

SANL - PER

h060-1

# CONGRESS INDICTED

# MINISTRY

FEB 17 1959  
Cont. Copy



FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

It is now the turn of Andhra. While anxiety and excitement compete in Andhra, the Congress High Command shows its anger. All the signs indicate the approach of heavy political weather.

The crisis had simmered for some time. It found powerful expression in the meeting on November 30 of some Congress workers of Andhra presided over by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy and including members of Parliament, the Legislative Assembly, Corporation as well as prominent INTUC workers.

WHATEVER the past record of some of the participants and the undoubted mixed motives impelling others, this meeting had some fresh features which need focusing. Shocking, for instance, it must have been for the authoritarians in the Congress to read the concluding para of the resolution.

"In view of the present grave situation this meeting ... calls upon all Congress workers to organise workers' conventions of the taluka and district level and mobilise public support and voice their genuine complaints and feelings and likewise the Congress Assembly members also inside the party and on the floor of the Assembly without any fear or favour take up the people's problems..."

Bad enough that these Congressmen declared their intention to appeal to the rank-and-file, instead of taking the first plane to New Delhi! Worse still, some of the speakers at the meeting indicated that they were not opposed to join hands with Opposition parties. In fact, one of the leading dissidents evoked the memory of the alliance during the last war, when Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt had

united to fight a common evil and their joint enemy.

Then, take the following charge:

"The law and order situation is fast deteriorating. Crimes including murders have enormously increased. Interference in the police and judicial matters has been responsible in perpetrating injustices. It is a sad state of affairs that the Chief Minister and his

the attack with the following further indictment:

"The land reforms introduced in the erstwhile Hyderabad State, although not implemented in the entire Telengana region, had a far-reaching effect on the agricultural economy of the region. Instead of allowing that to take effective shape, the Government has introduced a Bill which will affect the agricultural economy adversely. Even this half-hearted measure is kept in cold storage. The present Bill has created an uncer-

the rampant corruption

"The prices have gone up considerably. Lack of proper and effective policy and programme, both in regard to production as well as equitable distribution of foodgrains throughout the State is responsible for enormous increase in all-round prices without any corresponding benefit to the producers."

Naturally with this frustrating state of affairs, the Andhra ruling group has decided to knock hard against democratic functioning.

to prove how the group in power is trying to strengthen its tentacles even in the villages. Heavy sums are entrusted to the nominated Block-level Panchayat Samities and no check is kept on their expenditure."

The dissidents mention also the now notorious case of eroding the autonomy of the three Universities in the State simply to protect Ministerial prestige.

But, perhaps, the most damning of all is the picture drawn of the Congress organisation itself:

## By Congressmen

group are corrupting the Press and many other political and democratic institutions by adopting his well-known tactics of fear and favour."

One wonders what "cumulative" impression this charge will make on the rather elastic minds of Dhebarbhai and his colleagues. Here are Congressmen sounding the warning about law and order right inside firmly Congress-ruled Andhra Pradesh, where the "heathen" Communists are still not in the Ministry.

The dissidents press home

tain and insecure situation ..."

Not content with sabotaging land reforms, the Sanjeeva Reddy Ministry appears also to have turned its evil eye on the irrigation projects and food production.

The dissidents charge:

"The big irrigation projects which are under construction are not going with the speed with which they are expected to go. The Estimates Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly has thrown sufficient light on large-scale waste which is going on and

"The elections to all the local bodies are long due... Unwarranted interference in day-to-day affairs of the local bodies had become almost a routine matter. The local bodies, which do not conform to the wishes of some Minister or the other, are superseded. Cooperative societies and cooperative banks also are superseded only with a view to strengthen the group organisation.

"The appointment of nominated panchayats under the garb of implementing the Mehta Committee's report is another instance which goes

"The elevation of Sri P. Ranga Reddy, a fanatically group man and against whom serious charges of corruption were made in the party and the Chief Minister promised investigation, as the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee has created a lot of dissatisfaction among the Congress rank-and-file and the people.

"In the previous organisational elections, a PRO who was also a close relative of the Chief Minister misused his official power and eliminated many genuine Congressmen from the organisation

"The situation has gone to a ridiculous extent. Dissolution of some District Congress Committees and appointment of ad hoc committees filling them with 'yes-men' is the order of the day for the organisation. Thus, the group in power is following a policy of discrimination and elimination with a 'clannish mentality and group bias'."

Mentioning the regional discrimination of the Government with regard to development and also transfers of officers, the resolution somberly warns:

"It will thus be seen that on the one hand there has been in the last two years enormous and unbearable increase in taxes and on the other criminal waste on many schemes. Inefficiency, nepotism, corruption and undue interference for group purposes have been the highlights of all these days. We sincerely feel that if these things are not forthwith arrested, the situation is bound to go out of control."

These are all serious charges. These are the feelings of men who cannot be accused of owing loyalties to other parties or ideologies alien to the Congress. These are signs that democrats in Andhra and elsewhere in India cannot ignore or neglect.

## Communist Murdered In Andhra

AMONG the very serious charges made by Andhra Congressmen against the Sanjeeva Reddy Ministry is its responsibility for the break-down of law and order in the State and the enormous increase in the number of crimes. Here below is a report of what is happening in just one taluk.

Communist leader N. Venkatanarsiah was murdered in cold blood by goondas in the employ of certain Congress leaders in Madhira taluk, Khammam District on November 30 last. Another person was seriously wounded and was admitted in the hospital.

This murder is the culmination of a series of attacks on Communists and their sympathisers during the last three months.

On September 7, 1958, goondas attacked leaders of the recently-started Youth League in Madhira town. A sewing machine which was their main

means of livelihood, was thrown into the street and smashed.

On the 21st of the same month, another attack was made on Youth League leaders.

On November 7, when the local Communist Party organised a 10,000-strong rally to celebrate the 41st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the same goondas made attacks on individuals going to attend the meeting. While the meeting was in progress, the house of local kisan leader Venkatapathi was set on fire.

Again on November 26, a shop was raided by these goondas in broad daylight, in which Communist sympathisers and Youth League members were working and four persons were severely beaten.

The list of these attacks will not be complete without the one that happened in Wyre of the same taluk

early in June, when the house of another kisan leader was set on fire.

These goondas are openly threatening the lives of Communist leaders as their counterparts are doing in Kerala.

Why these attacks? Why this murder?

The Communist leader who has been murdered was defending tenants against a landlord and was proceeding to meet the Tahsildar to represent their case, when he was waylaid and brutally done to death.

Madhira town has thus far been a stronghold of Congressmen. But the emergence of the Youth League in the town and a ten-thousand strong rally were taken by them as a challenge to their supremacy.

After these incidents, when in the normal course of maintaining law and order, the Sub-Inspector of Madhira town started making preliminary enquiries,

local Congressmen rushed to Hyderabad and the Sub-Inspector was promptly transferred elsewhere!

Such attacks are not confined to Madhira taluk alone. In entire Telengana, wherever the people are resisting the anti-people policies of the Government and the landlords' offensive and where the Communist Party is coming forward as the champion of their rights, village landlords donning Congress caps, with the police actively aiding and abetting them in many places, are attacking public meetings held by the Communist Party, beating up agricultural labourers and peasants.

The police not rarely launch prosecutions against the harassed and affected, implicating them in false cases — the Secretary of the Hyderabad District Committee of the Party has recently been arrested on a petty theft charge.

editorial

# Warn The United States!

India spontaneously reacted to the great danger that the military coup in Pakistan symbolised. The Communist Party promptly voiced the best Indian national sentiment when it pointed the accuser's finger at US imperialism and demanded that the Indian Government warn the US Government that continued military aid to Pakistan will be considered an unfriendly act towards India.

Prime Minister Nehru informed Parliament that the US Government had stated that no additional military aid to Pakistan was contemplated and that no new military alliances were in the offing. It is quite understandable that the US spokesmen should lie to dull our vigilance and exploit the bait of dollar aid to keep our Government quiet.

But it is amazing that the Indian Government should not openly express national indignation, take the Indian people into real confidence and rally them to face the new dangers; and make serious efforts to contact our Asian allies against the US imperialist aggressors.

The Indian people must know the true facts and the latest US moves to make Asians fight Asians.

Pak dictator Ayub has been given formal promises of increased US military aid, under the 1959 mutual security budget, to the tune of additional \$ 115 million, bringing the total to \$ 350 million US military aid to Pakistan. This gives Pakistan between two and three squadrons of F86 sabre jet fighters, about 200 M41 tanks and arms, equipment and armoured transport for ten battalions. The new additional aid will add more arms and armoured vehicles. This clearly means more and greater danger to India and calls for new sustained national efforts on our part.

It is not enough to say that the Baghdad Pact has been greatly weakened by the Iraq revolution. It shall be noted that the US joining the Baghdad Pact is a serious effort to keep it going and taking it over from the British. More, US negotiations for bilateral agreement with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan constitute a new menace. The terms of these pacts are duplicates of the Baghdad Pact. The US-Turkey agreement provides for the permanent stationing of the US air force, parachute troops and armoured units at the Adana base, close to Syria. The US will also build sites for guided missiles.

The US-Pak Military Pact is likewise intended to make Pakistan a US military base. The earlier Soviet warning note to Pakistan had disclosed how far the US militarists had gone in Pakistan. The Indian Government instead of repeating US assurances, should be busy devising means to repel this menace.

The best commentary on the new US plot with Pakistan is supplied by US Defence Secretary McElroy. After his recent Asian tour, including Pakistan, he told the Press in Washington in mid-November that the "lessons" of Lebanon and Taiwan had tended to reinforce the US policy of "assisting in building up the ground forces of its allies" for combat, while the US strengthened naval and air power for "support."

Thus the American forces would not be "involved" except as it became apparent that "a major attack was taking place." After its defeats at the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese, the US feels it best to use the ground forces of its allies as the spearhead, and let "Asians fight Asians."

After repeated defeats in the Arab countries, the thunder clap of the Iraq revolution at one end and the resounding rebuff in the Taiwan Straits at the other, US imperialism organised military coups in the few remaining countries allied with it. It is now binding these military fascist dictators in new military alliances with it. Pakistan is one piece in this whole setting and US imperialism emerges clearly as the main enemy in this set-up. Our natural allies are the resurgent Afro-Asian nations.

Let India warn US imperialism against US arms supplies to Pakistan.

Let India screen US dollars before letting them in and not permit a US economic fifth column within the country.

Let India consult its anti-colonialist allies in the Afro-Asian nations for joint moves against the new common menace.

India's national interests urgently demand this. The spirit of Bandung and our Panchsheel principles must be concretised through these practical measures.

(December 10)

## In The Wake Of Pak Developments

# Risks In Western Links

### Dange's Speech On Foreign Affairs

From Our Correspondent

While the Lok Sabha debate on foreign affairs (December 8 and 9) underlined the nation's supreme anxiety at the dangers inherent in Pakistan with her military dictatorship getting more arms from the USA, it also provided an excellent example of how the Communist Party concretely focuses attention on national issues in the context of support to the policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment.

THE Leader of the Communist Group, S. A. Dange made a brilliant contribution to the debate, taking up some of the urgent problems facing the country in the present international situation. Non-alignment, he explained, "does not mean sitting with folded hands and seeing the world go into the fire. Ours is a dynamic non-alignment which means where a cause is just, then it endorses that cause though it may not get into direct action on the particular cause."

In a devastating exposure of American counter-moves to check the quick wave of changes taking place in Asia and Africa, Dange said: "The fact that Baghdad Pact was bound to irritate those pseudo-Baghdadis who sit in New York and naturally certain events followed."

On what point, therefore, should we pin our attention, he asked, and warned that he was along with all those who would like to follow a policy similar to ours are "being surrounded by dictatorships which are not amenable to people's will, to any democratic reforms."

"It is not only a question of what is happening to these Governments but who is behind it who supplies arms to Pakistan and tries to create an atmosphere of unfriendliness between the two countries? Who landed troops in the Lebanon? Who tried to invade Egypt? Who supplied the military coup in Thailand with all the forces that are required?"

"We should keep an eye not only on these martial law regimes, but also on the gun behind the martial law and the force that is setting them into power. And that brings in the question of our relations with two countries, particularly the USA and Britain."

Dealing with our relations with the USA, he expounded American policy in an apt slogan, so to say: "Dollars to Delhi and arms to Karachi" and he added: "I do not say we reject dollars outright. Only, sometimes, we should be cautious, and the gentlemen who go to negotiate for those dollars, should discuss only dollars. They may even discuss personal matters as birth control, but they should not discuss the guns or Quemy and Matsu and China and bring in international politics in an indirect way."

"I do not mean, to suggest that the dollars given to us have been accepted by us with any strings, or that we have agreed to any policy which will compel us to follow the line of America in regard to dictatorship or martial laws or our own internal government. But, after all, dollars are dollars, and when it comes along with its old habits, then one has to be careful about it. And those who come in touch with it directly, whether in New York or

here, should be carefully given lessons in international politics, approaches and negotiations." "Internally it (dollar) may not do much for the present but internationally, it might sometimes ask for something and I am sure the Prime Minister will guard that that asking shall not be carried out. Unfortunately, all the threads of international policies are not in all details carried out by him personally. It is not merely the policy but also the man who executes it that is important. Therefore such matters ought not to be handed over to those who are doubtful about what policy should be followed with regard to Governments which are setting up martial laws and military dictatorships around us."

Dange warned against the American plans to have a new fleet to be stationed in the Indian Ocean. A fleet stationed in the Indian Ocean is going to be dangerous. Just as Pakistan could not be prevented from sending supplies and some planes to Goa, an Indian Ocean fleet cannot be prevented from basing itself on Goa.

He wanted that "we should stir ourselves a bit and ask the other gentlemen who arm these people as to what really is their motive, how they reconcile these supplies of arms to Pakistan with supply of industrial equipments, goody-goody pronouncements, trade pacts and World Bank meetings in Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi. And we should be a little cautious in our relations with them, and re-define, if possible, our approaches towards them."

While cautioning against any hysterical or panicky attitude towards Pakistani developments, Dange pointed to sympathetic reactions with methods being pursued in Pakistan. "People are drawing certain comparisons. If these comparisons are not met properly, we are internally going to create a doubting spirit in the existence of India as it is, and a sort of lurking sympathy with what is happening next door!"

He said this is a national problem. We must tell our people the essence of the matter to prevent this possibility.

Dealing with our relations with Britain, Dange asked: "Is it necessary that our military commanders should go periodically into conferences with Commonwealth or British commanders? We may be in the Commonwealth—I do not raise that question just now—but we are an independent Republic. We know that at the time of the aggression on Egypt, the Prime Minister himself referred to the Commonwealth and said that he differed from them. But then why this common association?"

"If it is a question of common policy of offence and defence with Britain at the centre, where is our freedom, where is our independence and where is our non-alignment? Because the essence of non-alignment is military, non-alignment."

Dange also objected to the Indian Navy having joint exercises with the British, Pakistan and other Commonwealth navies.

"I know very well, somebody will say that our Commanders have also gone to the Soviet Union. But they have gone to the Soviet Union to see parades. We do not hold common manoeuvres with the Soviet Army; I do not want it. We do not hold common manoeuvres with the Chinese Navy and I do not want it. But why should we have common manoeuvres with the British Navy? Our policy of non-alignment, neutrality and friendship should take note of these things also and changes should accordingly be carried out."

Meeting M. N.—which is how the Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party is popularly known—in the morning—no later than 8 a.m.—was quite a job. Already he was in excited discussion with the manager of a local weekly, a cook who was one of the moving spirits behind the Delhi Malayalee organisations and a journalist from one of the more Right-wing of the dailies in Kerala. After an amount of effort and a somewhat embarrassing removal to another room he was able to talk on some of the more prominent present trends in his State.

Starting from the existing level and system of production, ways are to be devised to improve and raise productivity. Concentration will be on a particular scheme chosen by the people—'real planning from below'—he said—and taken up by themselves on the basis of voluntary labour but with some Government help also. Even long-term schemes are not to be left out. "What about the Opposition tactics now," I asked. "What are they up to?" "The same old sordid game of 'operation overthrow' as Sri Krishna Iyer has put it." After Devicolam the local opposition

Now with a Government responsive to their needs and their voice, the basis had been laid for evolving a new pattern to increase, above all, the food production in chronically deficit Kerala. "I will explain this new pattern by a concrete example," was M. N.'s response to my request for details.

The Kerala Government and Party have chosen a few schemes in different parts of the State to launch the idea. One such is the reclamation of the Kayamkulam backwaters—some 800 odd acres. This was taken up directly by the Government, eliminating the contractors. On the inauguration day itself, 2,000 persons participated in building the bund.

Their enthusiasm was contagious. The Bar Association of the area met and offered a day's voluntary labour of its lawyer-members. The teachers' organisation came forward with equal alacrity. People from neighbouring villages vied with one another to offer their day's share of work. Two thousand students from different parts of the State eagerly volunteered.

They were most violently opposed to the provisions in the Bill which empowered the Government to regulate the appointment and service conditions of teachers in aided schools and the disbursement of the salary of these teachers direct to them from the Government treasury, instead of through the managements. These clauses—particularly those from 9 to 13 in the Bill—were the main targets of their attack because therein lay the danger to the many evils in the system of private management such as, for instance, the very common habit of extorting large sums of money from candidates for appointment and summarily discharging those who failed to get into the good books of the managements and so on.

The Congress in Kerala, realised that they just didn't have the strength or the support to push the Government out. At the same time the impact of Kerala on the general national political situation was making the Congress power-monopolists uncomfortable.

They want to make disobedience to the Ministry the first virtue of the bureaucracy and police. They are playing with fire. This is the way to rear Ayub Khans on our soil. It does no credit to the Congress claims to abide by the Constitution or their hymns to India's democratic ways. It has got to be stopped, and stopped by everybody who has even an iota of respect for the Constitution and democracy."

On top of all this come the Christophers and other paramilitary organisations, details of which have been given by Sri Krishna Iyer in the present Assembly session. "This is a danger the Party in Kerala 'has' constantly warned

against." "Something of a clamour comes from the other room and M. N. is impatient and even a little anxious not to be detained, despite the flash of his smile. So I put the last question: "What about this Congress-PSP alliance for the panchayat elections?"

Irony plays on his face. "Don't worry. It's all a matter of Congress self-sacrifice. The PSP has hardly any mass base in our State, except for a few pockets and some good cadres. The alliance will be possible only if the Congress is prepared to hand out some of its 'areas' to PSP aspirants. Let them be generous, we don't mind. We are going to meet the 'alliance' with the broadest possible unity we can build of all who want Kerala to prosper and speed ahead on the democratic road. We have to work hard but we are confident."

With that, M. N. moved back to where he had left the others. The only difference—six more eager, welcoming faces.

December 8, 1958

## M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR INTERVIEWED ON THE KERALA SITUATION

# Shramdan And Enthusiasm On One Side, Opposition's 'Operation Overthrow' On The Other

Meeting M. N.—which is how the Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party is popularly known—in the morning—no later than 8 a.m.—was quite a job. Already he was in excited discussion with the manager of a local weekly, a cook who was one of the moving spirits behind the Delhi Malayalee organisations and a journalist from one of the more Right-wing of the dailies in Kerala. After an amount of effort and a somewhat embarrassing removal to another room he was able to talk on some of the more prominent present trends in his State.

Starting from the existing level and system of production, ways are to be devised to improve and raise productivity. Concentration will be on a particular scheme chosen by the people—'real planning from below'—he said—and taken up by themselves on the basis of voluntary labour but with some Government help also. Even long-term schemes are not to be left out. "What about the Opposition tactics now," I asked. "What are they up to?" "The same old sordid game of 'operation overthrow' as Sri Krishna Iyer has put it." After Devicolam the local opposition

Now with a Government responsive to their needs and their voice, the basis had been laid for evolving a new pattern to increase, above all, the food production in chronically deficit Kerala. "I will explain this new pattern by a concrete example," was M. N.'s response to my request for details.

The Kerala Government and Party have chosen a few schemes in different parts of the State to launch the idea. One such is the reclamation of the Kayamkulam backwaters—some 800 odd acres. This was taken up directly by the Government, eliminating the contractors. On the inauguration day itself, 2,000 persons participated in building the bund.

Their enthusiasm was contagious. The Bar Association of the area met and offered a day's voluntary labour of its lawyer-members. The teachers' organisation came forward with equal alacrity. People from neighbouring villages vied with one another to offer their day's share of work. Two thousand students from different parts of the State eagerly volunteered.

They were most violently opposed to the provisions in the Bill which empowered the Government to regulate the appointment and service conditions of teachers in aided schools and the disbursement of the salary of these teachers direct to them from the Government treasury, instead of through the managements. These clauses—particularly those from 9 to 13 in the Bill—were the main targets of their attack because therein lay the danger to the many evils in the system of private management such as, for instance, the very common habit of extorting large sums of money from candidates for appointment and summarily discharging those who failed to get into the good books of the managements and so on.

The Congress in Kerala, realised that they just didn't have the strength or the support to push the Government out. At the same time the impact of Kerala on the general national political situation was making the Congress power-monopolists uncomfortable.

They want to make disobedience to the Ministry the first virtue of the bureaucracy and police. They are playing with fire. This is the way to rear Ayub Khans on our soil. It does no credit to the Congress claims to abide by the Constitution or their hymns to India's democratic ways. It has got to be stopped, and stopped by everybody who has even an iota of respect for the Constitution and democracy."

On top of all this come the Christophers and other paramilitary organisations, details of which have been given by Sri Krishna Iyer in the present Assembly session. "This is a danger the Party in Kerala 'has' constantly warned

against." "Something of a clamour comes from the other room and M. N. is impatient and even a little anxious not to be detained, despite the flash of his smile. So I put the last question: "What about this Congress-PSP alliance for the panchayat elections?"

Irony plays on his face. "Don't worry. It's all a matter of Congress self-sacrifice. The PSP has hardly any mass base in our State, except for a few pockets and some good cadres. The alliance will be possible only if the Congress is prepared to hand out some of its 'areas' to PSP aspirants. Let them be generous, we don't mind. We are going to meet the 'alliance' with the broadest possible unity we can build of all who want Kerala to prosper and speed ahead on the democratic road. We have to work hard but we are confident."

December 8, 1958

## Three-Pronged Offensive

Hence, a three-pronged offensive.

Spread slander about law and order, discrimination, etc., for non-Kerala consumption, especially through the offices of Dhebarbhal and thus isolate Kerala from the democrats outside.

Then obstruct legislation and try to water it down by Central intervention. The latest example of this is the sending back of the Jenmikkaram Bill, which does nothing more than what the Malabar Tenancy Act of 1954 attempted, not to speak of some pre-

# Congress Again Pleads Cause Of Private School Managements

Listening to the Congress members of the Kerala Legislative Assembly expatiating on the virtues of private school managements in the country and the constitutional guarantees of their "rights" which were threatened and subjected to "dangerous inroads" by the Kerala Education Bill, one would imagine that our Constitution was the Magna Carta of private school proprietors drawn up by some pettifogging lawyers.

THE history of the Kerala Education Bill is closely related to the political developments in Kerala after the advent of the Communist Ministry. This Bill, halled as the charter of teachers' demands by progressive public opinion, had evoked stiff opposition from a section of private school managements—predominantly of the Catholic Church—who sensed in it a danger to their traditional and commercialised mode of exploitation in the sphere of education.

They were most violently opposed to the provisions in the Bill which empowered the Government to regulate the appointment and service conditions of teachers in aided schools and the disbursement of the salary of these teachers direct to them from the Government treasury, instead of through the managements. These clauses—particularly those from 9 to 13 in the Bill—were the main targets of their attack because therein lay the danger to the many evils in the system of private management such as, for instance, the very common habit of extorting large sums of money from candidates for appointment and summarily discharging those who failed to get into the good books of the managements and so on.

The Congress in Kerala, realised that they just didn't have the strength or the support to push the Government out. At the same time the impact of Kerala on the general national political situation was making the Congress power-monopolists uncomfortable.

They want to make disobedience to the Ministry the first virtue of the bureaucracy and police. They are playing with fire. This is the way to rear Ayub Khans on our soil. It does no credit to the Congress claims to abide by the Constitution or their hymns to India's democratic ways. It has got to be stopped, and stopped by everybody who has even an iota of respect for the Constitution and democracy."

On top of all this come the Christophers and other paramilitary organisations, details of which have been given by Sri Krishna Iyer in the present Assembly session. "This is a danger the Party in Kerala 'has' constantly warned

against." "Something of a clamour comes from the other room and M. N. is impatient and even a little anxious not to be detained, despite the flash of his smile. So I put the last question: "What about this Congress-PSP alliance for the panchayat elections?"

Irony plays on his face. "Don't worry. It's all a matter of Congress self-sacrifice. The PSP has hardly any mass base in our State, except for a few pockets and some good cadres. The alliance will be possible only if the Congress is prepared to hand out some of its 'areas' to PSP aspirants. Let them be generous, we don't mind. We are going to meet the 'alliance' with the broadest possible unity we can build of all who want Kerala to prosper and speed ahead on the democratic road. We have to work hard but we are confident."

With that, M. N. moved back to where he had left the others. The only difference—six more eager, welcoming faces.

December 8, 1958

## ON THE THIRD PLAN

PANDIT Nehru spoke again about the Third Plan this week, before a closed-door meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He emphasised that it will be a big plan, bigger than the First and Second Plans, that it will help to accelerate the tempo of development. It would take full account of the country's requirements and resources. In his Press Conference on December 10, he stressed that it will be primarily orientated to physical and not financial targets.

He rebuffed the "advice" of the financiers and statesmen of Western countries that the Third Plan should be cut to a smaller size, that having worked hard for the first two Plans India should take some rest before embarking on further ventures, that we should consolidate and not expand. "The country could not stop in mid-stream and rest on its oars. Serious difficulty would arise if the Plan were curtailed."

The nation, he said, would have to gear itself for the job and all parties and the people must unite in this matter and cooperate with the Government.

The first blue-print of the Plan, he promised, would be ready within a year.

Pandit Nehru explained that India did not want "the free-market economy of certain capitalist countries" and for this purpose the Government undertook the foodgrain trade. He also stated that India would utilise fully the capacity of defence factories for the country's planned economy and that this was necessary to create healthy competition between the State and private sectors.

He defended the policy of seeking foreign loans but assured that they would be used for productive purposes and that there was need for caution because big loans might tend to "influence the formulation of an independent policy."

Pandit Nehru cited the instance of China, where the people worked hard and cooperated with the Government. "We must create that psychology here," demanded the Prime Minister. We, Indian Communists, hold the danger signal when Dulles wants to save our country from going the Chinese way. We naturally feel good when India's Prime Minister wants to create the "Chinese atmosphere" within our country and we ask the country to examine carefully wherein lies the difference.

The difference lies in the policies and methods of the two Governments. If our Government followed policies that were as consistently democratic and Socialist as the Chinese and relied on the people as fully and wholeheartedly as the Chinese Government does, we would have the similar atmosphere of inspired work as in China and will also be busy changing the face of our country.

Without a radical change of policies and methods, and a completely different political alignment, under which not Big Business but the working people play the dominant role, it is romantic demagoguery to talk of the Government and the people cooperating together in our country.

Comrade Dange, speaking on behalf of our Party in Parliament, has welcomed the idea of the big Third Plan,

but enough has happened during this week to reveal the hostile elements, whom the Congress Government has itself bred and who must be handled firmly and mercilessly if the nation is to have a Third Plan that will really stir our people.

## AGAINST STATE TRADE IN FOOD

U.P.'s wholesale grain-dealers are on the war path. They have threatened a three-day hartal from December 30. Pandit Nehru has already thundered against them that they are "threatening to twist the neck" of the Government and the people. It remains to be seen if the Congress Government in U.P. deals with the rebellious profiteers the same way as it did with the youthful students of Banaras Hindu University who claimed their just democratic rights.

The Bharat Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, has in a communication to the Union Minister of Food opposed the idea of nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) convened a special session and cautioned the Government against the policy.

The criticism of the progressives is that there is too much reliance on wholesalers who will be licensed by the Government and again the Government will pass on the stocks to the retail traders. But the demand of the traders is that they must have it all their own way. The top leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie, represented by the FICCI, has given the call, not for loyally implementing the Government policy which contains more than enough concessions to the traders, but for its radical change in the reverse direction. Without control over the foodgrains trade the price line cannot be held and without holding the price line there can be no serious planning.

In the U.P. Vidhan Sabha, on December 5, the non-official resolution of Congress MIA Shivraj Singh, suggesting the purchase of foodgrains from cultivators through co-operative societies and Government agencies was carried. Twelve members including six Congressmen spoke, but only one Congressman expressed doubt. The Opposition supported the resolution. The Congress Whip moved into action and the resolution was sought to be withdrawn. This happened under a Congress Ministry, the Congress Whip was used as a gag. How can the policy of controlling the hoarders of people's food succeed this way?

The difference lies in the policies and methods of the two Governments. If our Government followed policies that were as consistently democratic and Socialist as the Chinese and relied on the people as fully and wholeheartedly as the Chinese Government does, we would have the similar atmosphere of inspired work as in China and will also be busy changing the face of our country.

Without a radical change of policies and methods, and a completely different political alignment, under which not Big Business but the working people play the dominant role, it is romantic demagoguery to talk of the Government and the people cooperating together in our country.

Comrade Dange, speaking on behalf of our Party in Parliament, has welcomed the idea of the big Third Plan,

but enough has happened during this week to reveal the hostile elements, whom the Congress Government has itself bred and who must be handled firmly and mercilessly if the nation is to have a Third Plan that will really stir our people.

## notes of the week

love their super-profits much more than they care to make our defence equipment cheaper, but they have just no sense of shame.

JRD Tata has himself come out with a Press statement claiming that the price of TELCO vehicles was fair.

In a very critical statement, the FICCI has urged the Union Government to appoint a committee of experts to examine the question of transport production to meet the needs of the army. Indian Big Business has not taken its defeat lying down, it is now quoting the past statements of the Tariff Commissions and Industries Minister Manubhai Shah against the present Government decision. The Government, however, has left a vast field free to private enterprise and not even disturbed their anti-national deal with British and American monopolists, but they cannot stomach the prospect of a cheaper and better vehicle being produced in our defence factories, under the public sector.

Comrade Dange defended the Defence Ministry and its deals, meant to make India more self-sufficient in defence. But, will India's Prime Minister order a public enquiry into the working of Tata-Mercedes, Birla's Hindustan Motors, and Walchand's Premier Automobiles and help to expose their selfish, unpatriotic misdeeds?

The criticism of the progressives is that there is too much reliance on wholesalers who will be licensed by the Government and again the Government will pass on the stocks to the retail traders. But the demand of the traders is that they must have it all their own way. The top leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie, represented by the FICCI, has given the call, not for loyally implementing the Government policy which contains more than enough concessions to the traders, but for its radical change in the reverse direction. Without control over the foodgrains trade the price line cannot be held and without holding the price line there can be no serious planning.

## BIG BUSINESS DEMANDS

THE FICCI, in its latest brochure entitled Direct Taxes—An Analysis, has spotlighted the urgent need to make adjustments in our tax structure with a view to "reviving incentives to initiative, enterprise and investment."

Their concrete demands are the abolition of the expenditure tax, wealth tax, dividend tax and tax on bonus shares and other adjustments in personal and corporate taxation. Their argument is that "it will be wiser to sacrifice a revenue of Rs. 20 crores a year in order to create an investment climate which will lead to more active functioning of the stock markets and the capital market."

Their conclusion is that the existing taxation "virtually amounts to expropriation without compensation."

No comments are necessary. How can there be a big Third Plan unless the leaders of the FICCI are put in their places? So far the Government has only listened to their voice and met their demands. The Communist Party will watch with real interest how the Congress Government deals with the demand of Indian Big Business that it must have freedom from taxation before it puts money into production. Incidentally, there is a Chinese way of dealing with national capitalists. It is very much worthwhile studying it before we can talk of a big Third Plan.

## MORE ON S. P. JAIN

AN adjournment motion was moved in the U.P. Assembly about the Government's deals with S. P. Jain.

The Sampurnanand Ministry had given him a loan of Rs. 1.45 crores to set up a soda-ash factory in Banaras. It was now proposed that the Government buy back the power plant, which had been built out of Government loan itself, for Rs. 1 crore and supply power to Jain's private concern at cheaper rates. The Government engineer's estimate is that the plant was not worth more than Rs. 40 lakhs. The Congress brute majority smoked out the motion.

This son-in-law of Dalmia and the malk of the Times of India in his presidential speech before the Bihar Industries Association advanced the thesis that India's needs could not be met by foreign Government loans alone. The larger development needs of the country called for sustained foreign private investment. "For the purpose of attracting foreign investment our policies in respect of fiscal, labour and Government control regulations and procedures have to be reshaped in the right manner. This will help the goodwill that prevails for our country to take a concrete shape for our benefit." (Times of India, December 10).

As long as the S. P. Jains are not dealt with as saboteurs of India's national economy there can be no big Third Plan.

## BRITISH BUSINESS IN SESSION

M. R. Brown, presiding over the meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce (ACC), at the Royal Exchange in Calcutta, stressed the point that the manner in which foreign countries had come to India's assistance indicated the confidence that existed abroad in India's future. Having tickled our national vanity this way, he came to brass tacks. "What was required from now on was a far greater private foreign participation in equity capital than at present. This seemed to him to be a method of expediting industrialisation of the country without significant increases in foreign exchange commitments over the next critical ten or 15 years—a method worthy of every encouragement."

The resolution of the ACC, the leading organisation of British business in India, asserted that the present tax structure retarded economic development and urged the Government to reduce the burden of both corporate and

personal taxation to reasonable levels and thus create conditions favourable to private foreign investment.

Another resolution on foreign aid suggested that the Government should reassess resources both now and at the end of the Second Plan period before determining the targets which can be achieved within these resources.

The Jains and Browns are singing the same tune. The FICCI and the ACC, the British Barra Sahibs and the Indian Barra Seths are operating together to have it all their own selfish way, against the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government, and against a big Third Plan.

## THE AMAZING ACHARYA

A CHARYA Kripalani's anti-Pakistanism is an old problem. But the situation is too dangerous for a veteran politician like him not to try to get the better of his own prejudices. It is easy enough to see that the U.S. imperialists' game is to provoke tension from the Pakistan side through border raids. Pandit Nehru's assurance that India will be patient but firm should satisfy everybody. But Acharya Kripalani demanded, "the Government must see that in these raids, the raiders get something with interest." In simple words, we must also play the American game from our end!

This is not being nasty towards the Acharya. In an obvious reference to U.S. statements that American military aid to Pakistan would not be used against India, he said: "As we believe China, so we must believe the U.S. We have no reason to disbelieve their (U.S.) professions." Last week we quoted Asoka Mehta tell us that we must learn to admire de Gaulle. This week we have Acharya Kripalani telling us that we must learn to believe Dulles even when our national security is involved, despite Lebanon, despite Taiwan, despite all that is happening on our own borders.

The Pressmen who heard Acharya Kripalani in the galleries were dazed. It is high time the PSP comrades searching and seriously ask themselves where their leaders are taking them.

—P. C. JOSHI  
(December 10)

## NOTICE

All communications, money orders, etc., for New Age-Weekly should be addressed to 7/A Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 1. At present many of them are sent to the address of the New Age Printing Press. This creates inconvenience for us and delay in attending to these communications. Correctly addressing the letters would help us to promptly answer them.

## NEW AGE MONTHLY

All communications, money orders, cheques, etc., to the New Age Monthly should henceforward be sent to The Manager, New Age Monthly, at the managerial office, 7/A Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 1 and not to 5, M. M. Road, New Delhi.

## ANDHRA

# University Autonomy Sacrificed To Save Minister's Face

\* FROM V. HANUMANTHA RAO

UNIVERSITY autonomy which educationists in our country have held as something precious, which the Radhakrishnan Commission had called this an "interesting feature of the Act."

It was hoped that such ideas would be implemented after independence. But eleven years after freedom, after sister Universities in Kerala and Tamilnad had declared their desire to achieve this as soon as possible, the Andhra Government has now rejected the Opposition proposal to reiterate this idea in the new Bill.

Not even the practical difficulty, which members pointed out, of students having to suddenly change over to English in the pre-University stage after studying all subjects in the mother-tongue up to the S.S.L.C., made any impression on the Minister.

SCOPE OF INTERFERENCE: In the name of "inspection and enquiry," Government has reserved for itself unlimited scope

mainly centred on whether the Vice-Chancellor should be nominated or elected.

Attacking the provision for nomination, modelled on the Delhi University pattern, members of the Opposition as well as Congress benches quoted practices in the leading Universities in the Commonwealth like Oxford, Cambridge, London, Glasgow, Leeds, Sydney, etc., where not only Vice-Chancellors but even Chancellors are elected, the latter in some cases for life.

In our own country, the Radhakrishnan Commission, though it did not favour a direct election system, had definitely stated that "it is really a part of a University's duty to learn how to choose its own Vice-Chancellor wisely" and that the task should be left to the University executive and in no case to an outside body.

The Senates of the Andhra and Venkateswara Universities themselves had not accepted this principle of nomination. The Andhra University which has adopted the principle of election has been functioning for well over 35 years without hitch, kept up its standards and won the laurels of reputed educationists.

The Venkateswara University which was established four years ago has followed this principle. The report of the Committee which had been set up by the Andhra Government for setting up this University, had said that "they are reluctant to recommend dropping the system of election.... There can be no adequate substitute for an election." This University has also had no trouble during these four years because it had followed this principle of election.

The question was, therefore, naturally asked: why should a system which has so well stood the test of time be changed and replaced by something imported from outside?

And the Congress Ministry's claim that the Delhi pattern has been imported because of its merits is belied by facts. Though the Delhi pattern came into being in 1952, the Andhra Government had not thought of introducing it in the Andhra University before now, nor had it introduced it in the Venkateswara University which was started two years after the Delhi pattern was born. Obviously the Delhi pattern has been chosen not for its merits, but because it suits the present political needs of the Congress Ministry.

Having adopted this system purely due to political exigencies, the Education Minister only made himself ridiculous when he said that it had been adopted to keep out politics.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION: Another issue on which the Ministry took up an objectionable attitude was on the question of medium of instruction.

The Andhra University Act of 1925 contained a provision giving powers to the University "to promote the development of the study of Telugu, Canarese,

Urdu and Oriya and their use as media of instruction and examination." The Radhakrishnan Commission had called this an "interesting feature of the Act."

It was hoped that such ideas would be implemented after independence. But eleven years after freedom, after sister Universities in Kerala and Tamilnad had declared their desire to achieve this as soon as possible, the Andhra Government has now rejected the Opposition proposal to reiterate this idea in the new Bill.

Not even the practical difficulty, which members pointed out, of students having to suddenly change over to English in the pre-University stage after studying all subjects in the mother-tongue up to the S.S.L.C., made any impression on the Minister.

SCOPE OF INTERFERENCE: In the name of "inspection and enquiry," Government has reserved for itself unlimited scope

## ASSAM

# LIQUIDATING REFUGEES OR THEIR PROBLEMS?

\* FROM MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

REFUGEE rehabilitation is a scandal whether in West Bengal or elsewhere. The Assam Government's rehabilitation policy has hardly any feature which distinguishes it from the set pattern, except perhaps that refugees in that State consider it more corrupt and inefficient.

And to make an already bad situation worse, the State Government has recently embarked on a mass eviction drive. The earlier Medhi Government had not dared to go beyond an extent in this eviction drive because of the internal squabbles in the ruling party, but the present Chaliha Government feels strong enough not to impose any such restraints on itself.

Armed police contingents, backed by trained elephants, have been commissioned to drive out what the Government has chosen to call "encroachers on Government lands." Standing crops have not been spared, little respect has been shown to the honour of women or to the safety of children. People say without any exaggeration that the Congress Government in ten years have evicted more peasants in Assam than in the whole of the preceding hundred years.

Who are these so-called "encroachers"? They are the land-hungry peasants who found land lying fallow and occupied it in some places. They are the uprooted refugees who have waited for years to get some help from the Government which never came.

They have poured their sweat and blood in the battle to reclaim these lands infested with wild animals and poisonous snakes. Their labour has caused no harm to the economy of the State. On the contrary, the cash and food crops which they have produced have been of great benefit.

If the Government is serious about its promise of rehabilitating them, why

for interference in the routine administrative affairs of the University. The Opposition pleaded that normal and routine affairs should be left to the University administration and Government should restrict its right to intervention only in situations of emergency.

The Opposition also expressed its apprehension about making the Governor of the State Chancellor since these days the Governors are mainly Congressmen and are likely to subject University affairs to the influence of Congress Ministers.

All suggestions made to remove the objectionable provisions and the amendments moved to make the institution autonomous, more democratic and keep it unfettered were systematically rejected by the Government. But the Opposition put up a valiant fight and pressed to vote and division every single amendment and as many as 70 divisions were demanded in the course of just two days.

refugees did not want any preferential treatment over the indigenous landless has exposed the Government's attempt to pit the local people against them.

The minimum demands of the refugees in the matter of land were formulated by the conference which also demanded suspension of realisation of loans from refugees until compensation for properties left in Pakistan was paid, education grants to refugees' children without any conditions attached to them, suspension of eviction of all classes of agriculturists unless alternate rehabilitation arrangements were made and keeping open the Government camps.

The three-day conference has decided that if the Government did not move to implement these demands before December 30, refugees would begin a mass satyagraha.

## Rural Self-Govt. Made A Farce

THE Assam Government introduced in the last session of the State Assembly the Assam Panchayat Bill with the declaration that it would bring about revolutionary changes in rural self-government.

But the Bill seems to be more concerned with retaining the grip of the Congress on the rural masses through the agency of the panchayats than with ushering in any genuine democratic institution of self-government or ensuring the participation of the people in the administration.

Even Congressmen functioning in the existing panchayats had opposed the introduction of the Bill in its present form and it was only through plenty of behind-the-scenes manipulations that Congress MLAs could be silenced in their opposition to the Bill.

The Assam Committee of the Communist Party of India in a memorandum on the Bill has stated that "these democratic bodies of gram swaraj should not only be linked with administration and development activities in an advisory capacity but also in the executive capacity of an appropriate nature. Such bodies should be made the genuine vehicles of democracy and popular mobilisation for national development." For this, administrative powers have to be decentralised and more powers have to be delegated to the basic units of the panchayat system.

But restrictive provisions in the Bill like those giving over-riding powers to the bureaucracy, absence of direct elections by secret ballot, etc., go against this objective and fail to meet the requirements of a democratic panchayat system. The Communist Party's memorandum points out, "real effective power will remain with the bureaucracy while the aims of decentralisation of powers and control will remain as pious wishes."

Gaon Panchayats, suggests the memorandum, should have powers to see that agrarian reform legislations are properly implemented in their areas.

Regarding the right granted to the Government to dissolve panchayats, the memorandum has demanded that this right should not be unqualified as it might be misused and that dissolution should be followed by elections within three months.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

WISE, BUT FOR...

THE reported decision of the Government of India to entrust the Sindri Fertiliser Factory with the contract for the construction of an important section of the projected ammonium nitrate plant at Rourkela...

The very fact that a contract, entailing a capital expenditure of nearly Rs. eight crores, could be won by the Sindri Factory in face of stiff competition from several well-known foreign firms...

REAL WORTH

It is the lack of precisely this element in the Government's decision, however, which makes us sceptical about its real worth. For, in that case, it would tantamount to nothing more than a slight deviation from its settled course of ignoring the potentialities of the nation's abundant manpower...

cry—not, at least for our Government, whose fondness for everything foreign seems to have no bounds. No doubt, in the eleventh year of freedom, and after a couple of Industrial Policy Resolutions, such things sound a little incongruous...

According to the agreement with the Imperial Chemical Industries (U.K.) Ltd., in whose collaboration the Indian Explosive Factory at Gomia (Bihar) has been set up, the Government would be subscribing only one-fifth of the issued and subscribed capital of the new company while the rest would be held by the ICI...

For the services in the construction of the factory and for information and assistance necessary for it to go into production, the ICI will be paid a royalty at the rate of 2 1/2 per cent of the gross annual turn-over of the new company; this royalty is to commence on the date on which the factory goes into production...

Thus, with not even a semblance of the so-called "easy terms" to justify such a complete climb-down on the part of the Government, the ICI will recover the cost of the project with an overall return of ten per cent—and that too in sterling which can in effect be released only with the consent of the Government in London.

WITHOUT COMMENT

ARRAARS of income tax payments amounted to Rs. 247.68 crores, including the Excess Profits Tax, as on July 1, 1958, according to information given by the Finance Ministry, said the India Press Agency on December 6. Of this Rs. 37.39 was considered bad money, which will not be realisable. Comment is unnecessary.

—ESSEN December 8, 1958.

INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS

India in World Affairs, by K.P. Karunakaran. Oxford University Press, 1958.

THIS is the second volume of Sri K.P. Karunakaran's India in World Affairs. The book sets out to give a factual account of the main international problems which engaged the attention of India during the period February 1950-December 1953.

The account of the international events of the 1950-53 period is lucid and clear. Almost all important events are described in detail and no essential fact appears to have escaped the author's notice. Perhaps, the desire to give only a factual account in the generally accepted meaning of the term, has prevented the author from looking deep into the working of those powerful forces which threatened the peace of the world during the Korean War.

The author describes in detail the events in Iran and Egypt and the emergence of the Asian-African group, the developments in China, and the war in Korea, the Indo-Pakistan disputes and the events in Nepal. (The chapter on China and the Japanese Peace Treaty has been contributed by Sri Vidya Prakash Dutta).

Impact Of New China

The book explains, though very briefly, the impact of the rise of New China on the Indian mind. "Because of a certain similarity of experiences, they were fascinated by the quick pace of economic rehabilitation, by the honesty and incorruptibility of the new Chinese leadership, and, above all, by the land reforms instituted by the new regime."

The international issues the Korean war raised are treated at length. India's great interest in "localising the conflict" and in bringing about its speedy termination forms the subject of study of a sizeable portion of the book.

The author says the Korean war engendered the fear in India that many people in the West and especially in America, were considering the UN as a machinery for war rather than for peace. This trend of thinking was reflected in India's strong opposition to the Acheson Plan. India was opposed to the transformation of the UN into an anti-Soviet alliance, and her representative made it clear that it was of no use to stress the military aspect of the UN.

The chapter on "Relations with Pakistan" sums up succinctly the issues of dispute between India and her neighbour. The Kashmir problem



BOOK REVIEW

engages the main attention of the author. The UN Commission's last report to the Security Council, Sir Owen Dixon's "novel" method of partition of Kashmir and Dr. Graham's pet formula of demilitarisation are well set out in their proper background and sequence. The Soviet intervention in the Council debate in January, 1952, is viewed as a "significant development." The book concludes with an informative chapter on 'India's External Economic Relations.'

This book is excellent as source material and both the author and the Indian Council of World Affairs which sponsored the book deserve our congratulations. Our only complaint is that, like so much of academic writing, objectivity has come to mean withholding comment and stopping short at analysis. We hope Sri Karunakaran will overcome this defect in future volumes which we eagerly await.

—K. B. GUPTA

Changing India In The British Spectrum

India Changes, by Taya Zinkin. Chatto and Windus, 1958.

MRS. Zinkin who is correspondent in India for The Manchester Guardian and the London Economist has done a slick job and perhaps a better one than Indian official agencies, of selling a romanticised version of this country to the outside world. And the book is typical of a whole trend of "selling Nehru" to the west.

The book is fairly readable but touches too many topics briefly because, we suspect, it is addressed to the audience outside India and mainly in the United States. The wide range of subjects covered include the village life, religions, women, sex, social structure, minorities, Harijans, community projects, Bhoodan and the Communists in the short compass of its 233 pages. The present work has the usual crispness as well as the lack of depth of her journalistic writings.

Deliberate Untruths

There are many other statements which are malicious and deliberate untruths and based on no more than hearsay. The Sikhs may be informed that they are known for 'eager pursuit of women.' The Communists are said to be of no consequence because they act as if India were in Europe and talk to the Indians as they would to Westerners. This 'after Kerala! That the labour is pampered in India represents the lopsided view of foreign capital in India, but then Mrs. Zinkin's husband is one of the bigger bosses of Lever Brothers!

Greatest Sin

The greatest single sin of Mrs. Zinkin in her writings is exaggeration. To talk of Indian villages undergoing renaissance which is 'yet to mature, but it is here in the wake of independence' is frivolous. For Mrs. Zinkin there is no difference between the Renaissance and the revivalistic tendencies in modern Hinduism. Further, in her dreamland we find 'women in India

—KAMAL

Agreement has been reached between the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party in Kerala to contest the forthcoming municipal and panchayat elections unitedly. The purpose of the agreement, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, the Kerala PSP chief, told the Press on December 2, is "to fight the Communists".

THE agreement is not in the nature of an electoral adjustment only. "Joint Committees" are to be formed in each district to "supervise the implementation of the agreement." Also steps have been taken for "joint Congress-PSP campaign in three panchayat bye-elections in the Trivandrum District."

Sri P. T. Chacko, the leader of the Congress Party in the State Legislature, who, together with Sri K. A. Damodara Menon, the State Congress President, represented the Congress in the negotiations made it clear to the Press that the agreement was not confined to the municipal and panchayat elections alone. It was to set the pattern for all future elections. "Multi-party contest against Communists" must be avoided at all costs.

ALL ANTI-COMMUNISTS UNDER ONE ROOF

All this, of course, will not surprise anyone. It is a continuation of the tactics evolved at Devicoolam. What the result of these tactics was everybody knows. No ground exists for the belief that the result this time is going to be different.

But the fact to be noted is that the Praja Socialist Party which announces from house-tops that it is a party of principles, that it is not prepared to sully the banner of democratic Socialism by opportunist agreements, that it is the one party which is destined to replace the Congress, has had no hesitation to enter into a FULL-FLEDGED UNITED FRONT with the Congress which in Kerala has become the spokesman and ally of Catholic reaction, of foreign plantation owners, of big landowners who are making determined efforts to sabotage the agrarian reforms.

We have no doubt that the Kerala people know how to deal with such combinations. What is of interest to the whole democratic movement, however, is not this particular combination. What is of interest is the mentality and outlook which the PSP leadership has developed. "All Socialists under one roof" was the slogan given by the National Conference of the PSP which met at Poona six months ago. In Kerala, the slogan has come to mean "all anti-Communists under one roof."

WHAT WORRIES THEM

This is not accidental. Despite all the clap-trap of "welding together the fragmented national consciousness" and "building an egalitarian society" and despite a number of high-sounding resolutions on several subjects, what dominated the National Conference was uncertainty about the future of the PSP and the fear because of the growing influence of the Communist Party.

Commenting editorially on

DECEMBER 14, 1958

the Conference, the Janata, central organ of the PSP, wrote, "... the Communist success in Kerala, the tremendous psychological impact of the sputniks the world over and the indications of the growing strength of the Communist Party in certain areas had created an illusion in the mind of the public that the only alternative to the Congress was the Communist Party" (June 8). The situation, therefore, was "verging on crisis as far as the future of democracy in the country was concerned." (Ibid)

Not the crisis of the Plan which had been created by the policies of the Government and which endangered Indian economy, not the food crisis which doomed millions to starvation, not the authoritarian trends of the ruling party which threatened democracy, but the "menace of Communism"—this is what was uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the PSP. "The PSP must realise," said Sri

IT WAS THIS which led the PSP organ Janata to welcome the "significant resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on the law and order situation prevailing in Kerala" and add ominously that "a timely action has thus become very necessary." (September 21)

SORDID ROLE IN U.P. FOOD MOVEMENT

All this is well-known and needs no elaboration. But the fact to be noted is that the basic policy, with certain necessary modifications, is being sought to be pursued in a number of other States also.

Let us take, for example, Uttar Pradesh which is considered to be one of the strong bases of the PSP. A powerful food movement backed by all Opposition parties developed there. Never since the attainment of freedom had U. P. been the scene of such a widespread movement. Nine thousand persons, belonging to all parties, were arrested.

The State PSP, under instructions from its all-India leaders, hesitated to join the struggle. Acharya Kripalani openly "advised" the U. P. PSP not to resort to direct action.

DANGEROUS TRENDS IN THE P.S.P.

Ganga Saran Sinha, inaugurating the Punjab PSP Conference on July 11, "that a Communist success in India will jeopardise the future of democracy and Socialism, not only in India, but in Asia as well." No word was uttered, of course, about the menace to Asia arising out of the military pacts formed under the aegis of the imperialists.

Later, under pressure of the rank and file and also of some local leaders and finding that they were becoming an object of ridicule, the PSP leadership decided to join in. This undoubtedly gave a powerful impetus to the movement. The general strike of September 12 and the anti-repression rallies of September 25 were powerful demonstration of the people's indignation against the Government's food policies.

United front in action was being forged—united front of Communists, Praja Socialists, Socialists and other Opposition forces. Sri Sampurnanand did not like this. Nor did the PSP leaders. But what seemed to worry both of them most was that the Communist Party was emerging as the spearhead of the movement.

In response to an appeal by the Speaker of the U. P. Vidhan Sabha, Sri Sampurnanand released the top leaders of the PSP. Promptly followed the suspension and subsequent withdrawal of the movement by the PSP—without securing a release of the Communists and others, without any discussion with other parties as to whether the terms offered by the Government were adequate to meet the urgency of the situation or not.

In the conditions created by the decision of the PSP, the Communist Party had no

alternative but to call off the struggle.

There can be no doubt that but for the unilateral action by the PSP, the food movement in U. P. could have secured far greater victories than it actually did. There can be no doubt also that not concern for the needs of the people but hatred for the Communist Party, and desire for compromise with the Government led the PSP leaders to act as they did.

TREACHERY IN WEST BENGAL

Even more sordid was the role of the PSP in West-Bengal. In view of the callous attitude of the Government and its refusal to do anything to tackle the problem of rising prices and scarcity of food, the Price-Increase and Famine - Resistance Committee (PIFRC) resolved on August 31 to launch direct action. The decision was unanimous. All Left parties, including the PSP, were members of the Committee. Dr. Suresh Banerji, the PSP leader, was the President of the Committee. The struggle was to begin on September 15.

But the matter does not end there. Other manifestations of the outlook which the top PSP leaders have acquired are equally disturbing.

The PSP members of the Lok Sabha had nothing to say on the outrageous statement made by Sri Morarji Desai regarding the crisis that had developed over Quemoy and Matsu. Acharya Kripalani, launching a vitriolic attack on India's foreign policy, declared "I am very glad that this Summit Conference has not come through" (August 19). It did not seem to bother him that hundreds of millions of people in every country, including our own, desired such Conference and that opposition to it was coming only from the sworn enemies of peace and freedom, headed by the U. S. imperialists. The fact that the USSR ardently desired the Conference and proposed India's name as one of the countries that should attend it—this was sufficient reason for the PSP leader to denounce the whole idea. Could rabid hatred of Socialist countries go any further?

Perhaps the PSP and Congress leaders had hoped that the last-minute betrayal would disrupt the unity of the Left parties and of the food movement. Perhaps they had hoped that the movement would not come off.

The PSP leaders were sadly mistaken. They did not succeed in isolating the Communist Party. They isolated only themselves. They did not succeed in weakening the movement. The movement was launched on September 15 when six hundred persons defied the ban in Calcutta. Simultaneously, hundreds courted arrest in the districts. West Bengal was in the throes of a mighty struggle spread over a vast area—far greater in sweep and intensity than any since the anti-merger movement.

All efforts on the part of the Government to crush the popular struggle ended in failure. Dr. B. C. Roy was

forced to negotiate a settlement on September 28.

JANATA'S ADVICE TO J. P.

Such has been the concrete working out of the line adopted at the National Conference of the PSP—the line of blind anti-Communism, the line in pursuance of which the PSP leadership has not hesitated in a number of places, to sacrifice the interest of the masses and help the ruling party. The united front in Kerala which has evoked no protest from any PSP leader is the logical product of this line.

It is worth noting also that Sri Jai Prakash Narayan's recent tirade against parliamentary democracy and his ventures to the "big brother"—the Congress—evoked little comment among the PSP leaders. Most of them maintained a discreet silence. The Janata advised: "If Sri Jai Prakash wants that his suggestions should have a backing of popular opinion, he will have to address the nation directly and not through political parties. He has the stature to do so." (November 16)

But the matter does not end there. Other manifestations of the outlook which the top PSP leaders have acquired are equally disturbing.

The PSP members of the Lok Sabha had nothing to say on the outrageous statement made by Sri Morarji Desai regarding the crisis that had developed over Quemoy and Matsu. Acharya Kripalani, launching a vitriolic attack on India's foreign policy, declared "I am very glad that this Summit Conference has not come through" (August 19). It did not seem to bother him that hundreds of millions of people in every country, including our own, desired such Conference and that opposition to it was coming only from the sworn enemies of peace and freedom, headed by the U. S. imperialists. The fact that the USSR ardently desired the Conference and proposed India's name as one of the countries that should attend it—this was sufficient reason for the PSP leader to denounce the whole idea. Could rabid hatred of Socialist countries go any further?

ASOKA MEHTA HAILS DE GAULLE

The PSP claims that its hostility towards Communism arises from its staunch devotion to "democratic ideals." Significantly, however, de Gaulle's drive against democratic institutions in France and his efforts to establish personal and military dictatorship have been passed over in silence by the majority of PSP leaders. Sri Asoka Mehta, in a speech made at Delhi on October 27, said that in his opinion "the General is a 'changed man' who is trying his 'desperate best' to improve the progressive forces. It would be wrong to write him off as a reactionary." (Hindustan Times, November 29)

The Social Democrats in

\* SEE PAGE 10

PAGE SEVEN

**THE SOVIET  
SEVEN-YEAR  
PLAN**

# LANDMARK IN ONWARD MARCH OF SOCIALIST PLANNING

The new Seven-Year Plan announced by Comrade Khrushchov marks yet another landmark in the historic onward march of Socialist planning in the USSR. It expresses in its giant targets the accumulated production power of Soviet society generated and nurtured by years of Socialist planning. The rate of growth of annual income in the USSR was always higher than in any capitalist country. The highest growth of annual income recorded by the USA was 4.5 per cent in 1904-1913. Between 1929-50 the rate of growth was only three per cent. On the contrary, in the Soviet Union national income rose annually by 16 per cent between 1928 and 1939; for the period 1949 to '53, national income grew by 15 per cent every year.

AND now, under the new Plan, on the basis of these accumulated resources, there is going to be an increase of between 62 to 65 per cent in the next seven years — an annual increase of 8.6 per cent, a rate found to be unattainable by any capitalist country.

It may appear that compared with the previous Plan, the increase under the Seven-Year Plan is less. But that is not correct. One per cent of increase in total industrial production amounted to 5,000 million roubles in 1952; in 1959, it will be around 11,000 million roubles while in 1965 it will rise to nearly 19,000 million roubles. Such is the swift rate at which the increase in national income will take place under the Seven-Year Plan.

The new Seven-Year Plan is an integral part of the fifteen-year plan which envisages a hundred to two hundred per cent increase in the production of decisive industries. In comparison with 1957, output of iron ore is roughly estimated to increase 3.5 times in the next fifteen years; output of oil will increase four times, that of gas 15 times; of pig iron and steel 2.3 times and of electricity and cement four times.

Agriculture will guarantee an abundance of products and the full satisfaction of the vital needs of the people. "The long-range plan of economic development over the next fifteen years is the economic programme of Communist construction in the USSR." (Khrushchov)

## Communist Construction

The gigantic targets of the Seven-Year Plan, which were outlined in detail in New Age in its issue of November 30, are conceived as part of this great fifteen-year plan of Communist construction. They are conceived at a time when the capitalist world is busy manoeuvring against recession and when the USA can boast of not less than four million unemployed.

So far as Western Europe is concerned, according to a summary of a recent U. N. analysis, businessmen are much less optimistic than they were a few months ago, and in numerous sections order books are showing blanks. "There is growing excess capacity in industry and there are 'solid reasons for thinking that industrial investments will diminish in

advance unparalleled in the history of the world.

● Since the inception of the Soviet Union, the per capita national income has increased fifteen-fold. In industrial output the USSR has gained the first place in Europe and second in the world. It has already outstripped Britain, Western Germany, France for the absolute level of production of a number of major industrial items. In recent years, it has outstripped the USA in the absolute annual increase in many lines of production.

● In 1958, the USSR will smelt about 65 million tons of steel and extract 113 million tons of oil. More oil and steel are produced in one month now than were produced in a whole year in pre-revolutionary Russia. The

the anti-fascist war, production of consumer commodities including food-grains in 1958 will be 2.7 times more than in 1940. The mighty leap in production that was being taken in 1952-58 itself can be seen from the following:

New Capacities commissioned in production of —

	For Whole of 1st & 2nd Five-Year Plans	For last 5 years ending 1958
Pig Iron (in m. tons a year)	11.8	13
Steel (in m. tons a year)	10.4	9
Cement (in m. tons a year)	3.1	13
Coal (in m. tons a year)	135.4	150
Electric stations (in m. of KW)	6.4	24
Granulated sugar (in hundreds of tons of beet processed daily)	197.4	680

Besides, in the last five years alone, 216 million sq. metres of new housing has been erected.

the working day. In conformity with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the length of the working day on holiday eve and Saturday has been reduced; factory and office workers in several branches

by  
**B. T. RANADIVE**

nisation and automatic control of production, with the use of electronic device represents the most salient feature of contemporary technical progress and must become the main trend in the designing of new machines." (Khrushchov). The mighty leap forward in production is based on the production of the most advanced type of machinery.

## Consumers' Goods

Along with the rapid development of the means of production, the consumers' goods industry and its products are also to develop rapidly.

Production of cotton fabrics will increase by 33 per cent; of woollen fabrics by 67 per cent; silk fabrics 80 per cent; leather footwear by 45 per cent. "The contemplated rates of growth in the output of fabrics, clothing and footwear will make it possible by the end of the seven-year period to bring the USSR near to the level of the United States, both in total output and in per capita production." In the production of food-grains, meat, butter, etc., there is to be an equally rapid advance assuring plenty for all. The average annual rate of increase in total agricultural production during 1954-57 was 7.1 per cent in the Soviet Union and 1.1 per cent in the United States. The Seven-Year Plan envisages, in agriculture, a six times faster rate of growth than the present American rates.

Unlike in the capitalist countries, the rise in national income is not fictitious so far as the mass of the people is concerned. In these countries such advance is made at the expense of the workers and

mers will increase by 40 per cent.

Not only incomes will increase but labour will be lightened. The USSR will have the shortest working day and shortest working week in the world. By 1960, a seven-hour working day will be established for factory workers and a six-hour day for underground workers in mines. By 1962, factory workers will be put on a 40-hour working week. By 1964, workers engaged in underground and harmful work will be transferred to a 30-hour week and

society, to develop the material well-being of the people by constantly applying science to industry and agriculture. The contradiction between the social character of production and the private mode of appropriation which dominates capitalist production is eliminated under Socialism. Hence anarchy of production, crisis, unemployment have no place in Socialist society and production is planned in accordance with the resources and needs of society.

The apologists of capitalism conceal this truth and misrepresent that progress under Socialism is either non-existent or due to regimentation and achieved by encroachment on human values. The Socialist society replaces exploitation of man by man, competition and anarchy by

reserves, must be more widely developed and supported." In India, as in other capitalist countries, the problem is how to secure the participation of the masses in enthusiastically promoting productive activity.

The Indian planners have repeatedly complained of lack of popular enthusiasm for planning. The superiority of planning in the USSR arises from the fact that it is not a mere programme of investment with hardly any place for the people; it is huge popular activity in which the whole nation participates with its full productive energy.

Without this Soviet planning could not have secured its historic successes; nor would it have been able to aspire for

maintain world peace and divert all energies to creative productive effort. The capitalist class will not be the capitalist class if it responds to the call for peace and production.

Obviously, achievement of these gigantic objectives cannot but have an important effect on the balance of international forces. The successful implementation of the Plan will change the economic balance of the world in favour of the Socialist world and against the capitalist-imperialist world.

In 1917, the USSR accounted for less than three per cent of the world's industrial output, in 1937, for about ten per cent, while in 1958 it will reach almost 20 per cent. The world Socialist system as a whole now contributes about one-third of the total industrial production of the world. In the next seven years, Socialist countries will produce more than half of the world's total industrial output. Such is the decisive significance of the Seven-Year Plan and the advance of Socialist economies in China and other People's Democracies.

The Socialist world is on its way towards becoming a bigger producer of industrial goods than the capitalist world. Its world might, through sheer economic construction, has increased in recent years. Capitalism has lost the battle.

This increased might of the Socialist world is a direct source of strength to the working class of the world and to the underdeveloped countries struggling to build independent economies. If the First Five-Year Plan of the USSR inspired the world working class with confidence in itself, the Seven-Year Plan will help it immensely to carry on the struggle against capitalist exploitation and ensure its success in the near future.

The tremendous increase in the economic power and resources of the USSR, following from the Seven-Year Plan, increases its capacity manifold to help the struggling economies of underdeveloped countries on terms of equality and mutual help. A number of these countries like India are dependent on imports of foreign machinery and equipment required for their industrial advance. This fact is exploited by American and other imperialists to entangle the bourgeoisie of these countries and penetrate their economies in the name of help and aid. The recent loans from the World Bank and other resources to India are meant to enmesh India in economic entanglements with the United States so that the latter is able to pressurise her politically and economically. The USA gradually seeks to dominate Indian economy under the guise of helping her.

The successful implementation of the Seven-Year Plan will be of great benefit to India. The Socialist world, especially the

\* SEE PAGE 13

## Striking Contrast Between Socialist And Capitalist Worlds

neutralise the tendency to depression in other sectors, particularly in exports and industrial investments."

As regards the USA, along with a fall in production that was seen during the period of recession, there is widespread unemployment which does not seem to diminish: "4,111,000 or six per cent of the labour force were unemployed in September. . . in this recovery the improvement in unemployment seems to have come more slowly than it did after the two previous post-war slumps. . . It is entirely possible that the United States will move into the next period of prosperity on a plateau of unemployment considerably higher than has been typical of the postwar period." (Correspondent of London Economist)

Nothing, therefore, could demonstrate the striking contrast between the Socialist and capitalist worlds than the gigantic targets with their confident outlook of all-round prosperity of the Seven-Year Plan.

The big targets of the Seven-Year Plan are based on the giant's progress of Soviet economy in the earlier years. While the bourgeois slanderers of Socialist planning were busy predicting the downfall of Soviet economy, and the collapse of one Plan after another, the Socialist Soviet Union was marching ahead scoring ever new triumphs in production. In the forty years of its existence, the Soviet Union has experienced twenty years of colossal destruction of its resources at the hands of imperialist and fascist aggressors and marauders. The remaining twenty years of peaceful construction have packed within themselves a historic

electricity output in 1958 will reach 233,000 million KWH. Today the USSR generates as much electricity in three days as it did during a year in pre-revolutionary Russia.

● Old Russia had no chemical industry to boast of; but today, the USSR is second in the world in the volume of chemical production.

● The advance in the engineering industry — the foundation of industrial progress — has been tremendous. Starting from scratch, the Socialist Soviet Union has built a mighty machine-making industry. In 1958, production of means of production will be five times that in 1940.

This rapid development of basic and heavy industry

ted in towns, cities and factory settlements.

## Science And Culture

This unhindered and mighty upsurge in material production is matched by an avalanche-like advance in science and culture. It was Soviet science that opened the new era of man's conquest of outer space by successfully launching the artificial earth satellite. The world's first atomic power plant has been operating in the Soviet Union since 1954.

The USSR has now 765 higher educational establishments and 3,500 technical and other institutions with a stu-

It is on the basis of this mighty all-round advance of Socialist economy that the giant strides of the Seven-Year Plan have been planned. To emphasise some of the targets: it is planned to produce 65-70 million tons of pig iron or 65-77 per cent more than in 1958; steel 86-91 million tons or 56-65 per cent more; there is to be 2.8 times increase in aluminium production and 1.9 times increase in the output of refined copper.

Overall output of chemicals will increase three-fold with the construction or completion of more than 140 new large-scale chemical enterprises and the reconstruction of more than 130 enterprises. Coal production is to increase by 25 per cent to 569-

## PLAN WILL DRIVE ONE MORE NAIL IN COFFIN OF IMPERIALISM & CAPITALISM

has laid a sure foundation for a quick growth of consumers' industries, including agriculture, and enabled the Soviet people to reach a better and higher standard of life. Light industry and agriculture have been supplied with modern machinery so that they can satisfy people's daily wants in an ever-increasing measure. In 1958, consumer production will be nearly 14 times more than in 1913. There is a forty-five-fold increase in articles intended for cultural and household production. In spite of the colossal destruction during

dent body of more than four million. The number of specialists, with a higher or secondary specialised education, employed in economy is about 7.5 million or 39 times more than in 1917. The higher educational establishments in the USSR now graduate nearly three times as many engineers as similar establishments in the USA.

In the years of Soviet power, unemployment has been abolished and wages, salaries and other emoluments have been doubled since 1940. The advance in production has been accompanied by the shortening of

609 million tons; oil production is to increase more than two-fold to 230-240 million tons. Electric power is to increase to five lakh to five lakh two thousand million KWH i.e. two to 2.2 times.

The strategic machine-making industry — without which no rapid advance is possible is given a prominent place. The output of the machine-building and metal-working industries will nearly double in seven years. The machine-making industry is to conform to the most advanced and modern developments. "Transition to integrated mecha-

peasants, with labour-intensification drive, or direct or indirect cut in the earnings of the workers, through inflation, heavy taxation. The figures of national income in capitalist countries conceal class differences in the main and screen exploitation.

But in the USSR, the fruits of social advance are shared by all. Under the Seven-Year Plan, while the national income will rise by 60-65 per cent, the funds of public consumption will also go up by 60-63 per cent. The real income of the factory and office workers and collective far-

Communism, abolition of the distinction between intellectual and manual labour which plagues capitalist society — these are not possible without a shortening of the working day and leaving more time for every individual for cultural and intellectual advance. By reducing working hours, the USSR is laying a firm foundation for Communism.

How are these mighty objectives rendered possible? Because the aim of Socialist society is to produce for use, for satisfying the increasing wants of all members of

plans, depends very much on the increased productivity of labour, rendered possible by the production of up-to-date machinery. It aims at raising the productivity of labour, per employee, in industry from 45 to 80 per cent over 1959-65. Considering the shortening of the working day, the actual increase in output will amount to much more.

This will be achieved by raising the creative energies of the workers and Soviet intelligentsia. "The creative initiative and activity shown by the factory workers, engineers and technicians, in exploring for new production

the giant targets of the Seven-Year Plan.

## Historic Objectives

The Seven-Year Plan has historic objectives before it.

FIRST, by successfully implementing the Plan, a decisive step will be taken towards the creation of the material-technical base of Communism — that noble ideal proclaimed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Communism cannot be built without abundance and plenty — and the Seven-Year Plan is laying its base.

The SECOND result of the Plan will be to surpass and overtake the most highly developed capitalist countries in output per head of the population. After 1965, the USSR will need approximately five years to overtake and surpass the United States in the level of per capita output. By that time, the Soviet Union will advance to first place in the world, both in total production and per capita output.

Such are the grand perspectives opened by the new Plan. The Socialist giant now fully developed has started taking big strides to the utter amazement of his opponents. Those who had "buried" Communism several times now find the Communist colossus reaching new heights of production. This mighty advance immensely strengthens the defence potential of the Socialist world and acts as a "deterrent" to would-be aggressors and pedlars of brinkmanship. At the same time, it is a challenge to the capitalist world for peaceful competition in the service of the people. It is a call to

the rest to a 35-hour week. It is thus intended to introduce a five-day week with two full days off each week.

Only Socialism could offer this grand promise of release from the traditional working week. The advance of technology and automation under Socialism neither lead to unemployment nor overwork but to lightening of labour. The immense rise in labour productivity rendered possible by automation is harnessed for social advance and benefits the producing individual.

This shortening of the working day has immense significance in the struggle of the working class for Communism. Cultural development of a high order, which is indispensable for

the rest to a 35-hour week. It is thus intended to introduce a five-day week with two full days off each week.

the rest to a 35-hour week. It is thus intended to introduce a five-day week with two full days off each week.

the rest to a 35-hour week. It is thus intended to introduce a five-day week with two full days off each week.

# Imperialists, Quit Africa!

As 500 delegates from every corner of Africa—from the free and the colonial countries—began to assemble in the capital of Ghana, in the first historic conference of the African peoples on the soil of Africa, all Asia and Africa began to resound with one slogan "QUIT AFRICA".

A PART from the delegates from the free territories of Africa, Africans representing 40 national liberation movements are meeting in the Accra Conference.

Here is what the Press Trust of India reported on December 1 from Cairo: "Thousands of Africans in different colonial areas of the continent today observed 'Quit Africa' Day in response to a call given by the non-official Afro-Asian Solidarity Council. Solidarity Committees in several African countries organised processions and public meetings and raised anti-colonial slogans."

Reports from the various countries and also from different centres in India are just coming in and we await full reports, for the call has been responded to on a very big scale.

In CAIRO, Mr. Hussein, the UAR Minister for Education, called on the African youth to get rid of their foreign yoke. Hundreds attending the meeting

shouted slogans against imperialism and the brutalities being perpetrated against the people.

In RANGOON, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee organised a meeting which was attended by public leaders and representatives of all sections in the capital. The resolution adopted on the occasion said: "The existence of colonialism either in Africa or elsewhere is a threat to peace and progress."

In HANOI, 1,000 representatives of parties and popular organisations met to give firm support to the slogan of "Quit Africa."

Top leaders of various political parties spoke at a rally of several thousands organised by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of INDONESIA.

Chairman Suwirjo (Indonesian Nationalist Party), the First Vice-Chairman of the Muslim Scholars' Association, K. H. Dachlan, Chairman Aruji Kartawinata of the Islamic Union Party, D. N. Aidit, General Se-

cretary of the Indonesian Communist Party, and H. S. Abbas spoke.

Chairman Suwirjo said that it was indeed inspiring that various parties with different political tendencies and religious beliefs unanimously opposed imperialism.

In the gathering were the Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Sartono, the Mayor of Djakarta and other leading citizens.

Far-away MONGOLIA also responded to the call with a meeting organised by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Reports of meetings and rallies from other centres of Asia—from China and Japan, from Iraq and elsewhere are being reported in the daily Press.

## IN INDIA

In INDIA too the call has met with a grand response and meetings and rallies by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees and other organisations are being held throughout this month.

On December 2, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity organised a very representative meeting in DELHI in

the Constitution Club. It was a real Afro-Asian gathering—both the speakers and the audience.

India's leading artist M. F. Hussain made a large picture-poster for the occasion showing resurgent Africa striving forward to its dawn of liberation.

Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, presiding over the meeting, assured the people of Africa that India stood with them in their freedom struggle. She regretted that the imperialist Powers who dominated the U.N. were not enforcing the U.N. Charter.

Ghana's High Commissioner in India J. B. Erzuah said that the independence of Ghana was meaningless without the freedom of all African countries.

Ethiopia's Ambassador H. S. Imru said: "Independence today cannot be withheld from Africa, and to get what the West needs from Africa, it will have to work out some system of economic cooperation with independent African Governments."

Sudan's Ambassador Syed Rahmatullah Abdulla, denounced colonialism and warned that world peace could not be preserved unless the Africans were free.

Larbi Bennani, Charge d'affaires in the Moroccan Embassy, spoke feelingly of the struggles of the African peoples and specially of the Algerian people who were suffering the most ruthless forms of terror.

The great speech of the evening was of Salah Abel, Charge d'affaires of the UAR Embassy. With passion and eloquence he exposed the claims made by imperialist Powers that they were fighting for democracy. He said, "Let the colonial Powers pack their kit, surrender their ill-gotten plunder and quit Africa."

Cherif Guellal, Representative in India of the Algerian Front of National Liberation, spoke on behalf of the colonial peoples of Africa and said how the NATO Powers had a common policy for the continued subjugation of Africa.

The meeting sent its warm support to the Accra Conference and pledged its support to the African peoples in their struggle for liberty. It condemned the forthcoming nuclear tests in the Sahara, called for an end to racial discrimination and for the release of all political prisoners. It drew attention to the valiant efforts of those countries who have just won their freedom against new forms of domination and demanded the end of all foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The meeting concluded with a programme of African spirituals and songs specially prepared by African students in Delhi.

For one whole week, Delhi has daily been witnessing small and large gatherings in support of the Quit Africa Day call. The conference of over 5,000 workers of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union (Birla Branch) and the conference of textile workers of the Swatantra Eharat Mills passed resolutions on "Quit Africa".

Apart from this, the Delhi Peace Committee organised a week, holding meetings in five different colleges, in the Hindi Bhawan, presided over by Sri Banaridas Chaturvedi, M.P.,

and a public meeting. The meetings were addressed by Pt. Sundarlal, Mr. Guellal and others.

In the last week of November in BOMBAY, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and other organisations held a reception meeting for Mr. R. K. Karanjia on "Is it War on Afro-Asia?"

Over 1,000 people gathered in the Sundarabai Hall and a rousing message was sent to the African peoples and demanding that imperialism Quit Africa.

The RAJASTHAN Branch of the Afro-Asian Committee has organised a series of meetings. Its opening meeting in Jaipur was presided over by Mr. M. D. Mathura, M.P., and was addressed by the Ambassador of Ethiopia and by Prof. C. Maksud, Lebanese Socialist leader.

Sri R. N. Mirdha, Speaker of the Rajasthan Assembly, spoke. Several meetings were also organised in the Maharaja and other colleges attended by audiences of 2,000 to 4,000 students.

ORISSA held a meeting in Cuttack under the auspices of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee which is now organising meetings in all the districts.

In ALLAHABAD prominent citizens called a public meeting on December 1, presided over by Sri Vidyabhaskar, Editor, *Amrita Patrika*, Hindi daily.

The campaign in CALCUTTA started with a meeting organised by the Institute for Afro-Asian Relations. Dr. Sunil Kumar Chatterjee, Chairman of the State Legislative Council, presided and spoke feelingly of India's support to Africa. Mr. Mahamba of the Cameroons said, "We want to have an opportunity to organise ourselves and to build our country and live our lives in our own way."

The youth organisations of Calcutta are holding twelve meetings in different areas. Peace Committees in Barrackpore and elsewhere are continuing the campaign.

A central rally of Calcutta citizens has been called by the Mayor of Calcutta, Dr. Sunil Chatterji, the Sheriff of Calcutta, Sri Vivekanand Mukherji and others on December 10.

During the coming fortnight "Quit Africa" meetings are being held in Jullundur, Jodhpur, Patna, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Bangalore and elsewhere.

National dailies like the *Jugantar* (Calcutta), *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Leader*, *Bharat* and others have editorially supported Africa's cause.



Editorial Board  
 AJAY GHOSH  
 BHUPESH GUPTA  
 P. C. JOSHI (Editor)  
 Printed by D. P. Sinha at the NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, 5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M. Road New Delhi, and published by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road, Delhi.  
 Phone : 25794  
 Telegraphic Address : MARXBAD  
 SUBSCRIPTION RATE  
 INLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;  
 Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0.  
 FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;  
 Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.  
 All cheques and drafts to be made payable to T. MADHAVAN and not to NEW AGE.

# WHY DID REACTION TRIUMPH IN FRANCE?

The dark cloud that had hovered for so long now shuts out the sun in France. All the enchantment of Paris can no longer relieve the grime and gloom of a most dangerous triumph of reaction.

AFTER the referendum and heightening the general trend it manifested, France has now the most reactionary assembly in all its postwar history. Out of 465 seats, the open and fanatic Right have a solid 352 seats. The Communists hold on only to ten, the Socialists to 40. The centre parties have collapsed. Soustelle rubs his hands and it is reported that even de Gaulle may be worried.

It is a striking fact that in an industrial country such as France only ten workers are deputies—all ten of them Communists. Nineteen Counts with all their titles and their insolent flaunting of reaction jostle with bankers and mountebanks in the new chamber. The colons from Algeria have also arrived 70 strong.

The Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of France has sounded the tocsin in its statement of December 3: "The recent elections testify to the triumph of ultra-reactionary and fascist forces symbolised by Soustelle's Union for the New Republic."

## The Electoral System

Why this triumph? The immediate reason lies in the disgraceful electoral system, a fact which does not escape Time or the London Economist. By adjusting the constituencies—splitting Communist strongholds and tacking them on to more backward regions—and by gerrymandering (the phrase is Time's) in the second round a most grievous distortion of the democratic process was accomplished.

It has been calculated that were the seats to be distributed according to the votes polled, the UNR of Soustelle would have had 82 seats instead of 188 seats, the Communists 88 instead of ten, the reactionary Independents 64 instead of 120, the Socialists 72 instead of 40. For each Communist Deputy, some 388,000 votes were required, while the UNR Deputy got in cheap with some 19,000 odd votes. As the French Communist Party's Polit Bureau states: "The country has an Assembly in which it cannot recognise itself."

## Why Swing To Right

What can be said of tortured Algeria? The Front of National Liberation (FLN) boycotted the elections and not all the bayonets of Massu, all the open interference with ballot papers, could make some 40 per cent of the voters come to the polls.

Yet, this trickery is only the immediate cause. It would be stupidity and worse, not to recognise a big swing to the Right in metropolitan France. Pierre Courtade in *L'Humanite* calls it "This tremendous swing of opinion—one of the greatest swings of opinion to have occurred in France during the last 25 years and no doubt the most rapid one..."

Hence the next question: why this swing?

The French Polit Bureau on December 3 bluntly declared: "This swing has its origin in a current of chauvinism and anti-democracy which has brought numerous Frenchmen rightly worried about the grandeur (of France) and of the future of the nation to find a reply to their worries by voting for parties of the extreme Right patronised by de Gaulle and who forgot that these parties are the direct agents of the big bourgeoisie responsible for the decadence of France for the last 11 years, to say nothing of the pre-war period."

Since the Communists were turned out of the French Government 11 years ago on American orders directly executed by Socialist Ramadier, there has been a steady process of the erosion of democracy, a succession of unstable Ministries, a huge and mounting budget deficit, the drain of colonial wars, the increasing reliance on the bureaucracy and army.

For all these 11 years, there was a decline of French prestige and a demoralising stagnation socially and politically. Lack of change, even a lack of hope of change, increasing-ly dominated the minds of the mass of Frenchmen. The Fourth Republic failed miserably to solve any of the problems facing the nation, failed to raise the living standards, failed to make advance in any direction. Democratic institutions that do not solve problems can never escape discredit.

In this atmosphere came a dangerous apathy to the fate of the Republic and a vague attraction for Caesarism—the ghost of Bonapartism began to take corporate shape. Marcel Servin, reporting to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France on the referendum results stated "the bourgeoisie succeeded in influencing the bulk of the middle-classes, the peasantry and a section of the working class by playing up the people's deep-rooted desire for a change."

Why did this desire for an alternative not lead to a swing to the Left? Why did the Right gain?—this is obviously the next question.

FIRST, mention must be made here of the role of the Right-wing (and dominant) leadership of the Socialist Party. It was they who broke up the unity of action with the Communists established during the Resistance. It was they who refused for all the eleven years to have any unity on any issue with the Communists, being in the forefront when it came to excluding the five million Communist voters from having any voice in shaping national policy. It was they who continually

capitulated to the Right and indeed conducted for them the Suez adventure in 1956 and the stepping up of the war in Algeria.

Even at the last hour of peril it was Guy Mollet who rushed to instal de Gaulle as the saviour, classically declaring, "I prefer Gaullism to the Popular Front." It was the Socialist Party Executive that gave the call to its supporters to vote "Yes" to de Gaulle's authoritarian constitution. So much for the democracy of the Social-Democrats! So much for all the lessons of 1933 Germany!

## Socialist Splitting

In the elections themselves not only did the Socialists refuse any adjustment with the Communists, but went all the way of servility in allying with Soustelle's UNR. In seat after seat, they put up candidates with the sole purpose of blocking the Communist candidate's election. A striking example is that of Argenteuil, sacred as the seat of Gabriel Peri, of halcyon memory, held by the wife of the nation's martyr for the past 13 years. This time she went down by a bare 1,000 votes—the Socialist candidate stealing 2,000 votes to give the seat to a UNR man.

The SECOND reason for the lack of a Left advance was, in the words of Marcel Servin: "the survivals in the minds of some Frenchmen of the anti-Communism which the bourgeoisie had fomented after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the Hungarian events." The French Party was not able to make up this loss.

In addition, the bulk of the working class was apathetic, reflected in the fact of the loss of Communist votes in the working class areas. As Pierre Courtade has written: "The bulk of the working class failed to take part in them (the anti-de Gaulle demonstrations). The Party's Central Committee acknowledged that this state of affairs had not been taken into proper consideration by the active Party members and functionaries and that in some cases there had been weakening of links between the Party and the masses."

The THIRD reason for the loss of the Left was the wave of chauvinism which had swept France following the Algerian war. While the majority may have wanted negotiations in Algeria, they by no means wanted Algerian independence, particularly after the discovery of oil in the Sahara. It cannot be denied that the tremendous ideological offensive of the imperialists through the Press, Radio, Television had an impact on the average French mind.

This was aggravated by the duplicity of de Gaulle who seemed to offer a "liberal" solution to the Algerian problem, who seemed to hold out the chance of restraining the colons and at the same time of a compromise with the FLN. Where the Fourth Re-

public had failed, de Gaulle seemed to offer a way out.

In this background, with the French Communists alone remaining true to anti-imperialism, with the surge of French chauvinism, came the acts of terrorism by the Algerian FLN on French soil. As Maurice Thorez stated at the post-referendum Central Committee meeting: "The methods used by the FLN in France have not—we have to state this quite plainly—served the just cause of the Algerian people... Far from winning sympathy, they lose it. Those methods lay the Algerians open to attack. Moreover... they make all sorts of provocation against us possible."

## Effect Of Colonial Wars

Riding on this chauvinist wave, de Gaulle talked mystically of the greatness of France, spurred spectacularly ahead with developing the first French atom-bomb, bargained with Britain and America, and went ahead with plans for a European Bloc with Adenauer. He created the impression that he would strike out on an independent path, free from the two "Power blocs" allied with Germany and based on the exploitation of Sahara's wealth.

All these developments emphasise the searing truth of Marx's words "a nation that enslaves others, cannot itself be free". The colonial wars have not only brought France to the verge of financial bankruptcy. They have, more importantly ruined the mind and the mood of France, generated strong anti-democratic currents. Above all, they have raised the army to a dangerous position of prominence, brutalised it through atrocities against struggling peoples, given it (to quote Thorez) "more and more the character of a mercenary band, more and more encouraged to place itself above the nation."

It must not be forgotten that it was the army revolt of May 13 that began a series of menacing events which reached a sort of climax in the elections. It must not be forgotten that it was the army which held out the threat of a civil war, inducing many to turn to de Gaulle as the saviour, as the "lesser evil"—the first slip on the inclined plane.

What are the prospects? FIRST, the fight for democracy in France becomes more difficult. Pierre Courtade says, "the fight will be hard, much harder at any rate than one would have expected a few months ago." It cannot be precluded that beset by difficulties the Right victors might not move openly to ban the Communist Party and the mass organisations, to gag the Opposition Press by ruinous fines, by "whittling away" the democratic rights that still remain, and by attacking the

by MOHIT SEN

municipalities controlled by the Left. This is not to say that fascism is inevitable. France today is not the re-vanchist Germany of 1933 and the world has moved strides ahead.

SECOND, with the growing contradictions within the Right—based as its victory is on the illusions of the masses and made up of the most heterogeneous elements—one may get a pure military dictatorship combined with a foreign policy of adventure, of maintaining international tension.

THIRD, it is obvious that the Right cannot solve the problem of Algeria. On the contrary, it will step up the massacre, add further burdens of military expenditure and take up grandiose schemes of colonial plunder.

FOURTH, beset by economic difficulties—huge foreign trade deficit, the upward push of prices and the stagnation of industrial production—the Right will open an offensive against the working class. Soustelle talks already of a wage-block, of lessening social welfare expenditure, of greater scope to free enterprise.

## Communist Party's Call

In this grim situation, the Polit Bureau of the French Party declared: "In the new post-election situation the French Communist Party which has the unshakeable confidence of four million French voters, urgently appeals to all forces opposed to a dictatorship and fascism to unite for the realisation of the following policy that the country wants:

- To save freedom and reconquer democracy where the people's voice will prevail and not the sweet will of one man;
- To impose negotiations in Algeria for peace;
- For a decent standard of living for the workers;
- For the thousands of millions of francs spent on war to be used for civilian investments in order to avoid an economic crisis;
- To assure development of French culture and the safeguarding of public schools;
- To follow a genuinely national foreign policy determined entirely by the interests of the nation."

To the extent that this unity is forged, that the Left is able to regenerate itself, will the obscurantist forces be checked and then thrown back. Only through such unity for defence can the victory of tomorrow be prepared. France needs this unity to save not only herself and her future but also that of the world.

(December 8)

# Dangerous Trends In PSP

\* FROM PAGE 7

France, guided by hatred against the Communist Party, do their "desperate best" to instal de Gaulle in power. Sri Asoka Mehta defends the action of his friends. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people which has evoked profound sympathy among our people and which de Gaulle is striving to drown in blood, has little significance for Sri Mehta. After all, has not the General saved France from the menace of Communism?

## DEFENCE OF PAK DICTATORSHIP

And how did the PSP organ, *Janata*, react to the establishment of military dictatorship in Pakistan? Here at least, one would expect severe condemnation of the American imperialists and of their agents in Pakistan, a warning to our own people, an exhortation to all Indians to defend democracy in our country unitedly.

Nothing of the sort. "President Mirza," the *Janata* wrote on October 12, "has acted on the dictum that drastic situations need drastic remedies. His proclamation is an essay in outspokenness. He has diagnosed the ills besetting Pakistan correctly, and pressed by the Army to set things right, he has taken what he considers to be the only course of action that was open to him. Political standards collapsed in Pakistan, corruption increased, economic conditions deteriorated and administrative chaos ensued in the past few years. In the circumstances, perhaps, President Mirza was justified in placing the country under martial law."

They go into hysterics be-

cause a democratically-elected Government in Kerala refuses to placate the dark forces of reaction and refuses to be blackmailed by the political parties acting on their behalf. They are full of praise for a dictator who has abrogated the Constitution, dissolved all parties and suppressed democracy at the behest of his American masters.

After this unabashed defence of military rule in Pakistan, is added, as though by way of apology to the readers and in order to save the editor's democratic conscience, "But the abandonment of constitutional processes of Government and of general elections is a development that will cause pain and concern to all lovers of democracy."

## QUESTION OF FOREIGN AID

We have shown in earlier issues of *New Age* how the British and American imperialists, utilising the difficulties which the underdeveloped countries are facing to develop their economy are striving to bring them under their own economic domination in the garb of aid. We have shown the contrast between this aid and the aid given by Socialist countries.

Praja Socialist leaders generally maintain eloquent silence about the benefits that have accrued to our country through economic agreement with the Socialist world. But the silence gives place to ecstasy where Britain and the USA are concerned.

"Montreal, New Delhi and now Seattle," wrote the *Janata* editorially on November 23,

"everywhere the general line of the deliberations was the same: more and more the advanced countries in Europe and America are accepting the principle of helping the underdeveloped areas to develop their economies as far as practicable. In all the discussions, the emphasis was on development through democratic processes as opposed to what Mr. Dulles called 'forcing economic development by a complete and authoritarian control' of the social structure". (Our emphasis)

The line here is one of echoing the voice of the imperialists and of unequivocal support to the Morarji Mission. That the World Bank, in the name of "practicability" has virtually vetoed the undertaking of several projects vital for our economy—this fact is glossed over. Even Mr. Dulles, the arch-enemy of Afro-Asian freedom, is approvingly quoted.

The same line was reflected earlier in Sri Asoka Mehta's speech in the Lok Sabha on July 18 when he said: "We are grateful for the assistance, the massive assistance that friendly countries have given to us."

What do all these indicate? Where does the PSP leadership want to go? In what direction are its policies driving it? It is high time that members of the PSP put these questions to their leaders and demand answers. It is high time that the disastrous implications of these policies are brought home to the lakhs of people who support the PSP because they look upon it as a party fighting for democracy and Socialism.

(December 8)

## SUGAR WORKERS' WAGE DEMANDS

THE Second Wage Board for the second largest manufacturing industry in India, the Central Wage Board for Sugar Industry was appointed last year and it is now enquiring into the long-standing demands of the workers in this industry for a comprehensive wage revision. According to the Census of 1955 there are 153 sugar factories in our country with a fixed capital of Rs. 24.89 crores and a working capital of Rs. 65.10 crores. They consume about 35 per cent of the 590 lakh tons of sugar-cane cultivated in our country and produce 22 lakh tons of sugar of the value of Rs. 118 crores. The labour force employed in the industry is of the order of 1.4 lakhs.

The sugar industry has been prospering directly at the cost of the consumer and the worker. In 1939-40, there were 139 sugar factories producing 6.5 lakh tons of sugar. During the Second World War the employers fully utilised the 'controls' to make fabulous profits. The Sugar Enquiry Committee of 1949 admitted the existence of blackmarketing in sugar. The Governments of U.P. and Bihar (where the industry is mostly located) found that the sugar syndicate was not paying "due regard to the interests of the consumer" and was charging "unreasonably high prices."

With relaxation of controls in 1949, fleecing of consumers was further intensified. When the Sugar Commission (1950) started investigating into the public complaints the "Syndicate followed a policy of delay and evasiveness which clearly showed that the Syndicate was reluctant to submit to the control and supervision of the Sugar Commission." (Sugar Enquiry Committee Report, Page 6)

The Indian Tariff Board examined the question in 1950 and discovered many irregularities. In U.P. and Bihar, for example, in 1948, the Syndicate had agreed to sell a particular quality of sugar at Rs. 28-8-0 per maund. But they actually marked the price at Rs. 28-12-0 per maund. The explanation given was that this was meant to create a fund for subsidising export. And when the idea of exporting sugar was mooted as late as in June 1949, it was dropped as not feasible. This extra charge brought the employers Rs. 50 lakhs.

### Fabulous Profits

Then it was found that individual employers were arbitrarily upgrading their sugar and charging high prices.

Such was the loot that was going on.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the profit index in the sugar industry (Base: 1939=100) rose from 126.7 in 1942 to 419.8 in 1953. And compare this with the All-Industries Profit Index which rose from 221.8 to 261.2 in the same period.

Such have been the staggering profits.

The Upper Ganges Sugar Mills of the Birlas distributed 25 per cent dividends to their

share-holders in 1954 and the figure in 1957 was 50 per cent. The Ravalgaon Sugar Farm of the Walchands paid five per cent dividends in 1954 and 24 per cent in 1957. The Maharashtra Sugar Mills which could not distribute any dividends in 1954 and 1955 distributed 40 per cent in 1956 and 1957. (Source: Commerce, May 13, 1958. Dividends in Rupees per share calculated in percentages)

### Conditions Of Workers

Against this background let us examine the fate of the workers.

The worker has proved his increased efficiency. According to the Government publication *Sugar in India—1950-51 to 1954-1955*, workers' efficiency in mill extraction has increased from 91.67 in 1949-50 to 91.9 in 1953-54; that in boiling house recovery from 87.35 to 88.55 during the same period; and the over-all recovery has increased from 80.07 in 1949-50 to 81.38 in 1953-54.

How is he paid? In 1955, the average annual income per worker in the sugar industry was only Rs. 904. The average national per capita income in the same period was Rs. 274 per year. That means a family of four has an annual income of Rs. 1,096.

The employers have persistently denied a substantial wage increase and have consistently tried to create and utilise the splits among the workers and the trade unions and deny them their due.

The All-India Trade Union Congress which has 26 affiliated unions in the sugar industry with a paid membership of 26,628, has submitted a compre-

hensive memorandum to the Central Wage Board for the Sugar Industry. The memorandum exposes the employers' plea for "sacrifice" on the part of the workers for "the cause of the industry" and their demand of priority for "capital formation."

The memorandum quotes the following from the paper prepared by the Study Group of the Union Ministry of Labour on "Some general principles in the determination of industrial wages in India":

"The argument for capital formation cannot, however, be carried too far to prevent any wage-increase whatsoever. The proposition that wage-increases will transfer funds from entrepreneur class to the working class thereby curtailing investment and capital formation and increasing consumer spending is not always well-founded. It must be recognised that increased wages would lead to increased production and productivity and thus to increased profits, both by raising the efficiency of the workers and by giving incentive to employers to organise production more economically."

In 1955, the average annual income per worker in the sugar industry was only Rs. 904. The average national per capita income in the same period was Rs. 274 per year. That means a family of four has an annual income of Rs. 1,096.

### A Myth Blown Up

The AITUC memorandum also blows up the myth of the so-called "paying capacity". From a study of the returns of 153 sugar companies submitted to the Registrar in 1955, the memorandum shows that Rs. 80.13 crores were spent on raw materials and Rs. 1.71 crores on

fuel, electricity, etc. The total cost of production was Rs. 86.72 crores. And the value of output was Rs. 118.73 crores. The gross profit, therefore, was of the order of Rs. 29.64 crores. The workers were paid only Rs. 10.97 crores towards wages and salaries. Even from this 37 per cent was received by non-workers in the sugar mills.

According to a spokesman of the industry itself, the cost of wages is about nine per cent of the total cost of production.

The working class is, therefore, more than justified in challenging the current levels of expenditure in the sugar industry on such items like interest charges, remuneration to managing agents, sales commissions, profits, etc.

The AITUC, therefore, basing itself on the bare minimum requirements of a worker and the recommendations of the 15th Indian Labour Conference with regard to the principles of minimum wage determination, has demanded Rs. 110 for the unskilled worker.

As regards the determining of the wage differentials of the various categories of the workers, the AITUC memorandum demands a scientific consideration of difference in skill, training required, experience involved, strain of work, responsibility undertaken, mental requirements, the disagreeableness of the task, the hazard attendant on work and the fatigue involved.

The memorandum suggests that a semi-skilled workman should get 25 per cent more than the unskilled, the skilled should get 50 to 60 per cent and the highly skilled one should get 100 per cent more than the unskilled. The memorandum demands the following scales of pay: Unskilled—Rs. 110-2-150; Semi-skilled — Rs. 140-3-200; Skilled (a) — Rs. 170-4-250; (b)—Rs. 180-5-280; Highly skilled—Rs. 220-8-370.

And the wages of the clerical staff should be equivalent to those of the skilled workmen.

The AITUC memorandum then emphasises that the Board should immediately declare an interim 25 per cent wage-increase as the Wage Board is likely to take some time to finalise its report.

The appointment of the Wage Board is a significant achievement of the sugar workers in their battle for better wages. They have now to consolidate their ranks and build up organisational strength to create the necessary sanctions for securing the desired result.

### Jamshedpur Workers Warn Govt.

THE INTUC "tamasha" in Jamshedpur has only further confirmed the workers in their belief that only unity and united action under the banner of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union (JMU) will get them their demands.

On November 30, 15,000 workers turned out at a JMU rally and warned the Bihar Government that in any conciliation proceedings on the question of dearness allowance and

wage revision the JMU should be a party in order to make it acceptable to the TISCO workmen. The workers resolved to collect Rs. 20,000 for legal defence and decided to hold their Conference in January 1959.

### Govt. Assurance, Not Being Implemented

THE Tripartite Conference in November 1956 consisting of the representatives of the Union Ministry of Transport, Port authorities and workers' unions had secured the assurance from the Government that ore, coal, oil-handling and the shore labour would be departmentalised.

But it appears that the Vizag Port authorities are not implementing this assurance in full. Handling of import cargo was taken over by the Port administration. As regards the general cargo it is completely departmentalised. But as regards bag cargo, the "departmentalisation" is peculiar. Instead of one contractor formerly engaging this labour, the authorities have now entered into a contract with 14 maistries to handle the cargo. It is the maistry who pays the labour. He charges his commission. It is also apprehended that the bag-cargo-handling work might even be auctioned in the near future.

The system of labour supply contract was given up in 1956. There was no middle man for the last two years. But it appears tenders have been invited for labour supply. And the contractor will again come on the scene. The labour so recruited makes up the deficiency of staff on the lighters.

This is how the Vizag Port administration is implementing Government assurances.

### LIC Bonus Battle: First Round Won

TWO thousand Life Insurance employees demonstrated in Calcutta demanding that the LIC authorities immediately declare bonus to the workmen.

A delegation of the All-India Insurance Employees' Association, led by its General Secretary Sri C. S. Bose and consisting of Secretaries of the five zonal Associations, met the Joint Secretary of Finance on December 2, 1958.

The Joint Secretary is reported to have informed the delegation that the Government of India has decided to drop its earlier objection to payment of bonus, that this decision was being conveyed to the LIC and that the LIC authorities were now free to settle this question with the Association.

The insurance employees have won the first round of struggle and secured the removal of a major hurdle in the path of their getting bonus.

But the battle now continues to actually "get the bonus" from the hands of the LIC. (December 8, 1958)

# LABOUR NOTES

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

## KERALA NOTE-BOOK

SRI U. N. Dhebar, President of the Indian National Congress, must have been shedding profuse tears when he wrote his now-famous letter to Kerala Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad. He must have been in severe torment at the scant respect Communists in office were showing to the sacred Constitution of our Republic.

I for one have always held Sri Dhebar to be one of the biggest hypocrites alive and had my doubts about the genuineness of his tears. As to his torment, it could only be because his friends Damodara Menon and Chacko were not in ministerial chairs in the Kerala Secretariat to welcome him as their President.

And after listening to question hour in the Kerala Assembly on the first day of the current session, I am only confirmed in my opinion of Sri Dhebar. Anyone who had any genuine respect for the sacredness of our Constitution wouldn't have done what the Minister divulged in the Assembly.

### SECRET TALKS

When Sri Dhebar visited Kerala last, the Ernakulam District Congress Committee wrote a letter to the State's Advocate-General to meet the Congress President secretly to have a talk.

A similar letter went from the Trivandrum District Congress Committee to Sri N. P. Varghese, a member of the State's Public Service Commission.

Despite the Congress President's desire to indulge in a little bit of exciting conspiracy, the meetings did not come off.

Certain quarters were taken aback when the lid was taken off this plot. But they still made a valiant effort to get out of the jam.

Listen to what the Congress leader of the Opposition, Sri P. T. Chacko, asked the Minister: Is the State Government's permission required for an Indian citizen to come to Kerala and meet other citizens here?

The matter is as simple as that. One Indian citizen meets another Indian citizen. Why should there be all this rumpus about it?

Just one question: Supposing a top Communist leader went to a Congress State and tried to meet responsible officials secretly, would we not have been fed on stories of Communist subversion and what not for days on end?

### NOT SO INNOCENT

That apart, no one has to be reminded that Sri Dhebar did not go to Kerala to appreciate the scenic beauty of that Southern State. It was a very, very political visit—part of his activity to wipe out what for the Congress leaders has become the unpleasant reality of Communists in office in a State.

There are a number of cases of a political character going on in the courts of the State. Dhebar trying to meet of all the people the Advo-

cate-General secretly could not have been so innocent in this background.

### SUBVERSION

Dhebar's Congress in Kerala has been openly inciting officials to disobey orders from Ministers. This Congress campaign was carried right into the Assembly this time.

Congress member E. P. Poulose said that Government officers were not bound to carry out Minister's orders if they considered these orders "unconstitutional". He didn't say whether he would make the same principle applicable to the other thirteen States where the Congress rules.

It is in this background of incitement and subversion that Dhebar tried to meet the State officials clandestinely. He could only have been to incite them or to intimidate them.

Will Sri Dhebar at least now say why he tried to see them and in such a secretive fashion?

OBSERVER

## COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT IN PARLIAMENT

\* FROM BACK PAGE

within the country producing army trucks at reasonable prices."

To this background given by the Defence Ministry in its statement, Dange added:

"Telco is a famous concern. They dictate prices and when they are told that the Army wants trucks, the prices go up. Of course, this is the profiteering of the private sector and the industrialists in this country or any other country where capitalism flourishes... For years and years—according to this statement, eight or ten years—we have been expecting to have a complete truck and a complete car and nothing is complete."

"Therefore, what is the Defence Department to do but to go in for an agreement if by this agreement they can secure a complete and full manufacture of a truck and a trailer car? Therefore, I would say that in principle the agreement is correct and naturally it has angered these gentlemen because they say, 'We have come as far as 60 per cent manufacture. We should have asked them: When are you going to have a hundred per cent manufacture for this poor country of ours?'"

Dange proceeded to say that criticism of these agreements was natural from Walchand Hirachand, "who

supplied defective engines to the Government and made crores of rupees of profits" from Tatas "and from Birlas who had lost opportunity of making abnormal profits."

"In the interest of the country, we ought to see that these criticisms do not shake us from the accepted policy which is the basis of this statement."

"Of course, agreements are made but I do not know how they will be worked out. I have my fears. But I hope that those fears will prove unfounded..."

"We have stuck to the policy of having three steel plants in spite of the sayings of many Tatas and Biren Mukerjeees who thought that there should be no steel plants in the State sector, and that steel would be surplus. They told the Committee that your steel is all useless and that it will not be

sold. Here there are trucks to be manufactured. The navy is demanding heavy armament. Guns have to be cast. Where is the steel to come from? From foreign countries? Where from are heavy plating for big ships to come?"

"Therefore, here in this respect, I am completely 100 per cent with the Government in the demand for heavy industry, heavy forging, heavy machinery, a complete truck, a complete tank, a nice patriotic soldier. We have got a patriotic soldier. We have got a good army. In spite of the multiplication of languages and religions and regionalisms, the Army in India is still one and when the question of India comes, it stands as one. That is a great asset. And this asset must have arms. The manufacture of arms must not be in the hands of merchants of death, but must be in the State sector, and in the hands of the country."

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES

—Bhupesh Gupta In Rajya Sabha

## EDUCATION BILL

\* FROM PAGE THREE

poll on their amendment to delete clause 3(5) of the Bill which lays down that the opening of new schools and higher classes in private schools, after the passing of this Act, must be in keeping with the provisions of this Act as otherwise the Government shall not be bound to recognise them. But the poll showed that the Opposition was weak in spite of their "unity of purpose". Out of 61 members with voting rights in the Opposition, there were only 49 present to vote against the Government. The Government side turned out with 63 votes and defeated the amendment.

Apart from excluding the Anglo-Indian educational institutions from the purview of the Bill and incorporating amendments to safeguard the rights of minority schools, the Assembly adopted a new clause for the Bill defining minority schools.

According to this, "minority schools" means schools of their choice established and administered or administered by such minorities as have the right to do so under Clause (1) of Article 30 of the Constitution."

Since the Supreme Court had not expressed itself clearly on the concept of "minority schools", there was difficulty for members to understand the actual meaning of what minority schools are. The Education Minister pointed out that strictly speaking there were only a handful of "minority schools" in the State which were run by Anglo-Indians, Jews, Gujaratis, etc., exclusively intended for such communities.

The Government does not agree with the contention that simply because an individual belonging to a minority community runs a school, that school should be

considered a minority school in spite of the fact that it is a public school catering to all communities—such is the nature of the large majority of private educational institutions in Kerala.

The Education Bill has been passed a second time and despite the concealed desire in certain quarters to see the Bill again obstructed at the Centre, the general desire is for the progressive legislation to become law soon.

Leading industrialist member Babubhai Chitai, a former Chairman of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, opposing the amending Bill, made interesting disclosures. He declared he was proud of the fact that his concern had given Rs. 1½ lakhs to "the party in power" at the time of the last general elections, adding—"If it comes to the question of paying more, well, I am prepared to see that that concern pays more also."

Referring to Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri's speech, Bhupesh Gupta said:

"He was very frank... He said, 'Well, if we did not take money from the rich, how do we fight the elections?'... My answer to that question would be, you can find the money provided you fight the elections with good promises and promises that are kept after the elections. At every election, you give them promises but the trouble is that the moment you return, you break the pledges that you gave to the electorate, but remember the assurances you gave to the rich. The trouble comes in there."

"Now, if you change that, if you remember the pledges that you gave to the poor and forget the assurances that you gave to the rich, should you take money from the rich?"

## SOVIET PLAN

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

USSR, will be in a position to supply machinery, equipment, technical know-how and other vital needs necessary for a rapid industrial advance. The underdeveloped economies will have no reason to compromise the independence of their economies and submit to American pressure.

The grand targets of the Seven-Year Plan and the great perspectives of the fifteen-year programme are conceived in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. True to the imperishable principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has unfolded this grand perspective before the peoples of the USSR, before the working class of the world. It is a challenge to the opponents of Socialism and the revisionists alike.

The entire working class hails the new Plan as a great triumph of Marxism-Leninism, of the international working class movement. Its success will drive one more nail in the coffin of imperialism and capitalism.

December 4, 1958

NEW AGE

## Elections Not Held —Because INTUC Will Be Defeated

THE elections to the works committee of the Kargali Collieries were due on November 29. But they have been postponed abruptly and indefinitely.

The reasons are not far to seek.

The collieries are owned by the National Coal Development Corporation. This is the second biggest colliery in the country, employing 7,000 workmen and raising 60,000 tons of coal every month.

The works committee was formed here in 1953 when the INTUC obtained a majority. Since then the situation has radically changed in the coal fields in Hazaribagh District. In other first grade State collieries in Giridih and Bokaro, the AITUC commands a majority in the works committees. In the second grade State collieries at Jaranagidh and Bhurkundia also the AITUC has captured the majority of seats on the works committees.

The election of works committee in Kargali Collieries also would sweep the INTUC away and along with this Sri Kanti Mehta of the INTUC will have to quit the directorate of the NCDC which he enjoys as "workers' representative".

This is the real worry of Sri Krishnaswamy, the Managing Director of the NCDC.

That is why first the Bihar Labour Advisory Board was forced to hastily pass a resolution stipulating no elections to the works committee and nomination instead by the union representing majority of workers.

The AITUC contended that this resolution did not bind the collieries which were under the Central Government.

The Managing Director agreed to this and fixed November 29 for the elections.

And then has come this indefinite postponement.

Such are the tricks to maintain the INTUC in power in the works committee and represented on the Board of Directors.

NEW AGE

DECEMBER 14, 1958

PAGE TWELVE

DECEMBER 14, 1958

PAGE THIRTEEN

THE REFUGEES WANT TO GET OUT OF THESE HELLISH CONDITIONS

# It's A Slander When Govt. Says They Refuse To Be Rehabilitated

● FROM JAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA, December 8

Ten years have rolled by, but it still remains a veritable hell.

Little did I imagine as I was approaching the Coopers Camp on December 2, that there could be so much human misery, so much tragic suffering in the midst of such idyllic surroundings.

## Biggest Camp In W. Bengal

SKIRTED on all sides by rolling fields, the camp, the biggest of its kind in West Bengal, sprawls over an area of about 200 acres. It is 43 miles by train from Calcutta and one-and-a-half miles from Ranghat, sub-divisional headquarters of Nadia District.

Over 6,000 refugee families from East Pakistan or about 26,700 persons are now living in this camp.

It is divided into seven blocks, each block consisting, on the average, of about 248 one-roomed hutments.

The "walls" of the most numerous type of these hutments are made of bamboo chatai (thin mattresses of split bamboos); the roofs are thatched with corrugated sheets of tin and the floors, which are raised only about six inches above the ground level, are mostly kutcha. No wonder these hutments give little protection against heat, cold and rain.

No room is more than 12 feet by ten in size and quite a number of them are hardly ten by four! I came across some hutments in which two, even three families are huddled together with all their earthly belongings. Grown-up boys

and girls, husbands and wives, old and middle-aged people of different families literally jostle with one another under the same roof!

These refugees have forgotten the luxury of privacy ever since they were dumped in this camp a decade ago. But, despite the brutal conditions of existence all these years, they have refused to accept defeat—because beneath their enforced idleness there is no mistaking their unquenchable thirst for life, their impatience to be settled in normal life.

The second type of hutments in the camp consists of small tents. One has to bend almost double to get into these "rooms". About 2,500 families or 10,000 people have been living in these tents since 1954.

There is still another type of hutments. These hovels are small enclosed spaces inside semi-circular-shaped tin sheds, which were built by the American armed forces during the last war for use as godowns.

The "rooms" have been put up in two parallel rows; the passage in between them is hardly a foot wide. One room is marked off from the other by breast-high fences made of the dried-up, brittle stems of the jute plant. Privacy? There is not even an apology for it. Families of five to eight

—sometimes, two families—are squeezed into these small spaces. About 300 families have been living in these sheds for the past seven years.

Dark even in broad daylight, extremely ill-ventilated and damp, the sheds have all the appearances of a dungeon. The moment I stepped inside one of them, I felt suffocated by thick smoke coming out of several ovens; the housewives were lighting the fires to cook the evening meal.

Is there any wonder that an increasing number of people should fall a prey to tuberculosis?

I was told that the sanitation of the camp had improved of late. If what I saw is an "improved" version, I can only imagine what it was earlier.

Flies and mosquitoes swarm all over the area. Open drains, which were nearly choked with accumulations of sewage, give off an offensive smell. The latrines, built in rows, are too close to the hutments. Not one of them has a roof over it, and many of them have no doors.

## Transit To—Death

As for medical facilities, there are of course doctors and a general hospital with 75 beds. But, with its ill-lit wards, insanitary conditions and dilapidated cots, it looks more like a dumping-place than a hospital.

About 2,500 patients, I was told, daily attend the outdoor department; but the type of attention they get is evident from the fact that one doctor usually disposes of a hundred patients in an hour.

There are some hutments a few yards from the main camp-site, which have been given the pompous appellation of "T. B. Segregation Ward." But the conditions that prevail here have made this "ward" into a transit camp to death.

Gasping for breath after every word he uttered, Sri Janankinath Samaddar, an acute T. B. patient, related to me the patients' tale of woes (there are now 36 of them in the ward). There is no doctor, no nurse—not even an attendant. The patients have been left to shift for themselves as best as they can.

One junior doctor attached to the General Hospital visits the ward twice a week, but essential medicines are not generally available. There is a T. B. specialist, but he has never come to the ward in the past three months.

When I enquired about the arrangements for water supply, Sri Samaddar pointed to a tubewell nearby. Even those patients who are spitting blood or running high temperatures have to draw their own water.

About 40 fresh cases have

been "officially" declared as T. B.; but since they have not yet been segregated, they continue to live in over-crowded rooms with other members of their families.

I further learnt that at least 500 persons in the camp were suffering from T. B.—contributed by poverty, congestion, filth and squalor.

## Rehabilitation Inside State

Is there any one in his senses who would not like to get out of the hellish conditions that this camp life symbolises?

I talked to a large number of inmates. I did not come across a single refugee who did not want to get rid of his idle and parasitic existence in the camp and to be rehabilitated in normal life here and now.

But not one of them is prepared to go to Dandakaranya. The camp refugees are convinced from the bitter experience of those sent out to other States in the past few years, that there will be no real resettlement in Dandakaranya and that they will be forced to drag on a miserable existence there for very many years to come.

They referred to the alternative proposals submitted by the United Central Refugee Council (UCRC) to the West Bengal Government about four months ago. These proposals constitute the outlines of a concrete plan for an integrated development of West Bengal's economy, which will benefit the refugees as well as the people of the State.

They also pointed towards the vast stretches of fields around the camp. These are khamahal lands (i.e., belonging to the Government), and at least 150 agricultural families from the camp could have been settled on them.

My attention was next drawn to the repeated assurances given by the West Bengal Government since 1954 about turning the camps in the Ranghat zone into an industrial township. But nothing has been done so far to implement the scheme; on the contrary, there is now the proposal to disband the camps and to pack off their inmates to Dandakaranya.

## The Slander Campaign

There is not a shadow of doubt that the camp refugees themselves want the camps to be closed down as early as possible. If they demand their rehabilitation within West Bengal, it is because they justifiably feel that it is possible here.

Yet, official spokesmen are never tired of repeating ad nauseam that the refugees do not want to be rehabilitated.

Pandit Nehru stated in the Rajya Sabha on November 27, that "when these persons refuse to live in over-crowded rooms with other members of their families."

Taking the cue from Pandit Nehru, Sri Mehr Chand Khanna, Union Rehabilitation Minister, told West Bengal MLAs in Calcutta on December 1, that the refugees "are being used as tools by different political parties to scuttle the Government's plans."

The UCRC is doing its best to expose this smear campaign.

"It is a blatant lie," Sri Gopal Banerjee, Secretary of the UCRC, told me, "to say that the refugees don't want to be rehabilitated or, for that matter, the UCRC opposes the closure of camps and the quick dispersal of refugees to resettlement centres."

## Govt. Rejects All Proposals

He showed me copies of the letters that the UCRC had addressed to the Government. They make it abundantly clear that, since 1952, the UCRC has repeatedly expressed itself against the continuance of the camps and has put forward suggestions for the absorption of an increasing number of camp refugees in the economy of West Bengal. But the Government has paid no heed to these proposals.

Sri Banerjee narrated how one rehabilitation scheme after another has been torpedoed by the Government itself.

For instance, the Herobhan-ga Scheme for the reclamation of a large tract of land in the 24 Parganas District of this State was submitted by the West Bengal Government to the Centre towards the end of 1955. It was estimated that about 2,000 families could be resettled on the reclaimed land.

A team of experts from the Centre surveyed the area and approved the scheme. But then, nothing was heard of it for nearly three years. Once again, another expert team was sent out to the area on November 28 last. Its recommendations are not yet known. Meanwhile, Sri Khanna has started saying that this scheme would "take three to five years to complete."

A Conference convened by the Government in Calcutta on December 7 proved once again, if any further proof was required, that the Government was not at all serious about the real rehabilitation of the refugees. The Government adamantly refused to accept any of the suggestions of the Opposition leaders for the absorption of the camp refugees on land and in cottage industries within West Bengal.

## AT LAST, SOME PROGRESS AT GENEVA

After nearly five weeks of marking time, the Geneva Conference of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain on the discontinuance of nuclear tests appears, at last, to have effected a "break-through."

LAST Saturday, the three nuclear Powers announced their agreement on the first article of a draft treaty to ban nuclear tests—the article stipulating that the parties undertake to prohibit tests on their own territories and not take part in or encourage them elsewhere.

Tuesday's papers publish a communique from the Conference which states that the representatives of the three Powers have also agreed on the second article of the draft treaty. This article, according to the communique, concerns the establishment of a control organisation and aims at ensuring that the objectives of the treaty are carried out by the parties.

In the course of these five weeks, the imperialist Press has been doing its best to mislead world public opinion by shouting about the alleged Soviet obstructions to the conclusion of a treaty on the nuclear tests, ban. Regrettably enough, even a section of the Indian Press has been voicing some of the false arguments dished out from Washington and London.

## Who Are The Guilty?

But the five week's proceedings of the Conference undeniably demonstrate as to who really is guilty of putting obstacles in the way of a nuclear tests ban and who really deserves the credit for demolishing these obstacles.

It was the Western Powers who went on connecting and disconnecting disarmament questions with that of discontinuance of nuclear tests.

It was the Soviet Union that demolished these obstacles by announcing at the Conference its readiness "to have this question settled either in connection with either disarmament questions or as a separate issue, independently of the solution of other disarmament questions."

The Western Powers blamed the Soviet Union for the nuclear armaments race and pointed to the Soviet resumption of tests. Even a section of the Indian Press appeared to have forgotten that during the period of the unilateral suspension of tests by the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Britain had stepped up their test explosions in a mad frenzy to secure maximum military

advantages for themselves in the true spirit of their position-of-strength policy.

But the Soviet Union knocked the bottom off this argument also by announcing, at the Conference, its readiness "to end such tests at once together with the United States and Great Britain, irrespective even of the fact that the USSR carried out considerably fewer test explosions than the United States and Great Britain." (emphasis added).

The Western Powers talked most about the control provisions.

The Soviet representative at the Conference silenced them saying: "If the Governments of the United States and Great Britain find it more acceptable for the basic control provisions to be recorded in the text of the agreement itself, the Soviet Government will not object to this," proceeding in doing so, from the assumption that the decision on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and control over this decision will in any case become effective simultaneously.

It can thus be seen that the Soviet Union has gone more than half-way towards meeting the arguments of the other two nuclear Powers, proving thereby her genuine desire to have a nuclear test ban.

Pressed to the wall, therefore, with their arguments demolished one after another the Western Powers had to move, however haltingly.

And at the December 4 meeting, the U.S. delegation came out with two draft articles entitled "Obligation Regarding Nuclear Weapons Test Control Organisation", as a revision of the suggested treaty article one it had tabled last week. The U.S. Draft this time, according to the conference sources, did not provide any time limit for test ban.

The same day, the U.K. delegation also submitted a working draft of two articles on the establishment of nuclear weapon tests control organisation and the composition of the Nuclear Weapon Tests Control Commission.

## Indian Opinion

The agreement reached so far, at the Conference, is indeed

a conclusive proof of the correctness of the Soviet stand in this problem.

India's stand, in this problem has been once again made clear by India's Prime Minister in his speech in the Lok Sabha on December 8.

Pandit Nehru voiced Indian public opinion when he said: "So far as we are concerned, the House knows how anxious and eager, not only anxious and eager but also how deeply we feel, about the continuance of these tests. We feel that it is in the nature of a crime against humanity to continue any test which endangers not only the present generation but also future generations. For our part nuclear tests

should be suspended apart from anything else. The argument is strong enough for that."

The Indian Prime Minister was right in pointing out that "the Conference at Geneva are proceeding at the moment in a rather leisurely fashion without bringing much results, but at the same time without daring to break up."

But one should not overlook the fact which the entire course of the nuclear test ban talks so clearly demonstrates, namely, it is the Western aggressive circles that are responsible for dragging these talks in a "leisurely fashion", and it is they who would like to scuttle them even now.

both for strategic and political considerations," because from this area "it will be possible to react to any developments in any part of the coastal Afro-Asian countries."

## Aimed Against Asian People

And what else does this "reacting" to "any developments" mean other than the aim of intimidating the Asian people and crashing upon them at the shortest notice? Other than the aim to check the national liberation movements and to provide support to the U.S. stooges in Asian countries?

It was by no means an "accident" that, during the recent U.S.-British-Pakistan-Turkish joint naval exercise, together with high officials of these countries, Capt. Syed Shamsuddin Safari of the Imperial Iranian Navy was right there on "one of the participating warships," "observing the exercise."

## BAGHDAD PACT IN NEW FORM

### U.S.-Iran Pact—Link In The Chain

UNCLE Sam is up to mischief again in West Asia.

The Press reports the conclusion of a new military bilateral agreement between the United States and Iran.

This agreement represents an important link in a new chain that is being prepared by the U.S. imperialists to bind the peoples of West Asia.

Although the Iranian Government brazenly rejected the Soviet note that warned against this agreement, facts now confirm that the plot was hatched in the course of U.S. Defence Secretary McElroy's recent visit to Asian countries.

## After The Middle East Fiasco

After the ignominious adventure in the Lebanon and Jordan and with Iraq lost for the Baghdad Pact, the U.S. imperialists are now trying to raise this collapsing alliance on the crutches of bilateral military pacts between the U.S. on the one hand and Iran, Turkey and Pakistan on the other. These three bilateral military pacts are to constitute a new regional military system i.e. a new form of the Baghdad Pact.

Pakistan Press also reports of talks that are being held between the Governments of Pakistan and the United States for the signing of a bilateral military agreement which is likely to be concluded by the end of January.

Back-stage preparations are thus in full swing so that when the curtain rises towards the end of January 1959, at the session of the Baghdad Pact Ministers, a new aggressive military system would emerge on the remains of the Baghdad Pact.

The U.S.-Iran agreement, a part of this U.S. aggressive plot,

is thus spearheaded against the Soviet Union, the Iraqi Republic and other nations in West Asia.

Not only that. Its conclusion is closely linked with the U.S. intention of stationing its Fifth Fleet in this region.

According to the U.S. naval authorities the southern coast of Iran "is the most convenient area for basing the new fleet

## China Reconstructs

A monthly with colour illustrations carrying reports of many-sided activities of China leaping forward.

Single copy : Rs 0-30  
Annual : Rs 3-00



## NEW YEAR GIFT OF A MONTHLY CALENDER

with 6 fine Chinese paintings in colour by modern Chinese artists will be distributed free to those whose current subscriptions are valid in January 1959; and those who take out subscriptions (new or renewal) before January 31, 1959.

## ORDERS TO BE PLACED WITH

\*People's Publishing House (Private) Ltd., M.M. Road, New Delhi.  
\*National Book Agency, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.  
\*New Century Book House, 199, Mount Road, Madras. \*P.P.H. Book-stall, 199-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay-4. \*Vishwanandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada.

NEW AGE

AROUND ASIA ON THE "ASIA" CYCLES

ASIA CYCLES

THE METAL GOODS MFG. CO., (P.) LTD. BANARRS-2, INDIA

# Why Decline In Textile Exports

by ZIAUL HAQ

The discussion in the Lok Sabha on December 3 and 4 on Trends in India's Export Trade and the State of the Textile Industry (which makes a material contribution to the country's export earnings) was the occasion for an illuminating exposition by Communist Parliamentary Group's Leader S. A. Dange on the real causes of decline in the economy in general and in textile exports in particular.

THE Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri initiating the debate said it was somewhat encouraging to note that in the face of falling demand, India had been able to export larger quantities of tea, cashewnuts, tobacco and linseed oil. At the same time India had succeeded in earning considerably more from the export of manufactures like sewing-machines, fire extinguishers, small machinery items, leather-goods, woollen piece-goods and artificial silk fabrics.

For many years to come however, the Minister pointed out, India will have to depend for her earnings mainly on staple items of export. Special concern had therefore been caused by the fall in earnings from cotton textiles, manganese ore, gunnies, hides and skins, raw cotton and raw wool. Textile exports this year were going to be in the range of 625 million yards, which would be 253 million yards less than in 1957.

"This decline," said Sri Shastri, "has in fact resulted largely from the decline in commodity prices, and from the set-back in economic activity in some of the highly industrialised countries of the world, more particularly in the United States and later in Western Europe."

S. A. Dange welcoming the Minister's statement as indicating a proper approach congratulated him on the frank statement he had made.

He was thankful to the Minister for stating the main reason, "because there are enough leaders in this country even of the Socialist Party who say that we must link perpetually our economy to the richest and most prosperous and never declining country called the dollar country of the United States of America."

## Reason For Recession

The recession in exports, Dange said, was a clear proof that our economy is very much linked to the economy of the USA and Western Europe.

"I am thankful to the Honourable Minister for having put before the thinking men of this country another fact, that it is the fate of all underdeveloped countries whenever they link their economy with the capitalist countries to suffer ups and downs and be at the mercy of these capitalist industrialised countries."

Dange, however, regretted the fact that the Minister had not been sufficiently frank in his presentation of the other side of the picture, where our economic relations with the Socialist industrialised countries are concerned. Besides adducing figures he quoted the following comment appearing in the commercial column of the Times of India:

"The emergence of the demand from Red countries in the past two or three years has provided considerable help to

Indian exports which might have otherwise declined sharply on account of the smaller purchases by the U.S. and other traditional buyers."

Thus, he said, "we are suffering recession because of capitalist recession, and if we have profited, we have profited by Socialist advancement."

The lessons to be drawn from this debate with regard to exports and the development of industries are highly important for our economy as a whole, Dange said.

We had suffered decline not only because we were linked with capitalist countries but also because we are a capitalist economy. "The very fact that this takes place in our country shows that we are neither nearer Socialism, nor even a Socialist pattern, because if a Socialist pattern is to develop, it must develop in such a way that increase in production

never leads to a crisis in the market."

Dange recalled that in April last, "when we mentioned this question, the Hon. Finance Minister, Sri Morarji Desai, pitied our intelligence and said, 'Recession? India has a developing economy. What of recession in India? Nothing doing'."

"The intelligence of the Finance Minister at that time lay in his trying to ridicule the intelligence of the Communists, while it is for the country to judge whose intelligence was better."

## Misleading Propaganda

Coming to the question of decline in textile exports Dange said he was glad that the Commerce Minister had not put the blame on so-called "Chinese dumping". He referred to the "subtle propaganda that is going on that our economy is being hedged by our own Chinese friends."

"Let us look at some of the details of the fall which are listed here for our information. There is a fall from 485.49 million yards in January-July 1957 to 319.96 million yards in 1958. The fall is of the order of 165.53 million yards. It is said Chinese competition has come to Indo-

nesia. How much is it? 75,000 yards! 75,000 yards of Chinese textiles has uprooted our Indian textile industry from Indonesia; it is wonderful to hear because Indonesia imported 28 million yards and the Chinese have exported 75,000 yards to Indonesia. It is wonderful logic."

He referred to the report of the Export Promotion Council which had sent a delegation to Africa. "The report says that exports of Indian textiles to these countries are suffering because of competition from Germany, the United Kingdom and such other countries. Therefore in East Africa and West Africa, the loss of exports is 24.71 million yards."

"We should see where exactly our exports are being hit and for what reason," said S. A. Dange.

Coming to the question of how this problem was to be solved Dange said the aim of the solution being proposed by the Government was to save the millowners—neither the economy, nor the people nor the workers. It sought to extricate the most anti-social part of our capitalists from their difficulties. Dange referred to the fact that when Excise Duties had been imposed prices had gone up. But when these Rs. 20 crores were

returned to them, "they pocketed Rs. 20 crores and prices are exactly where they were."

Referring to the insistence on introduction of automatic looms "to save textile exports," Dange said: "There were no automatic looms in 1950, except for a few here and there. Then we exported 1,000 million yards. Now they say: nothing can be done unless automatic looms come... They say flawless cloth is possible only on an automatic loom. I challenge an expert enquiry on this question... Flawless cloth requires the best mills, very good looms, very good workers... It is to humbug the people who do not know what is textile production to say that 3,000 automatic looms must be imported... You can ask for 3,000 automatic looms on other grounds...."

"Rationalisation, modernisation, and introduction of automatic looms are all being proposed. In principle I am not opposed to modernisation. But I am opposed to capitalistic modernisation... to modernisation that leads to unemployment, wage-cuts and increase in working hours."

"Why are these automatic looms being proposed? In order to give extra profits on greys and chaddars to the millowners who are producing them: only for that reason not in order to guard our exports and get foreign exchange and to buttress our economy."

Dange proposed that the Government set up a unit in the State sector and have 3,000 automatic looms there. "It will give you foreign exchange. You will know where the foreign exchange goes... In the State-sector management is simple; production is simple; there is uniform yarn; there is uniform kind of cloth...."

"But no. You will put the automatic looms in the existing mills, shut up the ordinary mills and throw people out of employment and say we are doing it in the national interest. In fact, it is in the interest of the millowners, against the working class, against our economy. Therefore, I oppose the proposal and suggest that the automatic looms may be installed in the State Sector."

## AND NOW CONFIRMATION

NEW AGE readers will be interested in an answer given in the Rajya Sabha to Communist member J.V.K. Vallabh Rao's question on import licences issued to a Bombay firm.

The Minister for Commerce, Sri Nityanand Kanungo, stated on December 9 that a Bombay firm of importers had been given import licences for the import of large quantities of dye stuffs on an ad hoc basis. The licences should not have been issued and they had been cancelled. The circumstances under which the licences had been issued were under investigation. The final decision in the matter would depend upon the results of the investigation.

\* SEE PAGE 13

## Behind Big Business Attack On Defence Contracts

"THE truck manufacturers have been holding the Defence Department to ransom," said S. A. Dange speaking in the discussion on pattern of military expenditure in the Lok Sabha on December 5.

Dange was referring to the propaganda barrage that had been let loose in the Big Business Press and the lobbies of Parliament against certain contracts entered into by the Defence Ministry with some foreign firms for the manufacture of trucks and other equipment.

"I have heard criticism about these agreements and, therefore, whatever worth it may have, I want to give my support to those agreements," declared S. A. Dange.

"Why do I give my support to them? I give them my support though the method of doing them is another matter. Somebody may have a grouse as to why the Defence Ministry did it this way or that way? That is not the point. The point is the essence of the agreements. What is the essence? The essence is that the truck manufacturers have been holding the Defence Department and the country to ransom. They dictate prices."

The story of this "dictation" and "holding to ransom" was related in the Defence Ministry's statement read out earlier by Deputy Minister Raghuramlal in reply to a question relating to the contracts

with foreign firms.

"Since 1949, the Defence Ministry have been placing substantial orders on the two then main manufacturers (of trucks) in India, viz. Premier Automobiles (Walchand Hirachand) and Hindustan Motors (Birlas), in the hope that the industry would within a reasonable period of four or five years, be able to substantially increase the Indian content of the vehicles and reduce their costs.

"The hopes which the Defence Ministry had of getting a 100 per cent indigenously produced military vehicle from the local manufacturers have not yet been realised.

"One of the manufacturers, after supplying 4,000 and odd Studebaker trucks for the Army has now abandoned manufacture of these trucks. The Indian Army are (thus) left with a large number of vehicles not in current production, for which they are not assured of supply of spares.

"In spite of eight years' start, Hindustan Motors did not manufacture any appreciable part of Studebaker trucks till they went out of production of these trucks in 1957.

"Premier Automobiles, after eight years, have not been able to achieve much more than 30 per cent indigenously production in the case of army trucks.

"After Hindustan Motors ceased production of Stude-

baker trucks the Army placed an experimental order of 300 three-tonner Mercedes Benz trucks on Telco (Tatas), who had recently started manufacture of diesel trucks in India in collaboration with Mercedes Benz of Germany, at prices lower than charged by Hindustan Motors and Premier Automobiles.

"However, Telco put up their price by Rs. 8,000 in 1958, when the Army wanted to place an order of 1,000 three-tonner trucks, apparently to fall in line with the high prices charged by other manufacturers. They would not reduce their price by more than Rs. 650...

"Having reason to be dissatisfied with the attitude of the Telco, it was suggested that the Defence Ministry themselves should seriously consider the question of manufacture in the Ordnance factories of motor vehicles required by them.

"The question of manufacture of trucks in the Ordnance factories had been considered previously on several occasions by the Ministry of Defence, but in order to enable the private vehicle manufacturers to stabilise themselves, the Defence Ministry did not seriously take up this matter.

"However, their experience during 1957-58 made it very clear that they could not rely any more on manufacturers