in the thirties and was till 1945 a member of the AICC when the Goa Congress Committee was disaffiliated from the Indian National Congress.

Morarji In USA

(Continued from front page)

blue-print for reaction. Not only will private foreign capital be able to get in wherever it likes but an appropriate atmosphere for its profits would be created—not an atmosphere conducive to India's economic health one fears.

Finally, throwing off all restraint and discretion, too, as he warmed up to his peroration, Morarji showed scant regard for India's pride when he stated: "What I want you to understand is that in our concept of Socialism the attack is on poverty and not on wealth. Our emphasis is on creating equal and abundant opportunities for all—an objective which has also been yours from the beginning of your Independence. In your case you have already almost achieved this objective whereas, we are only just making a modest beginning in that direction."

So this is how India's Socialist pattern of society is understood and expounded by its Finance Minister and one who is mentioned as the new hope in the Nehru succession bout.

And what were these deterrents? The Birla Mission Report conspicuously points out: "In the first place fear of nationalisation. It was widely believed that high taxation was used as a lever to stifle the private sector... There was also a widespread feeling that there was 'no room' for the private sector."

Morarji's Ideal

At the very time Morarji was uttering this wisdom in the very United States which has achieved perfection in his eyes, five million unemployed roamed the streets for work while the female leaders of

high society vied with each other in champagne parties for their dogs' birthdays.

What is more at that very moment Governor Faubus was fighting to keep out Negro children from public schools in Little Rock despite a Supreme Court ruling.

And with all his fastidious morals, he must have noticed the violence and sex-inciting films, advertisements and magazines which literally leap at you in New York.

What made Morarji overlook all this and hold up the United States as our model and our aspiration was, perhaps, his memory of the "sage" advice that the Birla Mission Report had doled out late in 1956.

It had stated, "To strengthen the position of our foreign exchange resources we must attract investment and credit from abroad as has been done in Canada where all deterrents have been removed."

Again and again, throughout this Report the same theme occurs—the absence of a "proper atmosphere" in In-

dia and the apprehension of foreign investors.

Birla Was There

It could scarcely be a coincidence then that just prior to Morarji's meanderings abroad the "great" Birla had also taken off on a similar mission and that the two worthy representatives of "non-materistic" culture had met abroad—not one presumes to argue the merits of vegetarianism!

Morarji has returned but not yet a victor. Rumbblings of protest must have penetrated even the lush rooms of the Waldorf Astoria. It was there that he laid bare the plans he has for bringing India under the yoke of an even more merciless exploiter than the one she has freed herself from. He talked there with compelling candour.

New Delhi Is Different

But New Delhi is not New York and the Indian people are no huckstering mob of millionaires as the ones who gathered at the Waldorf. They will give quite a different reception to Morarji—the man and his mission. For they have before them in Morarji one of their most implacable foes in their quest for a strong, democratic and honoured India. September 1, 1958.

Parliament Session Reviewed

* FROM FACING PAGE

Hiren Mukerjee pointed out on September 18, that "in regard to food, in regard to employment, and in regard to the position in prices and in foreign exchange and internal resources, we are today in a quandary."

Quoting from the Communist Party's memorandum on the Second Plan submitted in 1955, Comrade Mukerjee pointed out that "the possibilities of development along capitalist lines, and that within the limitations of the present economic structure of India were unquestionably limited."

"Food imports total about Rs. 278 crores for the first two years of the Plan, and the budget provision for this year is Rs. 111 crores."

On employment, "the backlog of unemployment is absolutely frightening, and the number of employment opportunities to be created is going to diminish under the new scheme of things."

On prices, he said that it was absolutely a criminal matter that the Government had failed completely in holding the price-line. "Whenever the employers wanted a price-increase, Government gave them their pound of flesh, but whenever a worker wanted some improvement in the amenities, naturally the worker was described as being traitorous to the interests of the community."

On the question of foreign aid, he pointed out that "what we are doing now is to mort-

gage our future development. We have to pay about Rs. 100 crores every year from 1958-59 to 1962-63 only by way of repayment of the loans which we have taken. Now further loans are being added, which will mean that for a long time our entire foreign exchange resources will be spent up in repaying the present loans.

Mortgaging Our Future

"The terms of foreign aid also indicate a character which is not particularly wholesome; the interest is exorbitant, it is 5 1/4 per cent plus one per cent commission on World Bank loans, which compares very badly with interest charged by Socialist countries, for Soviet aid implies only 2 1/2 per cent interest, and there is no question of a commission."

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta in the Rajya Sabha warned against the danger of overdependence on foreign aid and instanced the report of the World Bank team on the Plan to illustrate the point. He pointed out how the report called upon the Government to stop further industrialisation in the name of consolidating the economy.

Communist speakers in both houses emphasised the importance of land reforms for increasing food production. Criticising the nature of the reappraisal attempted by the Government, Comrade Gupta said, "We find that there is an attempt to justify almost all the old policies and salient features

of the Second Plan and of planning in general. The crisis of the Second Plan is not a foreign exchange crisis only or even a crisis of resources... these are only the manifestations of the deeper underlying crisis through which the Second Plan is passing... In other words, the symptoms of the crisis which the capitalist economy in its present phase of decline is suffering are before us in full operation..."

Repeating the warning which we gave in 1955, Comrade Bhupesh said, "The Plan is mainly linked with the capitalist market which is crisis-ridden. This will adversely affect the stability of prices in India and result in the continuation of unequal exchange in our foreign exchange."

Pointing to the danger of overdependence on foreign aid, he said that "first of all, it does not ensure the overcoming of our economic dependence. Secondly, it allows certain anti-national forces to dig in our economy and condition their economic activities not according to our national interests, but primarily according to the interests of the powers that control such an economy or in the interests of foreigners."

Change These Policies

He pointed out that much of these foreign loans had gone, not for building capital industries as for providing such consumer goods or industries of a secondary nature. Communist speakers called for an over-all change in policies in regard to taxation, land reforms, trade, public administration, etc., without which it was pointed out nothing much could be achieved.

The last session of Parliament was remarkable for the number of issues initiated by Communist Members through the medium of non-official business.

Three important Bills were introduced namely, The Companies (Amendment) Bill, The Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill and the Monopolies and Unfair Business Practices Bill.

The Companies Amendment Bill was taken up in the Rajya Sabha in the name of Comrade Bhupesh Gupta. The Bill sought to amend Section 293 of the Indian Companies Act which enables corporate bodies to subscribe to the funds of political parties. In an exhaustive speech illustrated with quotations from various judgments of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta appealed to the conscience of Parliament to amend the Act to prevent companies from contributing to the coffers of political parties.

As usual, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri in replying to the debate did not think it wise to amend the Act. After all Congress has to exist and without the money from the Tatas and

Birlas, perhaps the Congress brand of Socialist pattern would have been dead long ago.

A non-official resolution in the name of Comrade Lalji Pendsa on industrial relations was moved and discussed in Rajya Sabha.

Another resolution on the control of monopolies in the name of Comrade P. Kunhan was moved and discussed in the Lok Sabha.

A resolution in the name of Comrade T. C. N. Menon on taking the awards of Industrial Tribunals out of the purview of High Courts and the Supreme Court was moved.

Still another resolution on the welfare of Youth was moved by Comrade C. M. Panigrahi in the Lok Sabha. Comrade Panigrahi also raised a discussion on the decision of the Government to stop doles to East Pakistan refugees.

Discrimination Whose ?

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta raised the conduct of Sri R. K. Ramadhyani, Secretary of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, in writing a highly malicious article about the Communist Party in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of August 15, 1958. It is interesting to note here that while hundreds of ordinary employees of the Government are victimised on the

slightest pretext of political association with the Communist Party, Sri Ramadhyani was just warned by the Government for conducting himself in such a blatant manner publicly. This is another instance of gross political discrimination—by the Congress.

Sri Morarji Desai's antics in the USA to please his American benefactors did not escape the attention of the Communist M.P.s. His notorious interview with the *Time* magazine, which but for the Communist M.P.s would have gone unnoticed in this country, in which he shamelessly abused and maligning the whole Indian people was the subject matter of various adjournment motions and Short Notice questions.

Similarly his statements about the position of Quemoy and Matsu also was taken up and the Prime Minister was forced to restate our fundamental position of support to the principle of China's sovereign rights over Taiwan, and the offshore Islands.

This in short is a brief record—a record which we can be proud of—a record of vigilant struggle in defence of democracy, independence and the vital interests of India's millions of working people—the workers, peasants, middle class employees and others.

No doubt pitched against the 400 odd members of the Congress Party, the 30 Communist members of the Lok Sabha may look insignificant. But what gives courage and effectiveness to the Communists is the 12 million votes in the country which they represent and the vast amount of goodwill and democratic sentiments of our people.

OUR DEFENCE PROBLEMS

* FROM PAGE 12

tory of strategic planning in capitalist countries, France, the USA, etc. these corrupt influences manifested themselves. Different monopoly groups bribed the General Staff of these countries to over-emphasise the role of the particular implements they manufactured.

In France, the role of the air force prior to World War II was overemphasised because an aircraft manufacturing monopoly group heavily bribed the French General Staff. This introduced unevenness in the composition of the French forces.

Occasionally a controversy flares up, even today, in these countries over the main roles of various arms. The sinister hand of various monopolies conceals itself behind a thin veneer.

International interlocking of monopoly groups—renders susceptible to exposure and leakage and thus tends to undermine the national defence.

The private sector if permitted to monopolise or allow-

ed to enter the defence sector of the economy, will seek opportunities to unleash the forces of war, create artificial national and international tensions to secure profitable war contracts. Such industries in private hands always thrive in war or its preparatory period.

India should steer clear of these pitfalls.

I talked to several workers and lower category executives from the ordnance factories. They all displayed a high sense of patriotic duty and a sense of justifiable pride in what they have achieved.

A foreman said: "We were told by an ex-Defence Minister that we cannot do it. That was way back in 1947. We have done it though we know we have yet a long road to cover. We are learning and each passing day gives us confidence."

It was a heartening scene to see these young Indian workers displaying their tools to the visitors. They deserve our congratulations.

MONSOON SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

The session of Parliament which has just ended was remarkable for the number of important political issues which came up for consideration. The existence of the Communist-led Government of Kerala as the dominant political reality today was amply reflected in the proceedings of Parliament this session. It provided an opportunity for the people of this country to evaluate objectively the role of different parties in relation to this reality and gauge their reactions to the existence of a non-Congress Government pledged to defend and extend the economic interests and political rights of the vast masses of people.

THE session showed conclusively that the Congress Government at the Centre and the Congress Party have not reconciled themselves to the breaking of the monopoly of political power which they had hitherto wielded in the country and are prepared to go to any length to regain their lost position even at the cost of throwing to the winds all the accepted norms of parliamentary forms and conventions and the rights of States embodied in the Constitution.

The session started with two adjournment motions moved by Dr. K. B. Menon of the PSP and Comrade S. A. Dange of the Communist Party.

What Dr. Menon wanted was blatant intervention by the Centre in Kerala under Article 355 of the Constitution. He said, "In Kerala there is no respect for fundamental rights; there is no regard for human life and there is no allegiance to the rule of law."

He invoked "Article 355 which imposes on the Union Government the responsibility of seeing that the administration of the State is carried on under the provisions of the Constitution."

Comrade Dange, Leader of the Communist Group in Parliament, moved an adjournment to discuss the statements issued by Pandit Nehru just a few days before the commencement of the session alleging the existence of a widespread feeling of insecurity in Kerala.

Discrimination Against Kerala

Comrade Dange exposed the discriminatory attitude of the Prime Minister and the Central Government towards Kerala and pointed to the House that "when law and order is violated in other States this discussion is disallowed because they are under Congress Ministries; but if law and order is violated in Kerala, the discussion is allowed because it is under a Communist Ministry."

Comrade Dange while refuting the charges of political murders made by Pandit Nehru outside the House and Dr. K. B. Menon in the House, pointed out the discriminatory attitude of the Prime Minister: "These statements encourage certain elements there to violate the law and order against the Ministry, against the Communist Party and against the citizens. Such statements (that of Prime Minister Nehru) become an interference and encourage elements there to worsen the situation...."

"When a PSP member was murdered in Barabanki, there

was no rowdysim and disorder anywhere and no interference by any person. When two MLAs, one of them a Congressman, were murdered in Satara, the Prime Minister or anybody here never complained about law and order breaking down either in the Bombay State or U.P."

The Privilege Motion

The discriminatory attitude of the Centre against the Kerala Government was once again demonstrated during the episode connected with the privilege motion moved by M. R. Masani against Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala.

The Congress Party and the Central Government showed scant respect to constitutional propriety and conventions by its equivocal stand in regard to the telegram sent by the Chief Minister of Kerala to the Government of India. There was no longer any sanctity in the convention that all communications between States and the Central Government were privileged

documents not subject to the scrutiny of Parliament.

The attitude of the Central Government was correctly described by Sri P. E. Patel, the Mahagujarat M.P., who pointed his accusing finger at Pandit Pant and said: "So far as Congress Governments are concerned you are not prepared for anything, but if there is anything against the Communist Government you jump upon it."

Retreat On Economic Front

But the retreat of the Congress from accepted democratic ideals and sound parliamentary conventions was only one side of the medal. The other side was the retreat from the cherished policies in the economic sphere.

In every sphere of economic activity, the Congress Government has capitulated before the exacting demands of foreign and Indian Big Business. Where

two food debates—one in the Lok Sabha and the other in the Rajya Sabha. In addition there were a number of adjournment motions in both Houses concerning the immediate issues connected with the food movement in U.P.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on the food position in the country, Comrade S. V. Parulekar pointed out that the food situation "is far more grave, far more acute. It has covered the entire country, and what is more, it has become chronic."

Comrade Parulekar enumerated two important causes for the food crisis which we face today: "One is the problem of production of enough foodgrains to meet the minimum requirements of the people. The second aspect is the problem of making available all marketable surplus to the people at prices which are within their capacity to purchase."

How should we tackle the problem "The failure to increase production is the failure of the Government to carry out agrarian reforms. The failure

of the measures taken by Government in respect of providing cheap credit, cheap manure, minor irrigation works, irrigation water were also among the causes....

"The measures which the Government adopted go to the benefit, not of the tillers of the soil who constitute the overwhelming majority, but to the benefit of a very minor section. Secondly, the hoarder, the monopoly merchant and the speculator can manipulate the market and the prices. Unless their activities are eliminated, the problem of the food crisis cannot be solved...."

Comrade Sarju Pandey gave a graphic description of the ghastly picture of famine in East Uttar Pradesh, where 75 per cent of the population have been living on grass and roots and people have been dying of starvation.

Food Debate

The food problem figured again in the debate in the Rajya Sabha and Communist members Dr. Ahmed and Abdur Rezzak Khan spoke. Describing the situation in U.P., Dr. Ahmed said: "When I come to my State where not hundreds, but thousands of people are coming into the streets clamouring for food—what is given to them is not food but stones; what is given to them is lathis by the police and not food."

Dr. Ahmed showed how the Sampurnanand Ministry treats the food problem. "It is a question of law and order, and unless this agitation is withdrawn, nothing can be done." This sums up the attitude of the U.P. Government to the problem of food for the people.

On this question again, one saw Congress going back on its proclaimed policies. Winding up the debate in the Rajya Sabha, one saw the spectacle of Sri Ajit Prasad Jain publicly calling a halt to land reforms in the name of increasing food production while the Congress Working Committee passes resolutions stating that land reforms should be an article of faith with the Congress!

Another important debate which took place in Parliament was in respect of the Second Five-Year Plan. Here again we saw the Government coming down in abject surrender to the vested interests, both foreign and Indian, in its anxiety to placate them.

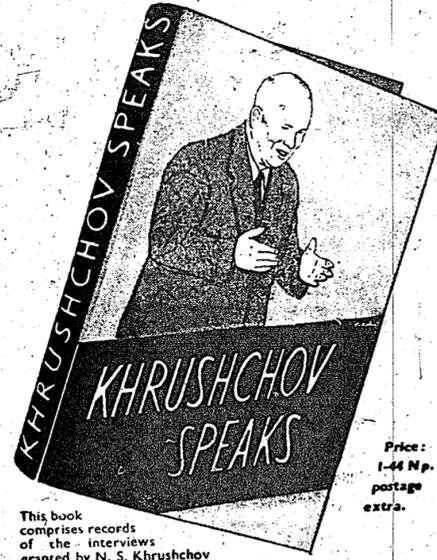
Describing the situation in the country supposed to be advancing under a planned development programme, Comrade

(Continued on facing page)

- A REVIEW

by K. P. SUBRAMANYA MENON

Communist Members Fought All Along The Line In Defence Of Democracy & People's Interests



This book comprises records of the interviews granted by N. S. Khrushchov to foreign news correspondents in 1957 and those of his speeches dealing with problems of Soviet foreign policy and international relations.

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"THE LETTER APPEARS TO BE FORGED"

—Will the Congress bosses give an explanation?

ON the eve of the last General Elections, just three days before polling was to commence in Bihar, four leading dailies of the State created a sensation by printing a letter. The Indian Nation printed a photostat of the "office copy" of the letter.

It was supposed to be a letter from Comrade Ramavatar Shastri, Communist candidate for the Patna Parliamentary Constituency, to one Mr. P. C. Ghose in Calcutta purporting to make out plans for murdering Congress Minister Mahesh Prasad Sinha, using student groups for the purpose, and black-mailing Tata, Dalmia and Shanti Prasad Jain for funds.

Now, remember the background. Mahesh Prasad Sinha was the Transport

Minister of Bihar. Of all the Congress Ministers of the State, he was the most hated, particularly after his role during the students' struggle in Patna.

It was already being forecast that Mahesh Prasad was to succeed Sri Sri Krishna Sinha in the Chief Minister's gaddi. Congress tickets had been actually distributed with the idea of strengthening Mahesh Prasad's group in the Congress Assembly Party.

Thus the contest in the Muzaffarpur constituency where he was the candidate had assumed a special importance, in fact it was considered to be the decisive contest in Bihar. All the Left parties had come together to support the PSP candidate, Sri Mahamaya Prasad and defeat Mahesh Prasad.

Money had flown into the constituency—on the

Congress side. On February 13, less than a fortnight before polling, there was a widespread rumour in Patna that six lakhs of rupees had been withdrawn from the State Bank and sent to Muzaffarpur. From Nehru and Dhebar down, many Congress leaders specially visited the constituency to ensure Mahesh Prasad's victory. Muslim leaders and bearded Moulvis thronged to the constituency to influence the Muslim voters. Physical terror and organised gangsterism became the order of the day.

Mahesh Prasad was taking no chances—what was at stake for him was not just membership in the Assembly, what was at stake was Chief Ministership.

But with all these preparations even to him it must have become clear as polling day came near that

chances of victory were slender. Hence the appearance of the so-called letter from a Communist candidate, whose publication was meant to discredit the Communists and the Left alliance which was working to defeat him.

The Communist Party then itself came out exposing this letter for what it was—a clumsy forgery.

The people, too, gave their verdict—Mahesh Prasad was defeated.

Now, one and a-half years later, a court has also made its observation.

Comrade Ramavatar Shastri, immediately after the publication of the "letter", had filed a complaint against Sri Prahalad Mehrotra, President of the Muzaffarpur Town Congress Committee, who released it to the Press, and one Ramanand Chowdhry who had got his signature

in an autograph book.

Sri C. D. Tiwary, Judicial Magistrate, Patna, has now in his enquiry report said: "Taking all the facts into consideration the letter appears to be a forged one. Prima facie, the accused persons are liable for the offences of cheating, forgery, using as genuine the forged document (which is known to be forged) and defamation."

The enquiry report has recommended that the two persons against whom the complaint had been filed be summoned for trial on these charges.

May we expect some comment from Dhebarbhai or other Congress leaders on this conduct of their trusted lieutenants in Bihar? Or will they not find time for that, preoccupied as they are with preaching morals to the Communists in Kerala?

The Statewide direct action against the food policy of the West Bengal Government was called off on September 27 after a number of important concessions had been won from the Government.

THE "law defiance" movement was launched on September 15 under the auspices of the Price-Increase and Famine-Resistance Committee (PIFRC), which consists of the representatives of all Left parties. The PSP, however, backed out at the last moment on the plea that the "usual defiance of Section 144 in Calcutta will not achieve the desired objective!"

The Government climbed down only after the struggle had continued for eleven days, during which 2,068 persons in Calcutta and about 5,500 in the Districts courted arrest and faced police repression. Masses of people all over the State actively supported the movement.

Among those who defied the law were about 20 Opposition MLAs and a very large number of women. On September 25 alone, as many as 437 women from working class, peasant and middle class families courted arrest in Calcutta. They were led by the Communist M.P., Comrade Renu Chakravarty.

These Are The Concessions

The concessions agreed to by the Government are:

● Popular Committees consisting, among others, of the representatives of political parties will be set up at all levels—from the State down to the Union level.

The PIFRC is of the opinion that if these Committees are allowed to function in the proper spirit, they "will constitute the biggest guarantee that proper distribution of foodgrains under Modified Rationing or through other forms of relief will be henceforth assured and these Committees will also be a weapon

to fight blackmarketing, check profiteering and thus have an effect on the prices in the long run."

● Additional agricultural loans amounting to one crore of rupees will be distributed over and above the Rs. 1.90 crores already distributed. Of this additional amount, Rs. 30 lakhs will be disbursed before the Dusserah and the rest in November. The provision under this head in the current budget was only Rs. 60 lakhs. The PIFRC had asked for Rs. five crores.

● Gratuitous relief will be made available to all needy persons who cannot be employed in test relief operations. In case foodgrains are not available for payment, cash payments will be made.

● The Essential Commodities Act to control the price of atta and an Ordinance to control the prices of other essential commodities will be put into operation as soon as the assent of the Centre is received. This is expected shortly.

The PIFRC is confident that if the Government really puts these measures into operation and the help of the popular committees in implementing the provisions of these legislations is taken there will be a marked improvement in the price levels.

● Relief to the flood-affected areas will be given for the present from the State Government's existing stocks, which will be adjusted against fresh allotments from the Centre for which the State Government has already asked.

● The Central Government has not agreed to the belated demand of the State Government for increased allocations to West Bengal amounting to 152,000 tons of cereals for October alone. The State Government has, how-

ever, agreed to increase the allotment for October by about 10,000 tons over and above the 110,000 tons already allotted. The Centre has been asked to make this additional amount available for October. The State Government has also asked the Centre to release some amount from the November stocks in the hope that fresh stocks will be available in November.

Definite Gains

The PIFRC says in a statement that "although it cannot be stated that all our minimum demands have been satisfied, the Committee is of the opinion that the Government has made some urgent concessions which constitute a definite gain for the movement."

While welcoming these gains, the Committee considers that "an even more important result of this movement is the guarantee for the future that if the Government abides by its promises, respects the popular committees that are proposed to be set up, and the lessons of its own Food Enquiry Committee's Report are noted in the months to come, procurement will be assured, check on hoarding and profiteering established and prices controlled. In the long run, im-

West Bengal Victory

FOOD STRUGGLE WINS CONCESSIONS

★ From JUAN BIKASH BOITRA

provement in agriculture and production may also be brought about if the cooperation of these committees is really taken. Thus, certain steps may be taken for a more lasting solution of the food crisis."

The statement further says that the PIFRC expects that not only the Satyagrahis will be released but all those arrested in connection with the food movement in recent months under the Security Act or the Preventive Detention Act will also be released.

The statement greets the people of West Bengal for their splendid response to the call of the PIFRC. While

urging upon them "to remember that whatever gains have been possible were the result of the popular movement," it warns them that "if popular pressure is not maintained and vigilance is not exercised, it will not be possible to consolidate the gains of the movement or even to force the Government to implement its promises and carry out its commitments."

The statement, therefore, calls upon the people "to continue to hold meetings and demonstrations and to organise local food volunteers as part of the popular food campaign."

IN KERALA?

A HINDUSTAN TIMES' Correspondent reported to his paper of October 2:

"FATEGARH, Oct. 1.—Mr. Ramnivas Singh, sub-inspector attached to the Farrukhabad Kotwali police station who is alleged to have recently beaten Mr. Virbhan Sadh, member of the Antarim Zila Parishad executive and the State Industries Board and a prominent Congressman of Farrukhabad, has been suspended and transferred to Etah under orders of the U.P. Government."

We hope the Correspondent has made no mistake about the place because our impression was that such interference in administration took place only in Communist-ruled Kerala.