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There was a time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's **There was a time when Pandit Jawahariai Nehru's** temperamental outbursts endeared him still more to our patriotic people. The old days are gone. The Prime Minis-ter's present-day outbursts are tending to endear him to the forces of the Right. His latest, during the foreign policy debate in the Rajya Sabha was acclaimed in banner headlines by the Big Business daily Press.

More, his baseless and unwarranted aspersions against (the All-India Peace More, his baseless and unwarranted aspersions against (the All-India Peace Council and) our Party were boxed, in black type, on the front-page of the Jan Sangh mouthpiece, the Organiser. The Jan Sangh is no friend of the Prime Minister and his foreign policy but the very fact that his words do serve the propaganda purposes of the Jan Sangh constitutes their damnation and our exoneration in terms of Indian patriotism and world peace.

The Prime Minister's words, however, deserve more than such a summary though justified treatment.



THE Prime Minister's attack T HE Prime Minister's attack ranged far and wide. Be asked our spokesman. Com-rade Bhupesh Gupta, "Whe-ther it is not a fact that the members of the Communist Party have not been roaming Party have not been roaming about our border areas carry-ing on this campaign against India in this matter?" He was duly and promptly answered on the floor of the House itself, though the bourgeois Press either blacked out or played down the answer.

Let us unravel the very origin of this whole tale of the so.called Communist fifthso.called Communist fifth-column activities on our bor-ders. It was first invented by the Praja Socialist leader, H. V. Kamath, and publicised through the columns of the anti-Nehru, anti-Krishna Menon, anti-CPI but cent per cent pro-American, pro-private-enterprise week y Cur-rent. In hose days of tension over our border dispute-with China the columnists and cor-respondents of the monopoly commute the commutes and cor-respondents of the monopoly press picked up and popularis-ed the story for their Red-batting purposes and gave it wide currency.

Congress President San-jeeva Reddy strained his wits to sell the slander in one of his Calcutta speeches. He was immediately contradicted by immediately contrainted by no less a person than West Bengal's Chief Minister B. C. Roy. Let the Prime Minister get the true facts straight from his Congress Chief Min-ister of the State.

### Oft-Repeated Slander

The same slander was re-peated about that time by the Jan Sangh member from Almora in the U.P. State Almora in the U.P. State Assembly, an adjournment motion moved, all the noise made and an official enquiry instituted. During the current session of the U.P. Assembly Chief Minister Sampurnanand

answer on the floor of had had to answer on the enquiry had revealed that the Jan Sangh allegation was hastless.

If the Prime Minister of the country makes against our Party a slanderous allegation, originally emanating from the American lobby sources within our country and the Same as has already been investigated and contradicted by two of his State Chief Ministers the least we can say is that he does not know his facts, and more we leave to the political intelligence of our readers and the conscience of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. the Prime Minister of the If

### Attack On "New Age"

The Prime Minister let him-The Prime Minister let him-self go at New Age as well. Referring to "this China border question," he alleged, "New Age has been carrying on not only unpatriotic, that is a vague Word, that is a feeble word, but most anti-national campalem." national campaign."

Unlike Pandit Nehru, New Unlike Pandit Nehru, New Age claims no monopoly of patriotism or wisdom. We are prepared to argue man-to-man, and discuss with an open mind all that we write, in terms of the interests of our nation, the welfare of our people and the cause of world peace. eace.

The Prime Minister has The Frime Minister has made a general allegation, not referred to any specific article nor even any sentence, that has appeared in New Age, which in his opinion is anti-national.

In such an amazing situa In such an amazing situa-tion, all that we can say is that uttering a slander is not making an argument that deserves a big answer.

When the Prime Minister of our country slanders our Party and its organ he really does not hurt us but only discredits himself and lowers the moral standards of our national life

New Age readers know that we are unflinching champions of whatever is progressive and positive in India's foreign and Plan policies, while many who sail under and swear by

Pandit Nehru are not. The readers of New randit Nenru are not. The readers of New Age, as well as the Prime Minlster, know that the stand of our Party on the India China border dispute is contained in the Meerut resolution of the National Council of our Party, National Council of our Farty, it is pledged to defend the territorial integrity of the country and pleads for a policy of negotiations to set-tle the unfortunate dispute with the neighbour. Pandit with the neighbour. Pandit Nehru has spoken several times in public meetings on the problem but never once had he any criticism of our resolution. The reason is sim-ple. No hostile criticism can be effectively made of our realisy stand

be effectively made of our policy stand. Pandit Nehru does not re-lish criticism of the limita-tions and fallings of his own policies. However, he cannot command the servile 'Yes.Sir' from our Party and its month-piece. He has always in the past, and he will in the future as well, get from as only honourable cooperation

## **ORISSA FLOODS** Worst In 100 Years

S## L then Air

CUTTACK

### by TRUNK TELEPHONE.

Orissa has become a vast flood zone. The havor caused is beyond words. "It is a fact beyond any shadow of doubt that during the last hundred years, there was no such flood of such a magnitude and so devastating," says the State's ex-Minister Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, MLA. (Samaj, August 20)

August 20) The great Mahanadi, along with the Brahmani and Baitarani, are in floods. The whole district of Balasore has been submerged under water and half of Cuttack, a good part of Puri, parts of Dhenkanal, Sambalpur and Keonj-har Districts, on both sides of the gushing flooded streams are most affected. Countless Orlyas have been rendered homeless, food-less, refugees. Human beings and peasants' cattle are seen shrieking and floating down the rivers. Observers from safe areas have even witnessed two elephants and two tigers in the rushing floods being washed towards the sea. The pitiful wailings of men, women and children are heard

tigers in the rushing floods being washed towards the sea. The pitiful wailings of men, women and children are heard the whole night for miles around. For days no telephone and telegraph messages could be sent out, the poles were washed away. From August 15, railway traffic to Calcutta has been stopped because of the breaches between Balasore and Cuttack. A whole rail-way bridge has been washed away, just beyond Balasore. The State Government was taken unawares and was not Dependent to fore the calcuttic despite action of the state. prepared to face the calamity despite earlier flood experi-

ences. Even the Congress daily, Samaj, is bitter. It wrote edi-torially on August 18, "It was expected that after the 1955 floods, the Government would remain prepared for facing such eventualities. But in practice, it has been otherwise." It adds, "What to speak of rendering help and distributing relief to the people, when the Government has not estau-lished even minimum arrangement for supplying informa-tion." tion."

The State Government has belatedly formed a so-called Relief Committee which not only excludes the Communists but almost all other prominent persons, well known for their services to the people and experience of such relief work.

Everybody in Orissa wants the Union Government to Everybody in Orissa wants the Union Government to respond immediately and send military personnel with equipment to help in relief operations, sanction an adequate amount of money for relief and above all press the State Government not to make a racket of relief work but seek and function with the cooperation of all. Five squads of the Communist Party are operating day and night in the Stoded areas, headed, by Communist Midas- More are being anguised but, they lack resources. We appeal to our brother Party units throughout the

We appeal to our brother Party units throughout the country and to all our fellow countrymen with a heart to send all they can for relief to the stricken, directly to Secretary, Communist Party, State Headquarters, Cuttack 2.

and fair criticism in the common cause of defending India's sovereignty, building up our economy and safe-guarding the cause of world peace.

peace. We solemnly warn: Anti-Communism is alien to Indian national tradition. It is the old ragged, badly dis-credited banner of world's worst reaction aries, all worst reactionaries, all through the various phases that world history has passed ever since the days of Karl Marx. It is today the much-publicised ideology of the U.S. aggressors and enslavers. In our country asti-Commu-

In our country anti-Commu-nism is the mask of those who seek a pro-imperialist change our independent foreign in policy. Inside India, anti- Communism is mouthed by the friends and patrons of Thimayya and the admirers

of Ayub.

or Ayub. In our Plan discussion, anti. Communism is used by the champions of private enter-prise and opponents of the public sector and land re-forms.

Anti-Communism is alse used by the Congress leaders, including Pandit Nehro as diversionary tactics, as a part of their partisan struggle aga-inst our Party. This confuses the people and aids the forces eaction

India's Prime Minister must choose his words and company after more serious thought and with a greater sense of national responsibisense of national responsibility. We have not hingto fear and nothing to hide. We have learnt to keep thinking and working all the time in the working all the time in the service of our people and for the glory of our nation. (August 24)

## Soviet Science Does It Again at this fresh demonstration of the capacities of Soviet science, powered by the mightiest force on earth—a people on the march to Communism. First to make a Socialist Revo-lution, first to engage in building Communism, and first to break through to the cosmos— such is the mighty Soviet land, its people and its Communist. Party

I N all the vast acons of time no living thing had ever left the earth, soared into outer space and then returned to our planet. On August 20, Soviet science accomplished this stupendous feat and incalculably increased Man's mastery over Nature.

A new stage has been ushered in the ex-A new stage has been usnered in the ex-ploration of outer space, the most momentous after the launching of the first Sputnik less than three years ago. We are visibly approach-ing the day when Man will journey to the Moon and the planets and return again to Mother Earth. Mother Earth

The whole world applauds in admiration

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New Age Joins the millions of our country-men and men of goodwill in all countries in sending the most ardent greetings and con-gratulations to the Soviet people, Government and Communist Party—pioneers always in humanity's advance to its glorious destiny.

its Communist Party.

New Age joins the millions of our country-

## PART CONFESSION, PART **SELF-JUSTIFICATION**

A Independence Day, came and went. The Press and public leaders have made their comments and expressed their hopes and fears. It is very useful to recall how the ruling class and its beneficiaries, the big capitalists and the other vested interests look upon the national situation.

The Eastern Economist, in Day 1960", admits that the celebration in the Capital itself "lacked both warmth and confidence." This is not all. The heart-searching and some realistic thinking done some by Birla's own publicists lead them to state the follow-

"The question is being asked: has the bitterness of the Central Government employees flowed over to public feeling generally?

"There are some who are prone to argue that there has been decline in the Prime Minister's prestige and the top leadership of the Congress

Party. "There is inevitable inequality in the distribution of economic progress in the last ten years ... the feeling has been engendered that the adventure of India is confined few and not a vast sation of the many." to the few

When such plain and unvarnished admissions are made by the Eastern Econo-mist, there could be no mist, there could be greater condemnation of Government policies which have produced the present sorry state of affairs nor any better vindication of the criticism which New Age along with other progressive elements in our national life has been persistently mak-

### Indian Unity In Danger

The Indian people after numerous trials and errors forged a grand national united front that became all-embrac ing and powerful enough to force the British to quit our country. During the last 13 Congress leaders who them-selves took the leading part in the united national struggle of the past have as leaders of the Government run the affairs of the country in such a manner as to endanger the very unity and the integrity of the motherland. The main theme both of the Rashtrapati's and the Prime Min-Independence Day addresses was the dangers threatening the unity of the

country. The Rashtrapati stated. "we must rise above all parochial considerations of casteism, communalism and regionalism, and may I add, also linguism. Unless we make up our mind and meet squarely the challenge of these forces, I am afraid, we may be losing the opportunities which free-dom has brought in its wake, we may be delaying all hopes we may be delaying all hopes built up by our people and what is worse, we shall be ex-posing ourselves to the charge that we have learnt nothing from our own history." The Frime Minister from the ramparts of the Red Fort told the nation that it was doomed if people subordingted.

told the nation that it was gress Seva Dal captain has doomed if people subordinated been caught red-handed.

PAGE TWO

A UGUST 15, our 13th the national interest to paro-Independence chial considerations of regions, community, caste and language. "The time has come when every Indian will have to realise where he stands in relation to his country. Does he stand by his country or his group or religion or State?" All who heard the Prime Minister felt that he spoke with deep sorrow and some shame. His concluding words harped on the elementary duty of our people. "Every Indian's first and foremost duty is to defend India's freedom and strengthen India's unity."

It is no use sermonising the people. It is their units and struggle that won India its freedom. What needs to be thought out afresh and very seriously, indeed by the Prime Minister and by the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Gov-ernment and the ruling party is, how is it that our people who gave them all their confidence and trust, are at daggers drawn today, in the various parts of the country, that Indian brotherhood has been dis-rupted, that Indian unity itself looks to be at stake

The Akali Party was virtually finished after its communal fratricidal role during the 1947 holocaust. The same Akali Party exploited the problem which the Congress rulers of Punjab refused to face at the right time and solve in terms of our national principles. The Akalis grew strong enough to compel the Congress to come to an alliance and take them inside the State Cabinet. And when they did not get their full pound of flesh, they have again taken up the popular issue of the Punjabi Suba and are using it to divide Sikh and Hindu Punjabis from each other as they had the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs from the Punjabi Muslims in the nast If the Akalis today can play their communal, disruptive and ignominious role with impunity, whose is the respon sibility? This is what every Congressman in all honesty must ask himself, from Pandit Nehru downward.

### Look Within

Such a reactionary alliance with communalist re-ligious elements was not confined to the Punjab alone. The Congress in Kerala, to unseat the Communist-led Government, allied with the Muslim League and now the Muslim League and now the Muslim League has more than rais-ed its head and is organising itself as a political party in West Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and other places. The Razakars have already legalised them-selves in Hudershoad and selves in Hyderahad and scored a big victory in the Corporation elections. The Muslim communalists are Muslim communalists are now planning an all-India Convention and the rest of ila. Currently negotiations are on with Thailand.

It is no use sermonising the **Evil** people of Bengal or Assam. It is necessary to put a stop to the rot inside the Congress organisation itself when the effigy of the Union Law Min-13 years is enough ister, A. K. Sen, is burnt in the streets of Calcutta, with the connivance of Provincial Congress bosses and a Con-



It is necess really deeply into the af-fairs of the Assam State Congress and the Congress ad-ministration there, and pick the guilty ones res-ponsible for the holocaust. The Prime Minister and the all-India Congress leaders themselves know who they themselves know who they are and how they function and with what tragic results and yet, the Union Government hesitates to agree to a proper enquiry, in unworthy partisan interest. Not to accent the just

demands of our people in time and with good grace has been the crime of the Congress rulers. As long as they refuse to learn, this obvious lesson, they would always be playing into the hands of reactionaries in their own party and outside who misuse a just demand for their evil and ond con who misuse a just demand for their evil ends and corrupt and divide the people and darken the political horizon of our country.

### The Dangerous Holes

E VERYBODY is proud— except the Jan Sanghis and Swatantraites—of the achievements of our planned economy in modernising and industrialising our country. The Rashtrapati, however,

resorted to the unreal superlative when he stated that "appreciable success" had been achieved "in the great task of national reconstruction." He stressed. "when the complicated mechanism of re-construction moves on a gigantic scale in a vast country like India, creaking sounds of certain parts of the machine should surprise none." This is no serious self-criticism but only loud selfjustification.

A straight down-to-earth look at our national economy will reveal that some-thing much more serious than the inevitable creaking sound emerging out of it. The old bad holes in our economy were never really sealed up. A few vital ones really have grown bigger and threaten to grow bigger still. The slogan of food self-sufficiency given during the First Plan yet remains to be realised. Everybody knows that during the next five years, India will meet its food needs with the American PL-480, 17 million tons of surplus farm produce, costing about Rs. 700 crores. According to the latest cal-

culations made by the Plan-ning Commission and S. K. Patil's Food Ministry, this 17 million tons also will be in. sufficient and an additional import of five million tons, costing about Rs. 200 crores to the country, to be repaid mostly in foreign exchange, have to be secured. The sources are UAR, Burma, Thailand, Canada and Austra-

The experience of the last 13 years is enough to demons-trate that all plans to boost food production, minus land to the tiller, makes the national aim of self-sufficiency and surplus in agricultural pro-duce a mirage, and leads

NEW AGE

straight to greater and greater dependence on foreign supplies with all its evil conse-India accepted the concept

India accepted the concept of a mixed economy for the transitional period with the assurance that the public sector will push up to occupy the commanding heights. In reality, during the last ten years, something very different has been happening despite the expansion and despite the expansion and achievements of the public Sector. During the First Plan, the

public sector had invested Rs. 104 crores, and the private sector Rs. 402 crores. During the Second Plan, the public sector invested Rs. 1.002 crores, while the pixet sector invested Rs. 1,210 crores. In the Third Plan the proposal is Rs. 1,600 crores for the private sector and Rs. 1,850 crores for the public sector. All knowledgeable people

who are really interested in the rapid industrialisation of India, on a planned and progressive basis, are ap-prehensive that during the Third Plan as well the pri-vate sector will shoot beyond its investment targets, while the public sector will lag behind.

Living experience streng-thens the apprehension. The Times of India "City Notes" on the very morrow of pendence Day stated: of Inde-"Total consents granted to the private sector for raising capital through shares (other than bonus) and debentures amounted to Rs. 112 crores in 1959—the highest level reachamounted to Rs. 112 crores in 1959—the highest level reach-ed in any year since 1947. The corresponding figures for 1958 and 1957 were Rs. 66 crores and Rs. 77 crores respecti-vely." It is not only that the pri-

vate sector is being allowed to grow faster than the public sector and thus be in a posi-tion to dominate the whole national economy but vital national economy put vital industries that were originally proposed to be set up in the public sector, under the National Industrial Development Corporation are now started in the private sector, e.g., aluminium, structural fabrication, ferro-manganese, carbon black, dye-stuffs, rayon and staple fibres.

### Foreign Capital Grows And ...

The danger is not only that. the Indian private sector is growing at the cost of the public, but the foreign-owned part of the private sector is public, but the foreign also growing and really fast. The Reserve Bank Bulletin

of April 1960 gives detailed figures to show the growth of foreign investments in the private sector, in 1948 from Rs. 256 crores to Rs. 493 crores in 1956, Rs. 571 crores in 1958, and Rs. 593 crores in 1959. The Third Plan provides for another Rs. 300 crores going to the private sector, making the total nearly Rs. 900 crores. This amounts to 50 per cent increase during the next five years and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times the investment as it was in 1948. The old banner of Swadeshi and Indian industrialisation has been lowered in honour of foreign private capital, and it is being permitted partner-ship with the Indian monopoly ship with the Indian monopoly groups. The results can only be unmitigated evil for Indian economy and democracy.

The devil of foreign ex change crisis is once again out in the open and in a more menacing form. News-paper readers had hardly finished reading the 15th August Supplements of their favourite newspapers, when Avourite newspapers, when the big news burst in the daily Press that India's foreign currency reserves had reached the rock-bottom, an all-time low with Rs. 144 crores, this is below the constitutional minimum of Rs' 160 crores.

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During the first six months the year. India had an adverse balance of trade run ning to Rs. 157.81 crores.

Pandit Nehru frankly stated in his Independence Day oration, "We are doomed if we Day have to import food at the same time as we have to im-port machinery." This is just the situation staring us in the face.

India's Finance Minister stated in Parliament that the foreign exchange situation is of "continuing difficulty" and that "India continues to need foreign aid on a massive scale."

Having recklessly wasted. the accumulated foreign re-serves of the country, having betrayed its progressive pledges to the people, and having met the demands of the Indian monopoly capitalists and their foreign counter-parts, the only way out of the present desperate situation that the Indian ruling class can think of is to take the beggar's bowl to the colonialist and monomitte and monopolist group, of Western Powers who have banded themselves into what they call "The Aid India Club" and who are due to meet in Paris on Sptember 12. We have only to recall our past experience with these Powers and the World Bank to foresee the great national danger ahead. The imperialist aiders are going to demand their pound of flesh before they agree to help us out of the present crisis and aid the Third Plan. Their demands are well known, that we change the pattern of our planning, slow down and res-trict the public sector, that we let massive foreign private capital come in to exploit India's rich resources either independently or in partner-ship with the Indian monopolists. This is the grim danger that will have to be combated during the coming months

This is not the task of the Indian Communists alone but of all Indian patriots who desire the growing welfare of desire the grow desire the growing welfare of our people and rapid achievement of economic independence. The debate Industry Policy R initiated by Commun he debate on the Policy Resolution unist mem. ber Thangamani in the Lok Sabha and the wide response his resolution secured from Congress M.P.s themselves are a pointer that honest elements inside the ruling party itself are awakening to the dangers of the anti-national, antipeople concession being made to the private Indian and foreign. It is not a lone battle. It will grow and gather momentum, the more rapidly thinking elements within our national parties take the cudgel in hand and get together.

> —P. C. Joshi AUGUST 28, 1960



I F you are in with the bigwigs of the Iron and Steel Controllers' Office in Calcutta they will let you into the secret of how to turn base metal into gold. At least this was the experience of some small businessmen from Punjab —small in their resources but might lucky in their

They started off in 1956 with just two lakhs share capital and fixed assets of capital and fixed assets of Rs. 1,205. Their cash and bank balance was just over Rs. two lakhs. Nothing much, all would agree. But thanks to their conne in the Iron and Steel Controllers' office they started

off with a bang. In the very first year they made a profit of about Rs. 2½ lakhs and were left with stock in trade to the value of Rs. 1½ crores! They followed this up with a profit of Rs. 38 lakhs the next year and in 1958 this leapt up to beyond Rs. 50 lakhs

Thus, with a total mobilisation of Rs. four lakhs these Punjabis with wellplaced friends made a profit in just three years of over Rs. '80 lakhs!

And such was the faith of the gentlemen in charge of the Iron and Steel Con-troller's office that in the very first year they handed out iron and steel goods worth Rs. 1½ crores to be sold by their "small" busi-ness friends. Next year they raised this to Rs. 11 crores and in 1958 to Rs. 14 crores. It is quite unimaginable how so much confidence. worth so very much, was so very quickly generated. Nor is this all. Thanks

to a nice arrangement, Government subsidies are rovided to all who handle the sale of imported iron and steel goods. This parti-cular company received Rs.

**Congress Assurances** --- NEVER MEANT TO BE KEPT

Minister is after all A a A a Minister—a person combining many qualities. The Congress brand has rare qualities. This type knows how to give an assurance and yet not mean anything. This is an art and the Congress Minis-

ters are pastmasters in it. These gentlemen are not short of words when faced with questions from mem-bers in the Legislature. They reply in pat sentences and their assurances are conveyed in chosen words. Here are some examples: The question is under con-sideration; I will investi-gate into the matter; Enquiries are being made; I will look into the matter myself when I go on tour in the area; I will see what can be done; Concessions will be given; Orders will be passed soon; Decision will be taken soon; I think

this can be done; etc. More often than not, nothing comes out of these assurances. And then there are complaints. In the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha the members com-plained. There were heated

AUGUST 28, 1960

\* SEE PAGE 14



eight lakhs subsidy the first year, Rs. 42 lakhs the next and Rs. 113 lakhs in the

third year. What the public would like to know is why all these favours were showered on this petty company from the Puniab to the ex. clusion of well-established firms already in the field? Why not a proble into the officials who handled this transaction and their rela tions with the owners of

### QUEEN'S RECEPTION

this firm?

A SICKENING fuss is being made about the visit of the British Queen. And ironically enough the pandemonium was unleashed round about August 15, when we were celebrating our liberation from the rule of the British crown. I am told that Panditji's

had temper notwithstand. ing the protocol problems still remain. The British constitutional experts are still pressing their case that the Queen is sovereign in all Commonwealth countries. Thus, they argue, Elizabeth II comes the head of another State but as the boss of the Rashtrapati himself. Our constitutional pundits are said to be furiously pre-paring their replies. We have yet to see who wins.

Another amusing detail is the venue of the civic reception. Some loyalists feel that she should get a mammoth greeting at the Ram Lila grounds. Since Khrushchov and Ike were so received how could the



discussions and charges were made that pro given by Ministers were not being carried out. A com-mittee was appointed to mittee was appointed to look into the matter. Deputy Speaker Patwardhan was its Chairman. Its

first report (1959) throws a lot of light on the way Con-gress Ministers implement their assurances. The Committee went into

the assurances given during the months of July and August 1957. What did it find? find? "In the period July-August 1957, 279 assurances were given. Out of these 107 could not be acted upon at all even after two years..." It is a serious matter, said the Committee's report

that "assurances are made on behalf of the Ministers and necessary attention is not paid towards their imlementation...." The Committee has given

interesting examples. In one case (No. 43), an assurance was given about compensation to persons involved in a truck acciGreat White Queen be

given anything less? But there is a hitch. The British High Commission is said to have thrown the hint that Royalty may not like the idea of haranguing a huge crowd but may pre-fer a smaller gathering of notables-devout and humble-at the Red For

So some other "Indian" loyalists are rushing about calling for a Red Fort gettogether. Among their more sickening arguments is the "historic association British Royalty with the Red Fort! An association that spelled Indian slavery. Why not a reception at the Khuni Darwaza-that, too. has historic association after all?

### SADOBA AGAIN

C HIEF Minister Chavan's c troubles have far from ended with the bifurcation of bilingual Bombay. It seems that Sadoba K. Patil is on his tail. This master manipulator wants to pull the rising Chavan down a peg or two or, at least, to

come to some sort of com promise which would enure his having some say in the affairs of the Maha rashtra Pradesh Congress.

Chavan is all out to establish what he calls the "full integration" of Bom bay with the rest of Maha rashtra. So he used all his powers of persuasion and got the Maharashtra Pra-desh Congress Committee (MPCC) to agree to shift its head quarters to Bombay. All this was done off his own bat without any consultation with snaky Sadoba

So he got quite a shock when the Bombay City Congress Committee just pointblank refused ° to house the MPCC office in its own buildings, despite vast quantities of space being available. A most spurious plea was made that the building is owned by some sort of trust, and this august body would not allow new tenants! So poor Chavan had to house MPCC office in the local

INTUC building. The reason for Sadoba's nasty tricks is the big boost that Chavan is get-

ting from some influential quarters as the latest "Nehru's Successor" find. It is rumoured that our bulgy Food Minister is still more annoyed when he was told that Krishna Menon was hobnobbing with the Maha-rashtra Chief Minister. He is said to have growled that a new caucus is being built up and he will smash it. Such are the custodians

of the nation's unity-a ut-throat crew, if there was one!

### PALAI AND CHACKO

N interesting footnote to the Palai Bank crash is provided by the furious activity of P. T. Chacko. Some very wicked tongues are wagging that Kottuka-palli, the biggest boss in Palai, is exerting pressure on him again.

They maliciously recall that Kottukapalli became a member of the Lok Sabha to fill the gap when P. T. Chacko resigned his seat and very soon afterwards set off on an American tour, lavishly well-off.

tour, lavishiy well-off. Is the Congress High Command fighting shy of an enquiry into the Palai affair in case other gossipers tell more damaging tales?

### -ONLOOKER

August 23.



PAGE THREE

## PALAI BANK: ROBBERY TO GO UNPUNISHED

At the end of a four-hour discussion spread over two days, the Finance Minister on Tuesday pro-nounced before the Lok Sabha his final verdict on the Palai Bank. With the self-assurance that is so characteristic of him he declared the matter closed.

his irritation over the fuss that had been made over the closure of the Palai Bank, So many other banks had gone into liquidation and nobody raised a voice, he said. Why so much hue and cry over the closure of this particular Bank, he asked. (This regard-less of the fact that the hue of this particular and cry had made him raise the immediately recoverable amount for small depositors from Rs. 100 to Rs. 250).

He further said that there o need for any enquiry because all that was worth knowing and could be known was known to him. Poor old loval Gandhiite, C. K. Nair's cries for truth to be extricated and not buried in the debris of the Palai Bank, his refernces to truth still remaining 'at large' in the Mundhra affair, were lost in the wilder ness, for was not the demand for enquiries and commissions and the like a Communist trap which Government must always at all cost avoid as plague, unless talking of it rovided opportunity of casterions against Com-

As his reply indicated the Finance Minister seems to think that the demand for seriously reconsidering, the question of nationalis onke at this stage is best met by ignoring it. For eleven years the Banking Companies Act has been in force and it has not provided adequate safeguards against wholesale swindling of depositors. For nine years the Palai Bank's affairs had been kept under examination by the Reserve Bank and yet according to Morarji Desai it had no powers under the existing legislation to prevent all the shady deals

that were being carried on. And now after the public indignation roused over the belated closure of the Palai tinkering Ramk come m with the Act is all that is

In the discussion initiated in a very reasonable speech by T. Punnoose, naturally all sorts of interests were sought to be advanced in the name the depositors and the common man. There was un-ashamed advocacy of the case of the directors and others responsible for the squandering of the depositors' mo by the Kerala Congress M.P.s. For them, however, the Fin ance Minister, with his con the Fintinuing policy of shield ig the swindles, naturally had no word of admonition.

### Gopalan's Posers.

The more awakaward points of the Communist criticism remained unanswered. A. K. Gopalan had said

"It is said that there was a run on the bank. But it is only the poor people, the ordinary people who have suffered. An ordinary man cannot run and when the run on a bank co he will only be walking because he does not have a car or any other thing. Therewhen the run on this

PAGE FOUR

could hardly conceal bank came those who have motor cars got all their money. Only the poor people could not run, they walked and when they went there the Bank was closed."

He had gone on to ask, "Who are the persons who have drawn their money? There are allegations that their friends took all their

money. "What are these irrecoverable and sticky amounts? Were these irrecoverable and 'sticky' amounts there before 1951? If it was there before 1951 it was the duty of the Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry to see that within four or five years matters were set right. If it has come only after 1951 there was enough time for them to set things right. They receive inspec tion reports and from those reports they could have seen that irrecoverable and 'sticky amounts were on the increa "That is why I say that there should be a thorough enquiry about this. Political motives are also attached to it. We do not know exactly what it is."

Pressing for nationalisation.

Gopalan said : "When we talk of national-

isation, we say it is the duty

of the Government' to infuse

whatever they save should be put in the banks. So either

nationalise the banks or take

the responsibility to see that

the man who puts whatever. little he saves in banks has the confidence that his money

will be safe and will be avail-

Year Plan initiated on Mon-

day in the Lok Sabha by the

Prime Minister is still con-

The Rajya Sabha mean-while debated the recent Cen-tral Government employees' strike on a motion of Bhupesh

Gupta asking for disapproval of the Essential Services

Maintenance Ordinance Dro-

mulgated by the Preisdent on

said that social issues could be dealt either with reason, sym-pathy and understanding or

with a sword in hand

Moving it Bhupesh Gupta

"I submit, Sir, in the pre-

sent case the Government Ied by Sri Jawaharlal

led by Sri Jawaharlal Nchru and with the Home

Minister as second in com-mand came down upon their

Union Government's double

standards in dealing with

At the time of writing debate on the Third

**Resolution** On

Ordinance

tinning.

July 8.

in times of difficulty.

the

one hand and with the em ployees' strike on the other." "The Prime Minister calls it civil rebellion. It was scaremongering on a scale, in a manner not expected of a person like the Prime Minister. It was not a civil rebellion, it was an industrial dispute," said Bhupesh Gupta, going on to explain the back-ground of the dispute. A powerful plea for seriously

considering and remedying the underlying causes of the strike was made by P. Ramamurti. He said . We are discussing this strike more than a month after the

whole event is over and, therefore, I feel that at this time we should look at the whole problem in a disapassionate way and not try to import passion and not allow ourselves to be set by ideas of victory or defeat or any such things....

### Whu The Strike ?

The Home Minister him-self admits that there has not been that mutual trust en the Government and hetw their employees which ought to prevail. After all these thirteen

was the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was then the President of the Indian National Congress, who ap-pealed to them and said: "We are now going to settle things with the British Government for transfer of power and therefore I would appeal to you to withdraw this strike you to withdraw this state notice." So, the railway em-ployees did not go on strike and they immediately accept-ed that. At that time Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad also promised them: "When we take over power, we will improve your conditions and better your conditions." Is this not the very promise that he gave? These people accepted that. And today after thirteen

years, if such people who had reposed such utmost faith, trust and confidence in the leaders of the nation al movement, if these peo ple after thirteen years de-cide not to listen to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's appeal, in spite of the Ordinance that you have felt necessary to promulgate, if so many people had gone on strike, then it is something to be seriously considered. Ramamurti then referred to

the First Pay Commission's recommend

years, at this time parti- twenty points in terms of the

determined action against rising prices and against those people who were putting up the prices.

week in parliament

That was the real question and you were not prepared to do that. That is the politics involved; the Government was not prepared to do that. Therefore, they say, "if we accept that, we may have to take action against the mill-owners. We may have to take action later on against the stock-brokers. We may have to take action later on against the speculators and against the speculators and against the landlords who hoard the grains. How can we do that?

There comes in the politics, politics in which the whole country would be in ruins. This is sheer dema-gogy and nothing but that. Everybody knows that.

### Reconsider Position

Some people say that the Government got tremendous support and all that. I would like to know that. Even the INTUC dared not conduct a single public meeting in sup-It said that for every rise of port of the Government. This sition Many

Therefore, I would ask the

measures that they are now

taking. Panditji says, "Well,

we have been very lenient". I

how much he would have won

Mr

would ask Panditji, Khandubhai Desai and

Government to think of the

Many States in India have adopted land legislations. They all provide for ceilings and they have all provisions for tenancy rights. That, however, is only one side of the picture. The other side is the implementation of these Bills.

so on were allowed.

peasants in Kerala.

WITHOUT exception, WITHOUT exception, we orchards, plantations, sugarcane that the laws are implemented farms, cattle-breeding farms, which a way as to make no efficiently managed farms and in such a way as to make no land available for distribution. Ceiling, instead of becoming a measure to get as much surplus land as possible for distribution, has really been implemented with the aim of making as little land excess as possible. In the name of self-cultivation, cooperative and well-managed een allowed to escape the ceiling provision and evict tens and homestead occupants on a Kerala Legislative Assembly on mass scale. This is the experi- June 10, 1959. Even after a mass scale. This is the experi-ence of land reform as imple-mented by the Congress Governments in every State.

The recent Ghazipur Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha said in its resolution on the proress of land reforms

"The Amritsar session of the AIKS held in September 1956 stated that 'the proposals have been made in such a way that almost all the farms of landlords would be exempted from ceiling and nothing should be left surplus for distribution. Hence the whole issue has, in the opinion of this Session, be come a caricature of the ceiling on landholdings which the pea-santry has demanded and can never help in the solution of the land problem.'

"The type of legislations passed by the various State Governments since then and the actual experience of their implementation have confirmed the view expressed by the AIKS four years ago. During this period, in spite of various legislations on ceiling on holdings, very little land has become availabl for distribution

The legislation framed by the Communist-led Government of Kerala was totally different from all this. This Bill plugged many of the loop-holes which were a feature of Congress legislations.

### The Difference

To quote the Ghazipur resolution of the Kisan Sabha again-

"In contrast to the legislation dealing with the problem of land reform in other States, the Communist-led Government of Kerala took legislative mea to tackle the problem of land reforms in a correct way.

"The Government lost no time soon after it came to power in issuing an Ordinance banning eviction of tenants and occupants of homesteads on any account and thereby left no room to the landlords to defeat the objective of land reform ures which were to follow. nance was soon followed by a comprehensive legis-lative measure dealing with the problem of ceiling.

legislation were that the ceiling was fixed at a reasonable level on the family basis, all transfers were banned, no exemption

AUGUST 28 1960

Broken The Kisan Jatha has made them give the answer now. The final rally of the Jatha was Kerala is a State where bitter political passions have been roused in the recent past and they have hardly subsided yet. held in Trivandrum on July 24 On the 27th, it was I that the Rashtrapati ha But during the march of the Kisan Jatha, it became evident that the peasants were rising above these passions to come to-gether on a vital issue affecting them. Muslim, Catholic, Nair and other peasants who had voted for the Congress, PSP and Lengue parties showed they But during the march of the League parties showed they were as much concerned as those who had voted for the Com-munist Party about the future munist Barty about the future Why

"The main features of this of the Agrarian Realtions Bill. Resentment This was clearly seen in the

hanging over it.

Rarriers.

the pea

cularly, the strike was after all a symptom of that want of trust. Why is it that such 1939 index the Government statements were made in the must give an increase of five newspapers. rupees i situation had arisen? It is no use saying that after

Powerful Plea On Behalf

Of Govt. Employees

all only twenty per cent of the people went on strike, that eighty per cent of the peo-ple did not go on strike. What does it show? Out of 22 lakhs of people, more than four lakhs had gone on strikeunder what conditions?

Minister After the Prime Minister had made an appeal to them on the 8th a few hours after that, an Ordinance, the like of which had not been promulgated here before, was issued. If an employee goes on strike, not only does he go to jail, but he has also to lose his job.

Under those conditions. if four lakhs of Government employees, people who have been serving for the last so many years, prepared to defy this Ordinance, cer-tainly you cannot simply brush it aside as a matter of incitement by a certain set of agitators.

I would like to say that even vhen Mahatma Gandhi led movements, the entire country did not defy the law. Here four lakhs of Government employees, after thirteen years of this Government being in office, felt extremely sorry for it, they felt deeply for it, ever they felf that they should defy it. They went on strike. This is very significant. Therefore, let us not dismiss

mand came down upon their cmployees with sword in this kind of thing..... hand." He referred to the In 1945, for example, when in 1945, for example, when i given notice-the Railways they had strike the Assam situation on the given notice of a strike-it

Today when you talk about the First Pay Commission's Report and about its sanctity, you say it cannot be done. Then naturally nobody be-lleves that your argument is sincere. They believe that sanctity should be brought up

only when it comes to a question of denying justice Today what is the fun of trying to frighten the country by saving that if these things

were accepted, Rs. 500 crores should be shelled out? If the First Pay Commis-sion's Report had been imnlemented and if Rs. five for every rise of twenty points had been given as recom-mended, today the employees would have been getting not Rs. 80 but not less than Rs. 95. You denied them this all these years between these two highpowered bodies. I do not know whether the Second Pay Commission becomes a super body, a sort of appellate tribunal. After all they asked that their wages should be protected. They did not ask for anything

### The Real Question

If the question of linking the dearness allowance with the cost of living index had been accepted, the Govern-ment would have been faced with a situation where they could not have refused to pay and, therefore, they would have had to take

the respect and confidence of the Government employees if Pandit Jawaharlal Ne the Prime Minister of the country and the leader of the Government, after, the strike was withdrawn without any condition whatsoever, had gone to the Radio and addressed the strikers: "Well, you did not listen-to. me. It does not matter. We

understand that there are causes for your feeling. We causes for your feeling. We know that you have failed. We agree to hold the price line. We know that there are difficulties. Now, let us sitt together and we shall discuss it. We shall forget those things." If that large-heartedness had been there, how much confidence would have

> There is no question of libe-rality\_in such things. Take back every one of them with understanding, trust them. After all, trust begets trust. And if you do not trust them you cannot expect them to trust you. This is the reality. Therefore, on the basis of this, I would appeal to the Government to reconsider the whole nosition.



in whatsoever in the name o

"It was this legislation which inspired the peasantry of Kerala, as it knew full well that if implemented, about five that it implemented, about its lakh acres of land would be available for distribution to agricultural workers and poor

year assent to the Bill from the President was still not forth-coming. Meanwhile, after the mid-term elections, and after the Congress-PSP Coalition assumed office, there were per-sistent reports that the ruling parties in the State and the Centre were considering amendnts to the Bill which would

talmanna, in the Catholic areas the Debt Relief Amendment was fixed at five cents within between Trichur and Kottayam Bill are examined, we can the limits of the 'Trivandrum and the Nair areas from Chan- understand why they have gene-Corporation or any major ganassery to Trivandrum. The communal organisations had asked their followers not to arrange any receptions to the Jatha or participate in the Jatha's meetings and listen to its leaders. These bans did not

BETRAYAL OF KERALA PEASANTRY

between Kozhikode and Perin- Jenmikaram Abolition Bill and and the extent of the new site rated so much of resentment in the Kerala peasants.

> First, we will examine the amendments proposed by the Rashtrapati's message which affect the Kudikidappukars

Corporation or any major municipal area and ten cents in other areas. The kudikidappukaran was also to get the expenses reasonably r shift to the new site.

The recommended modification provides for two more grounds for eviction — if the land is required for townplanning or for industrial purposes and also suggests that the extent of the new site for the kudikidappu-karan should be modified that is, the five cents and ten cents of land provided for in the Bill should be reduced.

The kudikidappukars in the towns and industrial areas who can after this be freely evicted in the name of town-planning and industrial expansion are wage labourers and others who, as a result of the proposed modification, will be taken out of the places where they can get work and transplanted to areas where they may not have even facilities to earn a living.

And the proposal that the alternate site to be provided to the kudikidappukars should be odified from the ten cents and five cents provided for in the Bill will only help the landowners who are desirous of evicting the kudikidappukars and who for such evictions will have to give only a smaller exent of alternate land.

It is worth remembering that at the time the Bill was being discussed by the Assem-bly, the present Chief Minis-ter, Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, had demanded this right of eviction in the case of the Trivandrium Corporation and other members of the present ruling parties in favour of other memoers of the present ruling parties in favour of other municipal towns. Their demand had then been re-jected by the Assembly, now it has been conceded throughback-door.

Clause 71 of the Bill had laid down that when excess lands were to be distributed, "the holdings in which there are kudikidappukars shall, as far as possible, be assigned to such kudikidappukars."

### Security To Planters

The Rashtrapati's me now says, "Clause 71 may be so modified that in assigning surplus lands among the various categories of persons mentioned in the state in that clause, preference shall be given to cooperative societies formed by persons within such categories." Knowing what cooperative societies are under the Congress regime, it is easy to imagine that such a provision will adversely affect the kudikidapnukars who lose the first preference on the excess land which the original provision had accorded them.

Now, coming to the recom-mended modifications which affect the tenants:

The Rashtrapati has recommended modification of the definition of plantations in Clause 2(39) to include: "agricultural land interspersed with-

> \* SEE PAGE 12 PAGE FIVE

by A. K. GOPALAN PRESIDENT, ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA

bans of their organisations? What made them flock in such large numbers to the addressed by the petinas of the Jatha? The answer is to be found in the anxiety of all peasants, whathe their communal or

MODIFICATIONS BECOMMENDED

TO LAND BILL WILL MEAN

The modification rec ed to Clause 2 (20) of the Bill which defines Kudikidappu-karan seeks "to exclude persons occupy who were permitted to who were permitted to occupy any land or hut within a plan-tation or within an area of land comprised in mills, factories or workshops, provided such per-sons have not acquired rights of kudikidappukaran under any law existing before the date o which the Bill becomes law."

The entire 400-mile long hill tracts of the State are covered

\*More Exemptions From Ceiling **AGreen Light To Evictions AEvasions Made Possible** \*More Compensation

adversely affect the interests of the peasants.

These reports moved the Kerala peasantry into act and as a high watermark of this action came the Kerala Kisan Jatha, which marched Kisan Jatha, which marched from Kusergode to Trivan-drum. In the nearly 450 miles they walked from June 28 to July 24, the Jatha held innumerable meetings and talked to about a million peasants and agricultural labourers about the provisions of the Bill and the threat that was

political affiliation, to prevent any inroads by the vested in-terests into the security which the Agrarian Relations Bill promised them.

into what the Jatha has achieved or not achieved, we can note one factor—the impact it had on gives any security to them. the ruling parties

For over a year, the Bill had been kept at the Centre without giving it assent or sending it back. Right from the time of the mid-term elections, the prethe mid-term elections, the pre-sent ruling parties of Kerala had been asked what amend ments they were considering to the Agrarian Relations Bill. They had all the time evaded an answer to this question.

If the modifications recomtremendous welcome accorded to mended by the Rashtrapati to gave him a new site within one the Jatha in the Muslim areas the Agrarian Relations Bill, the mile of the existing homestead

NEW AGE

plantations and forests There are a large number of people-plantation labourers, casual workers, agricultural workers working on lands leas ed out to tenants and situated Without at this stage going within the plantation area who are all kudikidappukars and

> The proposed modification now denies them the security provided for in the Bill and the planters will get unfette ed licence to evict them without giving them alternate sites and compensation as has been provided for for other kudikidappukars. It is estinated that lakhs of familie will be thrown out of their present homes if this comes to of their happen.

### Eviction ... Made Easy

The modification proposed to Clause 37(2) provides for additional grounds for eviction of kudikidappukars. –

The provision in the Bill was that if a landowner in whose land the homestead was situated wanted the land bona fide for building purposes for himself or for any member of his family, he could evict the kudikidappukaran provided the landowner

The Bill was adopted by the work. Receptions and meetings (landless and homeless occu-Kerala Legislative Assembly on were held, participated in by pants of homesteads in land-June 10, 1959. Even after a thousands of peasants. lords' land). What made them defu the

### REPORT ON GDR



How firmly is the German Democratic Republic North American monopoly (R) established? How much support does the re- capital have been pressed into (GDR) established? How much support does the re-gime enjoy? Are the people of East Germany await-ing the advent of "freedom" and their incorporation called West German "econo-in the "free world"? How much of support is there called West German "econo-in East and West Germany for such a "solution" of they helped recreate has bethe German problem?

In proceeding to answer these questions it is neces-sary cursorily to go over the familiar historical background: the tragic pre-1945 period when for twelve years the worst reaction ever to arise anywhere in the world had free run of the country, when democracy was wiped out and the best sons of Germany, whether liberal demo-crats, Socialists or Commun-ists, were either murdered outright or condemned to slow death in concentration camps. Far from being inconsiderable in number they constituted all together the majority in pre-Hitler Germany.

### Two Types Of Regimes

Then the history of the immediate post-1945 years when despite the 55 million dead of the Second World War and despite the Potsdam Agreement, two different types of occupation regimes were established pursuing two diametrically opposed objectives. In the Soviet zone the objec-In the Soviet zone the objec-tive uncompromisingly pur-sued was the thorough up-rooting of the sources of fas-cism — Junker domination, monopoly rule, militarism and the ideology of the master race and anti-semitism; while in the other three zones it was a steady return to the policy of Germany's former imperialist rivals using Gerany again as a pawn in their old game of "containmism and even "rolling it back".

The remnants of German imperialism in their turn found in this later policy their hope of survival and resurgence, plumped for it and decided to go along till such time as they were in a position to resume the pur-suit of their own indepen-

### Woot Gorman State

Thus it came about that the ideas of a peaceful, unified, democratic Germany embo-died in the Potsdam Agreement came to be abandoned by the Western Powers who first introduced a separate currency disrupting the economic unity of Germany, then amalgamated the U.S. and British zones and later brought in the French occu-pation zone too to create the Federal Republic, a separate West German State.

PAGE SIX

S UCH are some of the poll-tical questions to which every foreigner visiting GDR tries inevitably to find the many of the same individuals who were the props of the Nazi regime, in the Soviet zone the power of the old rul-ing classes was destroyed, the land of the Junkers was disnity) it seeks to establish its economic domination, a sort of neo-colonialism, over Afritributed to the peasants in a sweeping land reform in 1946 itself. Asia. With U. S. support it is making a bid for the domi-

The democrats, Socialists and Communists who had survived the concentration camps or had returned from nant position in NATO. Initially factors like the debated issue both in East Korean war helped the "eco-nomic miracle". But a more both sides feel that new war helpful factor for the West will mean the end of Gerforced emigration graduall came to the fore and took charge of public life in the Soviet zone. Learning the lesson of German history the Socialists and Commun\_ ists united itno one party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED).

feat of fascism at the hands of the world democratic for-ces headed by the Soviet Thanks to the military de-Union, democracy in Germany was getting a chance. How often it had happened earlier that Germany's own indige nous democratic forces though never inconsiderable had been crushed by Prussian reaction with the help of outside im-perialists! It was now possible for the first time in history. thanks to the counter-balance ing force, that this outside intervention in favour of reac tion could be prevented at least in a part of Germany and the democratic forces had the opportunity to develop unnampered.

### Reply From East

It was thus that even tho-ugh the non-fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement was a tremendous blow for the time being to Germany's unity and to her democratic evolution the reply from the East to the Western Powers' creation of a separate West German State, the emergence of the GDR and its assumption subsequently of full sovereign rights was a turning point in the whole history of Germany and Europe.

For the first time in history German democracy and Socialism had a firm base on German soil from which German reaction whether acting on its own or in alli-

ance with foreign imperia. lists, could never dislodge it. More than ten years have now passed since the two separate German States have been in existence. developing in two opposite directions. All the material and propaganda resources of German as well as other West European and

. .

The very posing of the ques-

### E 🛧 by ZIAUL HAQ

policies have met over GDR all over West Germany as also all these years. For, it is there for everyone to see and even This year I happened to be a novice can tell that during in the GDR on that particu lar day and also in subsequent weeks. Of course, there was not a ripple anywhere in the when it began and by normal GDR. But what is significant standards obtaining in the is the way West Berliners and world it is now firmly estab-lished in the minds and hearts day. If a majority of its popula-Herr Brandt had the satisis the way West Berliners and West Germans treated the

faction of addressing a meet-ing, of course. Herr Ernst Lemmer, the West German Minister for all-German affairs, better known in GDR as Espionage Minister, had issued a public proclamation which also appeared in the official also appeared in the official bulletin of the (Bonn) Federal Government's Press Section on June 15.

### mations carried out have by now taken fairly firm root and. A Damp won the support of the basic masses. The new extension of Squib the cooperative movement in farming that took place in the spring of this year was itself evidence of that and has

Herr Lemmer in this proclamation told West Germans that the fatherland was divi-ded and "freedom" was not ded and "freedom" guaranteed as long as the "iron curtain" was there. He said that doing nothing aga-inst the Ulbricht regime was "an invitation to the Kremlin to spread its might over the whole of Germany". Hence he appealed to the West German population "in our own in-terest and of our own free-German monopolists, was the many. While the West Ger-particularly intensive exploi-tation of labour that had be-come possible for them be-cause of the fact that the they are increasingly prevent. The importance attached to they are increasingly protesting. Government was further re-

velled all the way to Hohen. Meissner, a hill in Hesse-Thuringia on West ermany's

border with East Germany to

a meeting to which "Germany in from all sides" were invited.

He called for "self-determina-

tion" for East Germans "to

tion" for East Germans "to become equal partners in the family of free peoples." Despite all the prepara-tions and the big noise, the day turned out to be a thoroughly damp squib and poor Herr Lemmer subse-grantity complement that it

poor Herr Lemmer subse-quently complained that it was very bad that the only significance the West Ger-man population found in the day was that it did not

have to work. He was angry

that they treated the day like any other Sunday.

Biting comments appeared

in the West German Press

and in the German Press in

Switzerland, The Neue Zuer-

cher Zeitung, for instance,

was a token of solidarity with the oppressed people of the Soviet zone...but

from year to year it becomes more of a farce. The

people of West Germany on this day go out not in

"This commemoration day

Biting

wrote:

Comments

REALITIES

pletely crushed under Hitler and it never fully got back on its feet in West Germany— the Communist Party of Ger-the Communist Party of Gerthe Commun and recognise in them a genuine programme for peace. It can be said today that

the last ten and odd years the GDR has grown much strong-

er and far more stable than

Besides the high level of

economic power and prosper-rity already attained (des-cribed in the earlier article),

the basic economic transfor-

further contributed to the

strengthening of the system.

Moreover, the question of war and peace as it affects the destiny of the German

nation is today a very keenly

Policy Of

Peace

once again a serious mic rival, threatening to

European market and

With a domi-

Continental Powers' colo-

shut out at least Britain from

nant position in the E. E. C.

(European Economic Commu-

ca and the Arab world, over

Latin America and Southeast

many after enjoying a few years of legality was again

years of legality was again banned with all its implica-cations for the entire labour

and progressive movement in West Germany.

of the "economic miracle" and its bloated might was the

high-power propaganda from the West for "unification"

through a UN.-supervised all-

German election where 17 mil.

lion East Germans and 55 mil-

**Base In Meart** 

tic" a

GDR

of GDR

West Germans will de-

Added to the "attractions"

appendages.

the

It can be said today that the GDR Government's peace policy has become a tremendous force not only in strengthening its own base in East Germany but also in gaining it a growing number of sympathisers in West Germany

June 17 This Year

lion West Germans will us-cide by a majority vote which German State to join. How perfectly "democra-A most significant date in Germany today from the West German rulers' point of view is June 17 when seven years ago Western agents had started a provocation in the demotratic sector of Berlin and it was followed by distur-bances which had to be quel-

They further had the bances which had to be quel-unique advantage of having a base of operation right in the heart of GDR in the never since been repeated unique advantage of having a base of operation right in the heart of GDR in the form of West Berlin. No other State as the GDR has had to struggle thus for its stability with an open fron-the deat. Its opposed to anywhere in the GDR. But the West German rulers have made it into an historic operation of the state as the GDR has had to struggle thus for its stability with an open fron-the deat. Its opposed to anywhere in the GDR. But the West German rulers have made it into an historic operation of the state as the GDR has have made it into an historic

tier. Has West Germany with all these advantages been able in all these years to weaken in any way the foundations or the popular support of the GUB2 It is particularly on such days that West Berlin and its Burgomaster Herr Willy Brandt tion is enough to show up the colossal failure that Western and particularly West German

· in the Contraction

### \* SEE PAGE 10 AUGUST 28, 1960

SELL-OUT

A Press despatch from Bonn gives the disconcert-ing news that Sri Manubhai Shah is putting fresh fetters on the young body of our "socialist pattern of society" by handing over the control of the manufac-ture of raw chemicals (intermediate chemicals) from which health-giving drugs, dyes and plastics are made, to four West German firms.

66 HREE of the participatfirms will be given equity shares in the company to be floated in the public sector to the extent of payment due to them for technical assistance and patent rights. This is expected to be about 10.5 milli marks," the despatch says. bout 10.5 million

### Serious Implications

Let us fully understand the serious implications of this sell-out of the national interest of vital importance The free gift of equity shares to the tune of 10.5 million marks (which in all probability is a gross underestimate) ough it may constitute only a minority holding of the share-capital, yet because this young industry of ours will depend on the know-how and goodwill of these big West German monopolies, they will without doubt use their domiwithout doubt use their domi-nant position to make the maximum possible profit and control the whole drug, dye and plastic industries which are based on the raw chemi-cals (intermediate chemicals) which this plant will manufacture.

And inexcusable still, this technical know-how fered to us entirely free of charge as far back as 1955 by the Soviet Union, which even extended an offer to advance a long-term credit to cover the foreign ex-change part of the project on the usual favourable Soviet terms of the repay-ment of the credit in rupees at an interest of 2½ per cent per annum.

The so-called payment for patent rights is just a hand-ful of dust thrown in people's eyes; in this particular in-dustry which is of a long standing, there are no valid patents left; they have all expired. Even, for argument's sake, if there be some patents still in existence, the Soviet Union was going to transfer them to us free of charge, and train our scientists and tech nicians in Soviet plants so that they could take charge of production from the word

### Three Phases

go

The manufacture of drugs, dyes and plastics passes thro-ugh three phases, viz. basic chemicals, intermediate che-micals, and finished drugs, dyes and plastics. The coun-try must produce adequate quantities of basic chemicals, such as sulphuric acid, hydro chloric acid, acetic acid, chlorine, calcium carbide, caustic soda, phenol, aniline, etc. and from these more than a thou-

sand intermediate chemicals must be made. These intermediate chemi-

ATIGHTST 28 1960



medicine has made phenomenal advance and produced a number of medicines which enable us to cure a very large number of infectious diseases and other ailments which used to take a very heavy toll of life, so much so that the use of these drugs death rate in the advanced coun-

rate in the advanced countries, which can afford these drugs, has fallen to about seven per thousand, i.e. half that in India, and the average expectation of life has rise to over 64 years as compared with India's 32 years.

but one of them is that we do not make these drugs in the

dues, and then again a high profit of the local importers. It is estimated that we are spending something like Rs. 30 crores a year on importing these drugs and another mg unese urugs anu another Rs. 30 crores or so are added as the profit of local im-porters before they can get to our people. In some case the matter is still worse. As



Why Migh Prices? There are several reasons for these startling differences

country, except small quanti-ties of penicillin, and still de-pend almost entirely on imports from Western countries where the costs of production are high and the prices are loaded with very high profits. To these high prices must be added the freight and customs

the Prime Minister said some time ago, aureo

cals are derived from various sources: from coal tar or oil refinery by-products, such as benzene, toluene, pyridine; from calcium carbide units. such as guanadine salts, sodi-um cyadine, etc.; from synthetic ammonia plants, such as methanol, farmaldehyde,

as methanol, farmaldehyde, ammonia gas, etc. From these intermediate chemicals, drugs, dyes and plastics are made. There-fore it becomes clear that whoever controls the manu-facture of intermediate chemical sectors. facture of intermediate chemicals controls the prices and production of drugs, dyes aud plastics which are made from these interme-diate chemicals.

Let us illustrate the impliestions of this control by taking the manufacture of drugs in the country as an example. During recent years, scientific

### ana pa A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

is being imported in a semi-finished form at about Rs. 1.2 a gramme and was sold to the people at Rs. ten a gramme in 1956, and now is being sold at about Rs. 13 eramme.

### Beyond The People

These very high prices and the shortage of supplies due to shortage of foreign ex-change, put the essential drugs beyond the reach of our. less well-placed citizens, i.e. most of our people who need most of our people who need them the most. Even in some public hospitals some drugs are provided to patients only if they can afford to pay for them which, of course, is beyond the capacity of most of our people who go to hospi-

as early as 1945 and Govern-ment made attempts to estab-lish a State drug industry to lish a State drug maustry to make India self-sufficient. First, atempts were made to see what sort of assistance India could get from the Western world, particularly the United States, to set up this industry.

this industry. It was found that for this purpose the Government would have to go to private firms which control the whole production in those countries and such assistance was either not forthcoming or on very unfavour-able terms, which would bring the cost of putting up plants, etc., to more than four times the cost that the country would have to incur if they undertook to set up plants themselves with their own know-how and by purchase of equipment seives.

The Government sanctioned the implementation of the two schemes drawn up by Genera Sokhey and Dr. Ganapathi in 1946 and 1948 but for various reasons they were not imple-mented. Thereafter when

of India should put up the following four plants:----

OF DRUG. DYE

AND PLASTIC

INDUSTRIES

A large plant for the (i) (1) production of interme-diate chemicals with a total output of over 33,000 tons of finished intermediate chemicals a year for drugs, dyes, and plastics.

(ii) A chemical and phar-maceutical plant with capacity to produce 4,000 tons per year of synthetic drugs and vitamins.

(iii)An antibiotics plant to make all the known antibiotics in sufficient quantities.

(iv) A plant for glandular products.

### What It Would Have Meant

They also proposed enlargement of the Hindustan Anti-biotics to increase its produc-tion of penicillin and to prepare 85 tons of streptomycin, aureomycin and Vitamins D-2 and B-12.

These plants were design-ed to give India a fully in-tegrated drug industry which would make India which would make india completely independent of foreign countries, including the Soviet Union itself, for its supplies of drugs. The whole project was going to east about Rs, 32 crores and would save India more than Rs. 35 crores a year in fore-ign exchange and make available some of the recent drugs at less than one-tenth of the present price. For this the Soviet Union was agreeable to provide the agreeable to provide the know-how and technical assistance and they assistance and they even offered a long-term credit of 80 million roubles to cover the foreign exchange component of the project. And what is more they would have completed the cons-truction of the integrated plants by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

### Strange Decision

For reasons only known to the Ministry of Industry, this integrated drug project was split up and its Intermediate Chemicals Plants, which is the life-line of the whole drug, dye and plastic indus-tries, was separated and the capacity of the Synthetic Drug Plant was reduced from 4.000 tons to 800 tons a year by removing the manufacture of 32 drugs which are sold in large quantities at high profits

The Ministry has been saying since 1957 that they were about to sign an agreement with some West German firms but this agreement has not yet been signed evidently because these firms have been insisting on their pound of flesh. The agreement has now, according to Press re-ports, been signed on the 17th August on terms most unfavourable to our country.

> \* SEE PAGE 10 PAGE SEVEN

tals. As the late Dr. J. C. Ghosh, the then Health Mem-ber of the Planning Commission, said in his address to the Health Panel in 1956:

"In public hospitals cases

## Scientists

This state of affairs has engaged the attention of some of our leading scientists. During the last war when import of drugs became difficult, the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, under the direction of Gene-ral Sokhey, took up large-scale production of all antitoxins and seratetanus, diptheria, antigas gangerine, dysentry, dysentry started antigas gangerine, dysentry, plague, etc.—and started supplying to Indian hospitals-products as good as any that could be imported, at less than one-fourth of the price of the

Ganapathi, a distinguished organic chemist, produced at the Haffkine Institute sulphathiosole, sulphadiazine, phamerazine, paludrine and chloroquin, on a semi-com-mercial scale in 500 pound quantities, and he showed that these drugs could be made at less than one-tenth of the price at which they being imported.

General Sokhey became Assistant Director-General of the World Health Organisa-tion, he had the Hindustan Antibiotic plant built from his designs with the aid of the World Health Organisation and the UNICEF who contri-buted 1½ million dollars for the project.

Later on, it was found that the necessary know-how and technical assistance could be had from the Soviet Union practically for the asking, and our Government invited the Soviet Government to send their experts to India early in 1955 to survey the drug indus-try of India and make their recommendations. The Soviel experts came to India early 1955 and in May of that year submitted a very comprehensive report in two columes indicating what was being done in India, and why. and what

### Soviet Team's Findings

They found that the pharmaceutical industry in India was mainly occupied with processing of drugs imported mainly from abroad and almost all the essential drugs, the availability of which determines the effectiveness of medical care in the treatment of most serious and common diseases in India, are not being produced in the country mnorted from outside. These facts were brought to The Soviet experts recom-the notice of the Government mended that the Government

At It Agaim

not unknown where poor natients have died for lack of medicines which could have saved their lives".

## Work Of Our

were being imported.

During the same period Dr

NEW AGE



Phani Bora was anxious to his very bones about Assamiya counterpart. They used situation that had developed in his State. Far published fantastic, false and the ugly situation that had developed in his State. Far worse, he said, was this fratricidal strife than all the devastation that the turbulent Brahmaputra had ever wrought. There was sorrew in his eyes and a deep brooding about his very being. Yet as he talked on and came to examples of nobility in the very midst of the madding crowd, calm returned and confidence

Executive Committee from began by stating that odus of Bengalis from the exo Assam had by no means ended. A very large number of themthose who had not been personally affected—were leav-ing their homes in the Assam were leavvalley. The tragic trek away from all that they had called their own conti

The-pull of the land, howerted its force and many who had gone to the refugee camps were anxious to return This was the season of the Au rop and numbers of peasa refugees wanted, rather ached to be back in their fields, to pour their strength into earth and make it yield. had visited some 75 per cent of the camps and found every-where this wistful eagerness.

"But" he said. "the shame of it is that the minimum of it is that the minimum immediate arrangements that were essential had not been undertaken. So how could they return? Naturally the exodus continues."

Asked about the attitude of ni Bora said the Assamiyas, Phani Bora said he would take up this in greater detail later but right now he could say that there had been a could say that there had been of change. In the first week of August itself, it could be noticed that the hesitancy among the villagers and students was gradually giving way to a more positive approach of coming forward for rehabilitation work. and students was This was a very redeeming feature about which all too ming little was known

### Economic Basis Shattered

Government Apart from Government failure to speed forward rehabilitation. there were other is for the increasing out-. The ecol flow from Assam. The economic basis of the life of many of the Bengalis in Assam had nlotely destroyed. For instance, a very large number of the carpenters were refugees from East Pakistan. Everything of theirs had been destroyedinte and their their implements and their homes. How could they go back?

Then there were the large number of Bengali day labour-ers, who used to work for the Assamiyas. Not only had they lost their all but they naturally confidence that they would be safe if they returned or get employment, should their security

guaranteed. More or less similar was the situation of the shopkeepers and petty traders who made up very large proportion of the of the small towns and market areas. They had been a special target of the frenzled looters and destroyers. For them, too, going back was going to be arduous, to say the least

Many of the Bengali middleclass, even when they had not lost their homes or property, had been subjected to such humiliation that they could only away from the horror of it

all. As a result in many areas the entire educational system had come to a sickening halt— there were no teachers T HE member of the Com-munist Party's. Central the entire educational system where the school buildings were as to sow the seeds of fratricidal

down of life as they had Bengal should the riots spread known it were the impelling. there.

intact. The cumulative impact of those all this was that even those personally affected were quit- sident's rule in Assam, as a first

ting now. Fear and the break-

Phani Bora added, with a touch of anger, that these were

not the only reasons for the per-

sistent flight. There were the

rowdy and anti-social elements among the Assamiyas who had had a field day. They were not

in the least anxious that peace

and quiet return. They were

far from wanting that the Ben-galis should be helped to come back. They had no interest in

the language question or even

politics but simply in opportu-

The pity of it was that sec-tions of the PSP, Congress and the Press in Assam were anxi-

ous to keep these rowdies on their side. Their line was that

their side. Their line was that the riots were not bad in them-selves but that the "excesses" were not good. If these "ex-cesses", they preached, had been avoided all would have been well.

This was their dastardly

This was their adstardily attempt to keep up the morale of these anti-social elements in face of the sharp ideolo-gical offensive of the Com-munist Party and a section of Congressmen. This ideological work had ruthlesslu, assailed

work had ruthlessly assailed

those who had besmirched the

fair name of Assam, had call-

ed upon the Assamiyas to re-

deem themselves by going

physical and psychologica conditions for normalcy.

These efforts of the scum of

Assamese society were greatly aided by the usual contempt and

callousness of the bureaucracy. Rather than assuage the feelings

of the Bengalis and do all to

the officials were busy trying to close down the camps and force

the inmates out by stopping their rations. Far from helping

a return to the homeland, such

to rush across to West Bengal,

In keeping up the tension and

attempting to make the wounds

lethal, the Press in West Bengal

with its

actions only forced the refut

making matters far worse.

help these victims of the orgy,

all-out to create the necess

Bureaucracy's

Role

factors. Phani

nities for loot

xaggerated reports. Patently bsurd stories were concocted. For example, the Hindustan rd stories v Standard published the picture of a Marathi couple said to be deranged at seeing their child burnt to death before their eyes.

war in West Bengal itself. In this way they hoped to push through their long proclaimed Bengalis who had not been objective of clamping down Pre-

Battle Against Chauvinists

Has Begun

A special target of the chau-vinist West Bengal Press was the Communist Party. Even

own partymen and the PSP had not been able to accuse

While weak and unable to

stop the riots, the Communist Party in Assam had won the

respect and faith of large number of the people as an unassailable anti-chauvinist

force. This impression of the

people—and hope—the chau-vinist West Bengal Press now sought to efface. The actual.

result was only to further un-

galis in Assam, in whose name

further trouble for

confidence and create

the Ben-

amen and the PSP.

Nehru, while accusing

the Assamiya Commu

step to doing the same in West was that he was not anxious to

his

stop the madness

in Gauhati.

Yet the explanation was sim-

ple enough. He had been attend-ing the meeting of the State Executive Committee of the

Communist Party in the early

days of July at Gauhati. The Party was naturally anxious to prevent trouble there at all costs,

since its repercussions would be

terrible Phani Bora personally

spent the days and nights lite-rally wearing himself out to prevent serious incidents in the

city. Those were the worst days

Thanks to this strong leader-

Shameless

### Slander

Phani Bora was himself per-sonally attacked by these vicious journalists. While in Assam the hauvinists called him a dalal of the Bengalis and shamelessly pointed to his having married a Bengali as a proof of their sla der, the reactionary sections of the West Bengal Press tried to the West Bengal Press and make a big mystery of the fact that he had not been present in Normann (from where he had Nowgong (from where he had been elected) when the riots broke out there. The insuation

nular initiative was destroyed popular initiative was destroyed by the police firing in the stu-dents' hostels.

Seeing that the situation was deteriorating and worried by the inability of the officials to control it, the Communist Party decided to send Phani Bora to Shillong to contact the Chief and Home Ministers and get them to move quickly. It was there on July 5 that the Minister informed him that Nowgong was in turmoil. Despite the breakdown of communication, he somehow managed to reach the place and found that the situation had gone completely out of hand

Without bothering to find out these facts, which were easily verifiable, the West Bengal hatemongers had tried to make out that the leader of the Communists in Assam had kept away from the trouble spots. This typical of a huge number of of false stories.

### Naim Problem

Turning from this sordid usiness, Phani Bora forthrightly stated the main problem was to get the work of rehabilitation going—quickly and smoothly. But, he added this was not a financial problem alone. It was very much a political question. He referred, in this connection,

to the resolution of the Central Executive Committee (published in last week's New Age). It was necessary that a big poli-tical campaign be initiated in Assam around the main slogans of this resolution so that the chauvinist elements in the State would be put on the defensive then isolated and finally routed

the Press campaign was were drawn in and peace squads present State of Assam. At the sought to be whipped up. organised. Unfortunately this same time they stood for the same time they stood for the languages of the Bengali-speak-ing peoples and the Hills people being given their rightful place and adequately safeguarded, so that the minorities are fully assured of their due opportunities and rights in cultural, administrative an public life. and other spheres of

essential to bring about the broadest possible unity of the democratic forces in Assam. He emphasised that while these forces had not been sufficiently d so as t vigilant and organis prevent the riots, it would be a grave mistake to underestimate their capacity once unity in action was forged. It was this democratic unity that would be the main force for re-establishing peace and amity in Assam.

He was very anxious that all steps should be taken by the Central and State Governments to restore confidence and all necessary aid provided for speedy rehabilitation. He made it absolutely clear that opposition to President's rule did not at all mean that the Communists in Assam were opposed to the Central Gov-ernment using its ample powers under the Constitution to direct the State Governnent to take all measures to bring a sense of security among the minorities, speedily rehabilitate all those who had been uprooted and guarantee full protection to the mino-

## Change For

eiderable emotion he pointed out that the Communist Party and the democratic forces in Assam had a vital, indeed, a ship, mobilisation of the healthy elements in all parties became possible. A joint Congress-Com-imunist-PSP statement calling for sanity and maintenance of peace was issued. The students

heln On this basis, he stated, it was chauvinism and will win."

for restoring security alike, and rebuilding amity. To give a few of many examples of returning sanity-and the elling forth of brotherhood

again—

Phani Bora had gone to Satgaon village in Nowgong District. It had been completely burnt down by marauding gang who had come from outside. H who had come from outside. He called upon the local people to do their duty by rebuilding the houses and getting the Bengalis back. By August 5, any num-ber of bamboos had been do-nated and shelters built. The Assamiyas had themselves gone to the local authorities to de-mand seeds for their Bengali co-

**REHABILITATION: ASSAM COMMUNISTS' DEMANDS** need to be mobilised for this great task. The utter-ances of the Government abilized

HE following memoran-dum was submitted by the State Executive Com mittee of the Communist Party to the Assam Gov-ernment on the subject of ernment on the subject of rehabilitation of refugee victims of the recent diq-turbances: The problem of rehabili-

tation of the victims of the recent disturbances has become, for the time be-ing, the main task before this State. Though no actnal census has been possible but approximately, over half-a-lakh people have been affected needing re-habilitation in their homes, as well as in the trade.

At least 10,000 houses have been destroyed, a number of flourishing market centres have been gut-ted and looted or otherwise destroyed, causing loss property worth crores rupees. A number of schools have been destroy-ed and education of a very large number of students has been disturbed. These A number of houses and markets need rebuilding, schools need

nstruction or renair and students require spe-cial aid and attention is they are to resume their

Apart from the very difficult problem of creating a proper psychological background and removal of the panic, distrust, fear and hatred, the material side of the rehabilitation itself is indeed formidable. So far the Government Sheets for reconstruction of house s. It is stated authoritatively that about 20,000 evacuees have already re-turned to their "homes" on the basis of the above scheme of rehabilitation. While the scheme itself is very defective, its method has of implementation

has greatly nullified its partial usefulness, as the circumstances show. There are cases where evacuces

have been sent to their old "homes" which did not exist, with Rs. 50 in their pockets after stopping their ration, etc., without any thought of the real pro-

ma awaiting them. As a result, a number of evacuees came back, being unable to solve such problems as obtaining accom-modation, food for the pe-riod till harvest is brought in or suitable trade an work are resumed, etc., which heightened the feeling of insecurity. The con-duct of the officials in many cases has been reported to be revolting and reception of the evacuees by the people around was cold and, therefore, dis-

couraging in places. In one place 45 families were taken back to their burnt out homes and were given only three tarpaulins in this weather. There are large number of cases where even the most in-adequate cash aid of Rs. 50 was not paid, evacuees re-ceiving only a fraction

CI Sheets even when are available are allotted three to four sheets per family which is not sufficient even spokesmen, regarding pro-gress of rehabilitation, so for building a small shed for the family.... The human side of this far have not corresponded with facts. This is another

problem is also not less formidable. The feeling of insecurity has gone deep due to various reasons..... In such a situation, the

problem of proper approa-ch is of decisive import-ance. Unfortunately, the Government so far, has failed to find a proper approach. Only the Congress organisation and the Pan-chayats have been asked to help in rehabilitation. to nerp in rehabilitation. There is no proof that all elements in these organisa-tions carry full confidence of the victime of the of the victims at this par ticular hour. No other political party has been ap-proached for this purpose. proac other Then there are other popular forces, who, even in the worst days of disturbance, won the con-fidence of the minorities by their action and greatn heart. All these people

verse flow of evacuees leav-ing their homes now, is constantly growing in vol-ume. Every train reaching Silchar or Alipur Duar from Assam Valley are run. ning packed with refugees. The State Committe therefore, places before the Government the following suggestions of a proper solution of the problem: should be (a) Evacuees

factor, which weakens the creation of proper atmos-

Due to all these factors,

while some evacuees are

being resettled and others

have gone back to their homes and business—a re-

phere.

home

taken to their homes only after their houses have been ready or some other nmodation suitable acco has been provided. (b) Cash grant of Rs. 50

should be inper family

ζ......

has announced a gratui-tous grant of Rs. 50 per family, as soon as one leaves the camp, a loan against personal security (and other security if loan is above Rs. 1,000) and C. I.

### INTERVIEW WITH STATE COMMUNIST LEADER PHANI BOBA BY MOHIT SEN

and economic questions. The present tragic events had dealt a heavy blow to the growing democratic movement, which had gathered quite a bit of mowhich mentum over the recent years. "Democracy and chauvinism cannot coexist." he expressively stated. "The forces of demo-cracy in Assam, with brotherly from outside, will fight

Nor was this just an empty declaration of faith. He said that there had been a distinct change for the better in the recent weeks. All the indica-tions pointed to the full possibilities of mobilising the peo-ple, Assamiyas and Bengalis

culating villagers. Fearing trou-ble he went up to them but to his joy he found that the villa-gers had come all the way to the town to bring the refuge s back and were persuading them now to return. The refugees were still nervous but stated that they would return if proper arrangements were made.

Bebezia is a village situated some five miles from Now-gong town. Here Phani Bora found that the villagers had themselves repaired some of the damaged houses. And two villagers, obviously poverty-stricken, as if the people had been stun-had come to the refugee camp ned and caught unawares by with rice and vegetables, which the holocaust that had swept

the people to s and noble deds. to similar simple

On July 26, he had visited the village of Nelli in Nowgong District. It had been burnt lown and not a person was to be seen. But by August 9, stu-dents from the college in Nelli town had come forward in a collective way and built shelters nd most of the male Bengalis had returned.

This awakening of the Assamiyas to the horror of what had 
In Hojai of the same district been done in their name was not lives a brother of Phani just a bolt from the blue. It was Bora. He recounted how the



they then selves could scarcely afford. Their plea was that the local people had not done the Bengalis any harm and so their humble gift and invitation to return should not be spurned.

### Trme Assamiyas

Phani<sup>®</sup> Bora said, "Every-where I go I tell the Assamiyas this story. I tell them that these two weather-beaten and poverty-ravaged peasants are the real represente soil and not those who kill and burn in the name of the Assamese language everywhere this story moves

Assamiya culture. It is they who are the true sons of the



creased and money should e paid fully, along with ae promised loans; be para ... the promi-

(c) Public cooperation and cooperation of local people in each case to be mobilised with the help of all parties and other soci forces irrespective of par and politics:

(d) Proper security arrangement should be made;

(e) Lands, where dispos-sessed, should be restored, and arrangement for finding the draught animals seeds and implements should be made with the help of the local people;

(f) Full compensation should be paid without unnecessary bureaucratic de-lays and strictly combating both over and under-estimation of loss:

(g) Schools are to be opened, in the prevailing medium quickly and where medium is changed during or after the disturbance it should be brought back to the old medium of instruction.

down on them. The vast majority of them were genuinely re-pentant that they had not done enough to stop the marauders. It was a peculiar feature, Phani Bora said that the whole of Assam did not just go up in flames on the same day. On the contrary, the riots took

place in one district for a few days, then moved on to the next trict and ravaged it for so days and then raced on to the next district.

Thus, there was more than ample reason to believe that this was a well-laid and orga-nised conspiracy of mobile groups which went from dist-rict to district and perpetrated the same pattern of horror-burning and looting and kill-ing when obstructed.

### **Basis** For Fature Action

Where the people were organised and had some forewarning the rioters could not do much mischief.

In Beltalla, two miles from Gauhati, the Communist Party has a strong kisan base. There the Communists took out a peace procession, chased away the miscreants who tried to disrupt it and protected the Phata-shil area inhabited by Bengali refuge

Nalbati in Kamrup District has a big Bengali' colony. There again, as soon as trouble was scented the Communists organised a volunteer corps and did not allow a single Bengali to he touched.

In Barua Bamungaon of Golaghat District the body 🙆 In Barua of volunteers, under Commu-nist leadership, defended the village, refused entry to the gangs and mai rowdy They were dubbed then s traitors to Assam but now all hail them as the true patriots. The same is the story of the 200 tired but proud volunteers who guarded Kurabahi, also in Golaghat.

The Communists of Ranga- of a resurgent and democratic pura in Tezpur District mo- Assam, the home of all who live bilised the local Assamiyas, and labour on its lush hands." fought a pitched battle with the August 22.

goonda gangs and finally drove

G From Nowgong District heartening stories of cou-rage and unity come from Jalu-guti, where the local Communists and Congress en came forward to protect the Bengalis at the very moment of fi they provided shelter, brou moment of fury, out their guns and protected all whom they could.

local Communists and Congress-men had taken the initiative to form united peace Committees of both Bengalis and Assamitas. They had organised a powerful volunteer corps and drawn up volunteer corps and drawn a code of discipline.

### Democracy Will **Bise** Again

Under it nobody was allowed either to enter or leave the village.This had become necessary because of the foul rumours that would immediately be spread if anybody left the village-that he had been tortured. had somehow managed to escape and so on. As for outsiders, they were the real menace and one of the first forms of attack was individual infiltration. Thus did Hojai preserve its unity and its peace.

It is on this basis that future action could proceed to bring back to Assam its health. It was by relying on these forces that rehabilitation could really be ensured. All Government help, Phani Bora said, would be sought and must be provided. But reliance on the bureaucracy would be just fatal - there would be any number of delays and even discrimination, leading to further flare-ups. Some form of united popular organisation would have to be devised which would make rehabilitation sure and speedy

Before he ended his interview, the Secretary of the Assam State Council of the Communist Party uttered a warning. He said that some amount of calm had returned to his State but there were many dangers ahead. Passions had abated somewhat but they could still be whipped up. In this connection he was more than a bit anxious about the stray stabbing incidents which were being reported. Such in-cidents, combined with the continuing vicious m commung vicious propoganda of sections of the Assamiya and Bengali Press, could lead to still more ugly and fearful flare-ups.

It would be quite wrong, Phani Bora concluded, to imagine that democracy had died in Assam. After all the riots in 1946 in West Bengal had not Assam, After prevented the spectacular growth of democracy there quite soon afterwards. There was no reason to doubt that the same proud story would be repeated in Assam.

"We need," he said "all our vigilance and all help from everywhere in India to prevent fresh trouble and restore harmony. In that very effort we shall lay the strong

FROM PAGE 6

## Germany Can Rise To Full Stature Only In Peace

the streets to demonstrate against suppression but surrender to the temptation of going out to rest in country houses. Some circles suggest that it should made a working day but the trade unions stand up as one man to defend the right rest on this 'free day'

The paper revealed that this year June 17 in West Germany was an occasion for something like a mass exodus to the countryside.

"The slogan Unity in Freedom" (Einheit in Fre-heit) had been turned into 'Unity in Free Time' (Ein-heit in Freizeit)" it added sarcastically. sarcastically. The Basler Zeitung said that DRUG INDUSTRY FROM PAGE 7

the impression left by the celebration this year was that it was impossible for West German authorities to reinstate the conception of the Fatherland!

atnerland! Immediately following upon his self-acknowledged "far-e" for which no enthusiant this self-acknowledged ce" for which no enthusiasm could be roused even in West Germany came the Press Festival celebrated on June 18 and 19 in th democratic sec-tor of Berlin. On both the days tens of thousands of peodays tens of thousands of peo-ple crowded in the Stalinallee evening to witness a whole range of programmes

Perhaps the most popular item was the performance of "Three Monkeys", sitting on poles high up in the air. From time to time lights would be switched on them and they would crack such jokes about West Berlin's Burgomaster and West Germany's rulers that the whole street packed with people would be roaring with laughter.

### May Day Demonstration

The May Day demonstration in Berlin's democratic sector had been another occasion when anyone willing to see could find ample indications of the reality. For five hours from nine in the morning -from nine in the morning to two in the afternoon-a human river kept flowing past the gigantic Marx-Engels Square. It was estimated that half-a-million people must have participated in that de-monstration. Besides workers' contingents including some even from West Berlin, all sections of the population, among them the top-most intellectuals and artistes like Elena Weigel (Brecht's widow) were proudly marchsome fifty trade union dele-gations from foreign coun-tries, with the delegates from This is not an odd Africa occupying the pride of ing in the ranks. There were Africa occupying the pride of ing. It is part of a well tho-ught out and long pursued

Another celebration to which I was witness and which was significant in many ways was that of the 250th ways was that of the 250th anniversary of the Meissen Porcelain Manufacture. This is a celebrated centre of this highly artistic handicraft of which the entire German nation is immensely proud. The celebrations held at the

PAGE TEN

beginning of June attracted large number of people not only from West Germany but from many countries abroad. The Prime Minister, Otto Grotewohl, was there and the celebration became one of the whole national artistic tradi-

POLICIES

Besides giving control in the

shape of equity shares to these West German firms, the cost of the plant is going to be, as

far as we can ascertain, Rs

possible price. Worse still, to damage the

State Antibiotic Plant to be built with Soviet assistance, the Ministry has given licen-ces to two American firms to

build two antibiotic plants as

private enterprise. These plants, without doubt, would import semi-finished products

from America to under-sell the products of the Soviet aided State plant.

This is not an odd happen-

conspiracy of private enter-prise, against the national interests to the grave dis-advantage of our long suffer-

chemicals.

BETRAYAL OF

Cyrus Eaton, speaking at a Press Conference in Leipzig about the same time said, it is through the emergence of the GDR that the fact is being increasingly revealed that the German nation can rise to Lion of the German people. It was significant in that it highlighted the fact that is not merely one that has brought them social justice brought them social justice holding the best of Ger-many's national cultural traditions.

As an eminent American.

of Mercks. It is a must drug

for the treatment of tuber-culosis of which about ten

million people suffer from the disease and about one million people die of it every year in

our country. Sri Manubhai Shah went out of his way to

the country all the profits they make in the form of

Evidently there is no one to guestion Sri Manubhai Shah when it comes to the case of drugs, because the Health Ministry seems to be uncon-cerned. But when Sri Manubhai Shah tried to interfere bhai Shah tried to interfere with the manufacture of trucks for the army in the public sector, the Defence Minister, Sri Krishna Menon, immediately frustrated his anti-national efforts.

Our Government's clearly defined policy is to build up a Socialist pattern of society and the people look forward, to its implementation and not sabotage as in this very im-portant case. This demands. portant case. This demands that any member of Government who does not subscribe to this policy should leave the Government, or if he has not Government, or if he has hot the decency to do so, his col-leagues and the people should see to it that he pays the price for betraying declared national policies.

## VIETNAM'S ACHIEVEMENTS

### \* FROM PACING PAGE

land was idle, a great number of cities were demolished, communication lines destroyed, transport paralysed In-dustrial and commercial acti-vities were at a standstill, rendering a large number of

workers and employees unemployed. Moreover, during their with-drawal to the South of the Seventeenth Parallel, the French forced tens of thousands of people to evacuate, taking away with them ma-chines and material of con-

siderable value. The urgent task of the Democratic Republic was to heal the war wounds, res-tore the war-damaged cootry and commerce in the newly liberated areas from serving the war of aggres-sion to serving the people. This task was successfully

### Keonomic Growyth

of

In the five years since 1955, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has gone through a three-year period of economic restoration (1955-57) and since 1958 has begun to develop her economy. From 1955 to 1959, agricul-

From 1955 to 1959, agricultural production has increased by 52.7 per cent. In industry, in late 1959, there were 147 State-run en-terprises and 500 bases of local industry against only 17 enterprises at the end of 1955. Value of industrial and han dicraft has during the past five years increased 4.2 times (fourfold increase for means of production, 2.8 times for consumer goods, 3.4 times for mer goods, 3.4 times for

handicraft, seventeenfold for State-run enterprises). The number of workers and employees in State-run enter-prises has increased from 25,000 to roughly 100,000 and labour productivity 3.8 times. Industry has also started

to undergo radical changes. From a mainly extractive industry it now embraces essential branches turning out an important part of the means of production

and consumer go On the basis of this increas-

raised.

formation, of building Socialist relations of production and of establishing material foundations for Socialism.

In late 1958, only five per cent of all the peasant house-holds were in agricultural cooperatives: now they number 54 per cent; handicraft coopeexpanded ratives have also radically.

### Socialist Transformation

Along with this the State economic sector has also ex-panded: in 1959, the State industry, joint-private State. enterprises already account of for 80 per cent of total value of industrial and handicraft output while 71 per cent of the total freight was carried by State transport services.

Simultaneously with the building of Socialist relations of production, the material basis for Socialism was fur-ther strengthened. Funds in-vested in 1959 for capital construction were three-and-astruction were three-and-a-half times as big as in 1955 and double those of 1957. For industry alone, the 1959 in-vestment was larger than the funds earmarked for the same purpose in the whole threeyear economic restoration period.

In short, during the past five years, North Vietnam's ingtional economy has been restored and developed on sound basis along Socialist lines



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### AUGUST 28, 1960

### GREETINGS TO THE DEMOCRATIC

## FIFTEEN YEARS **OF PROGRESS**

A BACKWARD agricul-A tural economy and an insignificant industry—this is what the people of Viet-nam inherited fifteen years ago when they liberated their country and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on September 2, 1945

Two million people had just died from hunger, the plan-tations had been wrecked and crops destroyed, a number of the very few factories that had existed were dismantled, the rest were running short of raw materials, in the trea-Sury there was only a little more than a million Indo-Chinese plastres left.

The Vietnamese people were not allowed to reconstruct, their ravaged country in peace. The French began their war of aggression and the Vietnamese people were engaged in their nationwide war of resistance from December 19 1946

Even under the French blockade, the Government of the Democratic Republic nt all-out to improve to whatever extent possible the living conditions of the people.

confiscation of land The owned by traitors and the temporary distribution of the land of the colonialists and the colonialists and To meet the needs of na-e landlords to the pea- tional defence. State indus-

N contrast to the rapid advance of the Democratic Republic in the North, is the situation in South Vietnam.

U. S. COLONY: During visit to Washington. his visit to Washington, South Vietnam's President. Ngo Dinh Diem stated on May 13, 1957, "The frontier of the U. S. extends up to the 17th Parallel in Viet-nam."

French newspaper Ex. press wrote on December 19, 1959, "Under Ngo Dinh Diem's dictatorial regime, one has the impression that South Vietnam is the 49th State of the U. S."

WORSENING ECONOMY: Foreign Commerce Weekly of the U.S. Department of Commerce reported on Fe-bruary 29, 1960: "... the country (South Vietnam) country (South Vietnam) remained heavily depen-dent on U. S. aid to right the imbalance (in trade). Concrete accomplishments in the industrial area were

Information Economique.

AUGUST 28, 1960

Howard University wrote in the Pacific Affairs (Sep-tember 1959): One other defect which must be reme-

ment."

18 crores, when the Soviet estimate was only Rs. 11 cro-res for making exactly the same amount of intermediate hand over the production de-velopment of this drug to this American firm and agreed to chemicals. However, at long last in June 1959, the Government of India entered into an agree-ment with the Soviet Gov-ernment to put up four plants to make all the antibiotics, 20 synthetic drugs out of the total of 52 drugs suggested by them, drugs from vegetables, and surgical instruments. The Synthetic Drug Plant American firm and agreed to pay anything from Rs. one-and-a-half crores to Rs. three crores, or even more to this firm in dollars, income-tax free, for patents which had either already expired or would expire before the plant could be built. And this in spite of the fact that the So-riet Union had offered to give and surgical instruments. The Synthetic Drug Plant will in the first place make only 20 drugs and for them too it will have to pay high prices for the intermediate chemicals, thereby defeating the very purpose for which this project was undertaken— to note drug available to our viet Union had offered to give all the know-how free o charge and train all our peo ple to make this drug them-selves at the Hindustan Antibiotics **Our** Scientists to make drugs available to our suffering people at the lowest

### Ignored

And even if the Govern-ment did not want to go to the Soviet Union for assistance to put up this plant, ance to put up this plant, some of our own scientists could help the Hindustan Antibiotics to make this drug as they had helped some other countries to some other countries to make it, and whose services were always available to our Government. It is a strange irony of fate that our scientists are in a position to help other countries, but they are prevented from being helpful to their own

Similarly the Soviets had offered to enable the Hin-dustan Antibiotics to make the highly needed Vitamin the highly needed Vitamin ed production, people's living B-12 which was selling at standards have been visibly omething like Rs. 750 a gram.







temporary basis and during the land reform (completed in 1957) 818,000 hectares of land were distributed to 2,104,138 households of tillers compris-

ing of 8,326,380 persons.

sants created new production trial enterprises were expan-enthusiasm. By December ded Besides State-run enter-1953, 517,165 hectares of land prises, various branches of had been distributed on a private handleraft production were given ass

> State trade began to ex-State trade began to ex-pand its activities from 1951. Foodstuffs and the main industrial goods were all supplied by State trade services and in ever bigger quantity. Rice sales increa.

Reunification **P** REMIER Pham Van Geneva Agreements, hopes Dong of the Democra-tic Republic of Vietnam ment of your country will,

Appeal For

has called on the Governments of 21 Asian and Afriments of 21 Asian and Afri-can countries to support the Vietnamese people's struggle to reunify their country, which still re-mains partitioned as a re-sult of U. S. imperialist in-terformer terference.

The countries concerned are: the Kingdom of Ar-ghanistan, the Republic of Algeria, the Union of Burma, the Republic of Congo, the Republic of Ceylon, the Republic of Ghana, the Republic of Guinea, the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Iraq, the Korean Democratic People's . Republic, the Federation of Republic, the Federation of Malaya, the Mall Federa-tion, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Kingdom of Nepal, Singapore, the Somali Republic, the Re-public of Togo, the Repub-lic of Tunisa, the United Arab Republic and the Arab Republic and the Kingdom of Yemen.

Pham Van Dong's letter says: "The Government of the Democratic Republic rectiv

In brief, during the years of the war of resistance, despite the extremely difficult conditions, supply of food and clothing and other essentials for the army and the people of food and was ensured, prices of essen-

in keeping with the spirit of Asian-African Solidarity of the Bandung, Cairo, Accra and Conakry Conferences, and in the inter-est of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and, the world, show concern for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements in Vietneva Agreements in Viet-nam, and support the Viet-namese people's struggle for the peaceful reunifica-tion of Vietnam on the basis of the Geneva Agree-ment."

The letter, dated July 16; was enclosed with copies of his note sent on the same. day to the two co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China requesting them to "review the implementation of the Geneva Agreements order to take appropriate measures to prevent and stop\_U.S. interference in South Vietnam".

Copies of this note have also been sent to the coun-tries which took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, and the countries which are members of of Vietnam which has con- the International Commis-stantly respected and cor- sion (India, Poland and rectly implemented the Canada).

sed thirty-fold in a year tial goods stabilised and peo-from 1951 to 1952 and had ple's living conditions im-increased 65-fold by 1959. proved—all contributing to ple's living conditions im-proved—all contributing to the final victory in the war of resistance.

> When peace returned in July 1954, in North Vietnam, roughly 140,000 hectares of

> > \* SEE FACING PAGE



Switzerland, reported on May 27, 1959: "The market overflows with consumers goods, buyers are rare. Saigon docks and store ses are filled with uncleared merchandises. "Unemployment is wide-

spread, but no new factory was built, no industrialisa tion plan drawn up. Pers-pectives are not in the least encouraging. Many textile factories and handlooms were closed down, timber and leather industries and rice mills reduced their activities to a quarter."

DIEM'S DICTATORSHIP: French newspaper Figaro wrote on June 5, 1959: "Diem's regime can be safely dubbed a personal

and nepotic dictatorship. It is true that the (Nation-al) Assembly has no real power over the Govern-

Prof. Bernard Fall of

died soon is the obvious powerlessness of the Na-tional Assembly.... The most important issues of Government husiness are imply never submitted to it for discussion but-like the land reform, for example—simply promulgat-ed by Presidential decree."

The New York World Telegram and Sun had a report on July 25, 1959, which said, among other things: "What you are also unaware of, in a quick visit to Saigon, are the count-less laws patterned after police State practices

"Then there's the big, new law which has Saigon's vigorously anti-Communist liberals more worried than any other recent development

"This one sets up three military courts in three Vietnam cities to deal with 'anti-Government' actions. What is an anti-Government action? Reading the law you find it could amo-unt to something deadly

NEW AGE

serious, such as sabotaging a reservior—or it could amount to something relatively trivial, such as shak ing a fist in the general direction of the Presidential palace.

"The courts have absolute power to seize and try suspects, hand down a verdici and carry out the sentence in three days. Only three verdicts are provided: not guilty, life imprisonment or death.

"Only one man can overrule the court—President Diem."

INCREASING OPPOSI-TION: Combat, French newspaper reported on June 17, 1960: "A real state of war reigns in the whole of South Vietnam and the present situation there re-minds one of the situation existing on the eve of the Geneva armistice."

A South Vietnamese army officer gave his impressions in the South Vietnam review Polytech-nique (January 15; 1960). He wrote: "With the existing suspicions in the peo-ple's mind, with categoric military orders 'shoot and kill', even the best opera-tional skill coupled with a huge number of troops.... cannot succeed in pacifying our territory...

"Even if we succeed in shooting dead hundreds of thousands of hostile elethousands of hostile ele-ments, still that is useless and it is impossible to crush the will of the enemy now hiding among the peo-ple."

The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, reported on May 3, 1960: "The first signs of organised opposition against the one-man rule of President Diem The of President Diem have appeared by the for-mation of a group calling itself "the Committee for Progress and Liberty." "Anginfluential body of elder statesmen, including ten former Cabinet Minis-ter grage members of the

ters, are members of the group which insists upon the right to form an opposition party.'

# KERRALA STRUGGLE viding for exemptions, the modification proposed is to modification, proposed is to modification, provide that plantations, lands held by any university established by law, or by any other educational institution or by any trust for a public purpose of the destruction of t

in the planted area" and the plantation owners of such lands can resume them "if the land is required for the purposes of the plantation" or if the tenant "wilfully commits any act of "wate in the plantation" "wilfully commits any act of waste in the plantation."

ess of this re-The serious commended modification can commended modulation can be gauged from just one fact: the Kanan Devan Company owns 137,000 acres of land of, which only 37,000 acres are planted. The remaining one lakh acres The remaining one lakin actes are mostly agricultural land in n of tenants and the pos homesteads occupied by kudikidapmikars. It is the same with other plantations, too, and the non-planted area in every case is more than the planted area.

Under the original provis of the Bill, the non-planted areas would not have come under plantations and the tenants here would have got security of tenure. By modify-ing the definition of plantations, the plantation-owners are now given the right to evict tenants nd kudiki ukars from these and kudikuappusses agricultural lands. When the Communist-led

Government had promulgated the Ordinance banning evictions, the United Planters' Association of South India had raised the cry of insecurity. Now with the freedom of viction granted to them, they are being given security and the insecurity is being trans-

ferred to the tenants. The Bill by its Clause 7 had provided for the restoration of certain tenants—those who were entitled to fixity of tenure but who had been evicted in execution of a decree on or after November 1, 1956 — the day Kerala State was born. The Planning Commission and the Central Government have themtransfers, evictions, etc., have to be re-examined.

Still the modification proposed to the clause which pro-vided for restoration of a certain category of evicted tenants is the deletion of the nhole ole clause. In this one odification the Congress rulers have shown their utter dishonesty of talking against evictions but in practice lega-

### **Smallholders** Let Down

Clause 18 of the Bill had defined as smallholders those who either as landowners or inter-mediaries had an extent of land allholders those who not exceeding - five acres of double-crop land or its equiva-

The modification proposed is raise this limit to ten acres that all those who own land so that all those who own land not exceeding ten acres will become smallholders.

Of the landholders in Kerala State, 95 per cent own less than total of nearly a total of nearly December, 1957 (other than If those who own and ten acres also lholders, the land for the purpose of calculating smallholders will the extent of land in excess of the ceiling area with a trans-acres—that is 60 ferer, the transferee in the case five acres—a total of nearly 260,000 acres. If those who own between five and ten acres also become smallholders, the land area held by smallholders will go up from this 260,000 acres to about 490,000 acres—that is 60 per cent of all land in Kerala

valuable consideration on or be-fore the date of this message be entitled to retain such lands subject to the limit of the cellwill become smallholders' land. The Bill had some special pro-visions regarding smallholders -that by agreement with the tenant, they can resume half the land, that if the tenant It is slightly confusing-this the land, that if the tenant if it's signify containing that elected to continue on the land, proposal that for purposes of he will pay a higher rent or if calculating ceiling area, the the tenant elected to buy the land covered by all voluntary whole land he would have to transfers will be taken into e on the land,

PAGE TWELVE

sions are to be extended to also those who own between five and ten acres. The result will be that on 60 per cent suit will be that on ou per cent of the State's land, the tenants stand to lose half their land because smallholders can re-sume that much of land, or they will have to pay more rent or more compensation in a lump sum.

a lump sum. a sump sum. The present ruling parties had been tom-tomming that when they amended the Agrarian Relations Bill, they would give more relief to those who owned below five acres, the small-holders in the Bill. Their votes were mobilised on that basis in the mid-term electi

### Transfers Legalised

cent.

But as the modification stands, these smallholders do not get an iota more of relief; all the iota more of relief; all the benefits go to those who own between five and ten acres and that, too, at the expense of the tenants on these lands. Ninetyfive per cent of the landholders nised added benefits: were promised added benefits; they do not get any. All the

the Bill and should be invalid.

Disappears

The modification recommend-

ed is: "Clause 60 may be suit-ably modified so that, while the provision that the extent of the land covered by all voluntary

transfers effected after 18th December, 1957 (other than

of such transfer made

ing area."

Surplus

Supposing a person owning a hundred acres of land has transferred to nine persons ten acres each and himself has only ten acres, for purposes of calculating the ceiling area his land will be calculated as 100 acres and so there should be a surplus of 85 acres over a 15-acre ceiling. But since all the nine others who have got ten acres each transferred to them are entitled to keep their land, the actual surplus that will be available for distribution will be ten acres which has been retained by the landlord himself. Thus only ten acres are available for distribution though the surplus should really have all the nine others who have surplus should really have been 85 acres. That is how the celling provision itself will be defeated by this modi-

Part Of Indian

Peasants' Fight

ing.'

### Invitation To Evasion

Apart from the fact that we Apart from the fact that we will see a mushrooming of new public trusts, etc., in Kerala in the coming few months we have also to note who actually owns the land in the name of educational institutions. They are again the communal, re-ligious and feudal vested inter-ests who have been running education as a business for profit. Recently, one of these

acquired land such institution s will be set such institutions will be set up and more landlords will be happy to part with their land in favour of these institutions and all that land will then be exempt from the celling provision. Again, a modification which defeats

Compensation Clause 52 of the Bill laid down the provision for compen-sation to landlords. Again, a modification which defeats the very aim of ceiling. Then comes the machinery for the implementation of the Act. Clause 15 of the Bill had provided that of the three

element in the machinery to

of an educational nature ..... a public religious or charitable (etc.) are also exempted from institution at the time the Bill the provisions relating to ceil- becomes law, such institution becomes law, such institution is assured of an annuity in per-petuity equal to its present Jenmikaram minus collection char-

ges." Here again the modification serves only to increase the com-pensation—from 81/3 times of the present jenmikaram to 25

rofit. Recently, one of these owner, the urban bourgeoisie communal organisations set and the religious and com-up an engineering college and munal organisations, to enable acquired land for it. More them to include in evictions the ceiling freely, to escape the ceiling provision and to get more com-pensation. Where is all the tall talk of the Congress and PSP

### Call For Protest

The Congress Governments in all States have made land reforms a farce. In the one State where a Communist-State where a Communities led Government was able to frame the Land Reforms Bill and where it made genuine efforts to garner surplus land for distribution, the Congress for distribution, the congress rulers have now stepped in to amend it in a reverse direc-tion in favour of the land-lords and the vested interests

tords and the vested interests as in the case of the Con-gress Acts. The modifications recom-mended to the Kerala Land Bill have shown in its true colours the land policy of the Congress rulers, the gap between their words and deeds.

words and deeds. The movement of the Kerala peasantry against the propos-ed modifications is gathering momentum—at the district level and at the State level. The peasants are breaking all the political, religious and com-munal barriers to join this

This united movement in Kerala is a part of the Indian peasantry's struggle for real land reforms. That is why today it is the urgent task Indian peasant movem support the Kerala kisans' struggle to get the Agrarian Relations Bill implemented without any of the pro-vested interests modification suggested in the Rashtrapati's message. The peasantry in all the States will help itself through such a all the State movement, for, it is a vital part of their own struggle for the land reforms which they have been fighting for decades.

The organised kisan move-ment, without any political prejudices and barriers, have to bring pressure on the leaders of the Central and Kerala Governments. Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill Days should be organised in every part of the y, and resolutions and ams sent to the Central country, and rea telegra and Kerala Governments to press the one demand: The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill is the only legislation in the country which aims at real and effective land reforms. It must not be changed!

### (August 22) AUGUST 28, 1960

Price Control : Let Govt. INSIDE OUR NEWS & Start With Cloth

to give:

Mill

Coarse 1. Elphinstone

Medium Lower 1. Bombay Dyeing

4. Raja Bahadur

2. Bombay Dyeing

The abnormal increase in cotton cloth prices over the last twelve months,

the hardships it has ed to the consumers, have and caused to the consumers, have led to the Government hur-ling a few threats at the millling a few threats at the mill-owner and the trader. In the absence of any action to back these threats, however, all that the millowners have done is to announce a token cut of ten per cent in certain varieties without agreeing to cut of ten per cent in certain varieties without agreeing to stamping the new prices on the cloth. For the rest, they have contented themselves with blaming the middlemen for pushing the prices up-wards, while the latter have retailated by accusing the former for fixing the prices ab trittle too high.

While these mutual recri-minations continue, the Fede-ration of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. (FI-CCI) has entered the fray with the dictum that while the prices are high "the ge-neral trend is not critical". It has also attributed the spi

neral trend is not critical". It has also attributed the spurt to shortage of raw cotton and the increase in wage bill. The wage bill has no doubt increased, thanks to the per-sistent efforts of the trade unions to make the mills im-plement the new award, but the maximum difference it could make in prices, even according to mill magnates, could be only of an order of ten per cent, while the in-crease in them on an average has been thrice this figure. Nor, for that matter, can the milliourners now take shelter behind the outmoded theory of a wage-price spiral which even the Labour Minister has pronounced as unscientific. ounced as unscientific

pronounced as unscientific. The millowners' plea of a possible shortage of raw cot-ton in future, however, can have some basis, but this does not justify charging of a higher price on cloth pro-duced when the supply was plentiful. They can also not be unaware of the efforts which the Government have been making — including a be unaware of the efforts which the Government have been making — including a further PL 480 deal—to im-

further PL 480 deal—to im-port raw cotton. Moreover, even according to Madan Mohan Ruia, President of the East India Cotton Associa-tion, the total availability of octton during the 1959-60 season has been estimated at 66.07 lakh bales, while the total consumption; including

total consumption; including the offtake by ambar char-khas; will be about 53.90 **\* FROM BACK PAGE** lakh bales. Why then this .undue haste to cash on a arriving?" and Powers answer-supposed scarcity. now, and ed, "I guess it was so." He plan for a lesser production said, "we were not allowed to in future? Deave the territory and very few weards came there where we

### DEALERS' CASE ment were secret.

And if this is the hollow-

And if this is the hollow-ness of the millowners' case, that of the dealers' fares no better. They blame the mills for charging higher prices ab initio which has certainly been true, but has their own conduct been above board? Lately, there has been a marked increase in specula-tive activity in the commodi-ties market, and surely cloth met has not remained outside its after being shot down by a roc-purview. In fact, a section of ket and detained him, describ-the trade-more honest than ed how he was caught. They the rest-has asked for re-said, he did not resist in any duction in advances against way. Powers thanked them for cloth, which would not have an the trade-more honest than been the case if there were not a real danger of the spe-culators really undermining the trade. He said that in case of emergency, if he were to cut short his flight across the Soviet Union from Peshawar to Bodoe, in Norway, he was asked to land on any afrield in Pakistan, Iran, Turkey or Finland, Sweden and Norway. The witnesses who had first the trade-more honest than ed how he was caught. They the rest-has asked for re-said, he did not resist in any duction in advances against way. Powers thanked them for cloth, which would not have all that they had done for him been the case if there were that day.

AUGUST 28; 1960

h, which would be that day. a real danger of the spe-stors really undermining The experts described in great trade. Hence, while pass detail all the equipment of the o on the price increase, plane and what it was meant to medical expert des-trade. Hence, while pass detail all the equipment of the o on the price increase, plane and what it was meant to the medical expert des-trade. Hence, while pass detail all the equipment of the trade in the pro-ceedings. He told me he would have liked an American lawyer the ording his son but when I the trade. Hence, while pas- detail all the equipment of the sing on the price increase, plane and what it was meant to initially decided upon by the do. The medical expert des-millowners, the dealers have surely been adding their own extra margin to make easy gains. He told me he would have liked an American lawyer defending his son but when I sticky brown substance on it as part of Powers' spy-kit. A dog had died in three minutes when pricked with it, he said. NEW AGE

For Real Reforms The recommendation about one would be no benefits go to just three per these provisions is that they should be modified "so as to pro-vide that religious, charitable and educational institutions of a public nature, existing at the The Bill had provisions in Clause 60 to declare certain voluntary transfers to be null and void. The clause laid down

effected after December 18, 1957, otherwise than by partition or affection or in favour of a per-son who was a tenant of that holding before that date should be deemed as transfers calculate be deemed as transfers calculat-ed to defeat the provisions of First, by providing for a date ill becomes law, the

when the Bill becomes law, the modification becomes an open invitation for the creation of new religious, charitable and educational institutions: Landlords' lands can all become pro-perty of such institutions in the period from now and the day the Bill becomes law and they will be all entitled to the new compensation proposed in the recommended modification.

Secondly, the Bill's provision for compensation was for 16 times the fair rent. But the recommended provision for an annuity will work out to 25 times if interest is calculated at four per cent.

Most of the land belonging charitable and religious institutions are actually own-ed by communal, religions and feudal interests and the and retuant interests that the compensation to them is to be increased by over 50 per cent. That is what is being gimed at by the recommended modification In Clause 57 in the Bill pro-

NEW AGE

ed by the Government and the other two Government and the other two elected from among them-selves by the members of the local authority or the local authorities of the area for which the tribunal is to be constituted. The Congress rulers who talk

so much of democracy at the basic levels and of panchayat raj want to completely abolish this elected element. The modification recommended is..."that all the members of the Land Board and the Land Tribunal are appointed by Government." Who are likely to be nomi-nated? High officials who all

families.

### Democracy Given Go-By

Kerala has had the ex-perience of these IAS and IPS officials implementing the anti-eviction law. Instead of implementing the law and preventing evictions, they helped their landlord cousins and brothers-in-law to evict their tenants. Now they are going to be assigned the task f implementing the Land Reforms Act. One can imag-ine whose interests they will serve—particularly when one remembers that it was a demand of the Kerala Landowners' Association that there should not be any elected

moven 'nt.

belong to or have a thousand links with the feudal landlord



It was in the midst of these accusations and counter- ac-cusations that there was an outcry in the general public.-The result was the cut mentioned earlier, which even the Minister of Commerce and Industry has declared as and industry has declared as inadequate. About this cut and the new prices (ex-mill) of selected cloth sorts, fixed by the Cotton Mills Federa-tion, the Economic Weekly (August 20) has the follow-ing interesting information

alternations in the June level. Of what brand is this "cut", which reveals itself in some cases even as an actual in-crease while in others, all the difference it makes is of a few nave paise per yard, which leaves the prices much

which leaves the prices much as they were? While this might be a good example of the cloth trade's spirit of "self-renunciation" the consumers wait for the Government to do something. in the matter. Now that even the Prime Minister has ac-

(Rs. per yard pair)					
	Description	1444 - 15	Oct 1959		Proposed price
		27 5 6		a a tradi	्रम् स
uinstone ibay ing m Lower	Grey drill Bleached drill		0.77 0.74		0.98 0.94
nbay ing	Grey drill Grey long	9180 SSSSS]5	0.73 0.44	0.88 0.61	0.91 0.55
instone	cloth Coating Bleached	1449DFM-	0.83	0.94	1.03
an she an	long cloth	Ravindra	0.71	0.99	0.90
m Hí <sub>s</sub> her Linstone	Grey long	1115	0.62	Q.75	0.74
arji uldas	Grey dhoti	7405 B	5.63	6.25	6.76
nedabad ance	Bleached long cloth	5903[29 Rajbala	0.55	0.70	0.66
Bahadur	Printed				
	shirting	2575 MB	0.80	0.92	
arji uldas	Bleached long cloth	573	1.28	1.29	1.44
ore	Bleached dhoti	5038	8.62	9.25	9.70
ne shmi	Grey saree	LS 4133 Lakes	11.00	11.75	12.10
ary	Bleached mull	Beauty	1.19		
tau	Dyed voile	Lilakumari	1.22	1.31	1.34

As is evident from this in-formation the proposed prices in several cases will even be higher than those prevailing in June, while generally they would make no significant

cepted the necessity of imcepted the necessity of im-posing selective price con-trol on essential goods, can his Government not make a beginning with cloth which certainly stands in need of it?

NOTES ECONOMY

Oil: Govt.'s Reluctance

NDIA'S agreement with the Soviet Union for for has petroleum products has been followed by the follow-ing significant developments in two neighbouring coun-

tries: PAKISTAN — The Government in Karachi has an-nounced acceptance in prin-ciple of the Soviet offer to help Pakistan exploit her mineral resources, particu-larly oil According to the PTI, "the announcement course complete guarise in PT1, "the announcement caused complete surprise in Western diplomatic circles, particularly American." The agency added, "at present American and British oil companies have been carry-out test oil drilling, but most of the wells, have been de-band and are not suitable clared as dry, or not suitable for commercial exploitation." Shades of our Indo-Stanvac project which has drilled eighteen holes so far and all

eighteen holes so far and all dry. In the wake of this agree-ment Western oil companies in Pakistan have offered to reduce prices of petroleum products by seven per cent. The Government Is, however, pressing for a bigger cut in line with the cut agreed to by companies in India. *CEYLON* — The new Gov-ernment of Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike levied an import duty of 40 cents per gallon on petroleum products. Simultaneously, it demanded that the companies should bear this burden and not the consumer. The Gov-ernment also threatened to not the consumer. The Gov-ernment also threatened to import low priced Soviet pe-troleum products, in case the companies failed to ran in line with its policy. To-date the companies have already made two reductions in price amounting to twelve cent per gallon, which means a saving of 15 million rupee per year for the country. While these welcome deve-

lopments in Ceylon and Paki-stan can be attributed both to

the present glut in the inter-national oil market and India's initiative in availing the opportunity offered by the USSR to obtain oil at the USSR to obtain oil at cheaper rates, New Delhi's decision not to import Soviet crude for the time being is directly a product of its re-luctance to deal firmly with the recalcitrant foreign com-

### THEIR THREAT

There is no capacity to re-fine the Soviet crude, it is said, while the companies continue to import high continue to priced crude According to a Parliament from abroad According to a statement in Parliament on August 18, as much as Rs. 41.70 crores in oreign exchange was allow ed to these companies to im-port crude in 1959-60, while the saving in foreign ex-change as a result of their profingued concritions in 1950 refineries' operations in 1959 was only Rs. 10:44 crores, Surely, the gap between the two figures could be much shortened if both crude and products had been increas-ingly imported from the Soviet Union.

Soviet Union. The oil companies hold out the threat of disinvestments in case the Government adopted a firmer attitude. According to Capital (dated According to Capital (dated August 18), their disinvest-ment in 1958, which almost neutralised the entire inflow of foreign private capital was "a direct response to the hostile policies adopted by the Government". To the leader writer of Capital there might be some exploating inmight be some economics in-volved somewhere in this co-relation. In common par-lance, however, it is sheer blackmail to browbeat the Government into accepting the terms of oil mo if it wants to invite foreign capital in other spheres. Th answer to it is not to succumb to this blackmail but to strike at it through importing oil from sources where it is from sources where available the cheapest.

-ESSEN

people came there where we stayed as the aircraft and equip-

He said that in case of

that Powers got. His defence satisfaction that we have our counsel Grinyov did everything own lawyer. Even if it spoiled possible to bring out all the circumstances of the case which did not say anything and left could help Powers, his poor me. family, childhood difficulties, Th dish-washing as a student, the fact that he could not get an-dimensional difficulties and the criminal fact that he could not get another job, etc.

He even submitted photographs to show his poor life on the farm of his father. He even said that his father did not use hired labour and his farm was producing not for profit but only for family consumption, an argument which could appeal to the Soviet people only and which only a Soviet lawyer could think of.

All foreign observers here were unanimous that Powers' defence could not have been

Now a word about the defence ed, at least we would have the

me. The famous American criminal lawyer, Vincent Hallinan, who was a Presi-dential candidate in 1952, told me that Powers was getting "More than a fair trial." He said he would like some of the American prosecutors to see this trial: "Our prosecutors this true: Our prosecutors pounce upon their victim and confuse him. in every way. Here Rudenko has not asked any unfair questions." He said he had been impressed by the humane nature of the whole proceedings. Of course, we who were watching the trial compared this with American justice, the Rosenbergs and last year's trial of Abel, a painter who was given 30 years on a doubtful case

of espionage. S.K. AchaTyya, an advocate of the Supreme Court of India, who also attended as a legal observer, told me that in other countries, such spy trials were held in camera where the public could not be present.

Both in England and India, when the accused pleads guilty. the question of bringing forth ce to prove his guilt does se. But this was done in ot arise. the Soviet Union. The legal procedure was being strictly followed even when Powers and the U.S. Government had already pleaded guilty, Acharya said.

In England and India, the accused could object to the jurors on certain grounds of enmity or personal relationships, etc., but could not challenge the Judge, assessors, prosecutor or the expert witnesses. In the Soviet Union the accused had even this right on the same grounds. He pointed out that such elaborate translation arrangements were not made for the accused in any country.

So this great trial is over, great because it exposed the whole evil system and its dark whole evil system and its dark tentacles, strengthened the forces, of peace all over the world, great because it show-ed the humanism and kind-ness and understanding of the Socialist system for everybody to see.

And the Soviet people rejoice over this as they celebrate their new triumph: The return of cosmic ship to the earth with all its passengers, safe and sound.

PAGE THIRTEEN

## The Birlas In Madhya Pradesh

T HE Birlas have special- 1953-58, while all the others ised in securing favours from the rulers. Whoever be these rulers, whether the Maharajas of the old or the Congress Ministers of today, all are helpful to them. The genius of the Birlas has been duly recognised. The eldest among them-Ghanshyam Dass—has been decorated with a Padma Bhusan by the Rashtrapati.

In the good old days of Maharaja Scindia, they had secured some concessions for setting up certain mills in On April 7, 1947, a s signed le ruler written agreement was between the erstwhile hetween of the Gwalior State and the Birla Brothers (Gwalior Branch). The agreement pro-vided for exemption of taxes on the two mills of the Birlas. Tater this area developed into real big industrial area.

### NEW FRIENDS

With the merger of the princely States, the Birlas recognised the need for winning new friends and they prepared the way to get more privileges under the Congress set-up as well. During the past 13 years they have been prospering —itself proof of how effi-cient the Birlas are in winning new friends and keeping them. In 1953, when on August 13, the industrial area near Gwalior was brought under the authority of the Gwalior municipal aministration the Birlas got an opportunity to test these friends.

First, they protested against the order of the Government bringing the area under the authority of the municipal administration. But soon they realised the futility of that tep. The next step then was o woo the administration which was duly done. And the Birlas got all possible concessions in octroi. house-tax, etc. during the five years,

In future, only 50 per cent would be charged as living in the industrial area duly paid the usual principal house-tax from the mills and this concession would also apply to all residential quarthe Birlas did not have tax to pay a single naya palsa. However this extraordinary courtesy to the Birlas did cost ters and even the big bungalows of the mills.

Congress something in the terms of its prestige. In the 1958 municipal elections, the Congress lost some seats to the other political parties and the Communists came on scene.

At a meeting of the Muni-cipal Corporation in 1958, Communist member Ram Chandra Sarwate moved solution pointing out the illegality of exemption from house-tax, etc., to mill-owners while charging the same from ordinary people in the industrial area. The resolution demanded that house-tax be charged from them from the date of the transfer of the area to the Municipal Corporation. And unfortunately for the Birlas

the resolution was passed. Another meeting refused ion to extend the of concession of five permission period of co years from 1953-58, for the purpose of octroi. And finally, on September 15, 1959, the Corporation asked its Execu-tive Officer to inform the par-ties concerned about its decisions

### THE AGREEMENT

These moves of the Corporation come as a shock to the Birlas who ultimately pull-ed wires at the Ministerial level. The Mayor of Gwalic Raja Pancham Singh, was called to Bhopal. The Congress Mayor signed an agree-ment with the Birla group of industries on December 3,

1959. The agreement is the exact negation of the resolutions passed by the Corporation. The important provisions of the agreement are:

 The Birlas would not pay the old house-tax due up to the date of agreement. This would mean a loss of Rs. 830,000 to the Corporation.

question has not been able

to collect information which is necessary to settle the issue. It is a ridiculous situation."

Finally the Committee

wrote about its own diffi-culties: ".... only to know the details about the action

taken in relation to assur-ances made in July-August, 1957, has taken seven months."

There is no point blaming

the bureaucracy alone. What happens to the res-

ponsibility of the Minis-ters? A Minister who can

not get his own assurance implemented has no busi-

implemented has no busi-ness to continue in office. But here comes the rub-Congress Ministers love

their positions too much,

more than they love the people and they are depen-dent on the officials. That

is why they speak in riddles and cultivate the rare

and yet not mean any.

quality of making pro

thing.

### **Congress** Assurances

### \* FROM PAGE 3

dent. The accident took place on July 3, 1956. But the case was still under consideration. The Committee's report

ented. "it is a matter of regret that the issue of compensating the persons involved in an accident could not be settled even fter three years." Assurance No. 228 (July

Assurance No. 228 (July 8, 1957) related to the salary (Rs. 30) of the teachers working under Jan Pad Sabhas.

In this case, too, an assurance was given that grants for the years 1956-57 and 1957-58 would be released soon. But the department in question informed the Committee that the necessary informa-tion was still being collect-

To quote the Committee again, "The assurance has not been fulfilled till now again. e the department in

PAGE FOURTEEN

Some auxiliary goods used in the mills would be treated as raw material. Thus there would not be any octroi collection from the goods going to the Birla zamindari.

🖈 FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

All the concessions granted by Maharaja Scindia to the Birlas would continue in the future as well.

Such was the scope of the agreement. If accepted and implemented, the Gwalior Municipal Corporation would have no alternative but to increase taxes on the ordinary people to meet its responsibi-lities for octroi and house-tax are the two major sources of municipal income.

municipal income. To earn these concessions, the Birlas showed their in-dustry as infant (only 40 years old!) and running at a loss. All the facts contra-dict this. The news of the agree-

sparked off a cam paign against the pro-Birla elements. The Congress Mayor who signed the agreement is no longer the Mayor of the Municipal Corpora-Gwalio Gwallor Municipal Conference tion. In his place a new Mayor has been elected. Congressmen are now making frantic efforts at the agreement ratified by the Corporation.

### NEW PLANTS

The Birlas rule the roost not only in Gwalior but through-out Madhya Pradesh. Their famous. Rayon. Silk Mill, is situated at Nagda and makes a profit of Rs. 60 to 70 lakhs a year. Nagda used to be a rural nundee with a railway juncmundee with a railway junc-tion before Birla Nagar got established there. The local Panchayat imposed the nor-mal taxes on the Rayon Silk Mill and Birla Nagar but the Dialog ware powerful enough Birlas were powerful enough to get all the taxes written off. The State Forest Minist obliged the Birlas by giving them a 30-year patta, entitling them to the monopoly exploi-tation of all the bamboos throughout the vast Vidhya edesh forest. The Birlas get bamboos whose market price is Rs. 17.50 per maund at Rs. 7.50. In return, the Birlas had promised to establish a local paper mill. Five years are gone after the agree ed, but there is no trace of the paper mill vet

The State Government had planned to start in the public sector in Ujjain a solvent extraction plant (for vent extraction plant (for extracting oil from the oil cakes) and in Ratiam an alcohol production plant. Calcutta firms at Rs. 500 per Now it is learnt that secret month. They already had in arconol production plant. Calcutta firms at its, bob per Now it is learnt that secret month. They already had in talks are going on with the their employment the son of Birlas to let them start both Finance Minister Gangawal, these plants as their own.

these plants as their own. In the Nimad District, a cooperative textile mills was to be started by the State Gov-ernment. Now, it is learnt that this mill, too, is being handed over to the Birlas and they - want to start it in Nagda t instead as part of Birlas and they The Birlas know how to get on the right side of the Madhya Pradesh Ministers to get the needed concessions. They have just now appointed

### NEW AGE

P., . . . . . . er jest ``.<u>.</u>...' NANA PATIL-60

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O N August 3 last was celebrated the birthday but also the spurious Socialism of Socialist leadof Nana Patil in many nlaces in Maharashtra and these celebrations were themselves a tribute to his contribution to the freedom struggle and the cause of the toiling peasantry of Maharashtra. Nana Patil was in Gov-

ernment service when in 1930 he resigned to particinate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Satara District which was followed by frequent terms in jails in 1930-34 and detention in 1940

Nana Patil was the leader of the Parallel Government set up in Satara during the **Onit India Struggle which** began in August 1942. All sorts of stories are heard about the Parallel Government. Whatever be the truth in them, the fact stands out that British power had ceased to exist for some time in certain The post-freedom p

nost-freedom period saw the Congress leaders forgetting the heroes of the Quit India Struggle. Only the moneybags and their representatives had place in their scheme of things. Nana Patil was again faced with a choice. And he rejected not only the leadership of the Congress

cer in Gwalior. They have now transferred him to Bhopal. It is noteworthy that in Bhopal, there is no firm or factory of

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the State. To still this public criticism, the Birlas have a plan to build a Birla Mandir, like the one in New Delhi but right in front of Raj

ers like Achut Patwardhan.

He took a leading part in

the Samyukta Maharashtra

and Goan liberation move-

ments and was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1957. Not

only was he himself elected

but he contributed by his

campaign to the rout of the Cougress in a number of

constituencies in South

Since becoming a member

of the Lok Sabha, he has

continued his work in the cause of Maharashtra's

of the Communist Party and of the Kisan Sabha, his popularity is not dis-puted even by his enemies

peasantry and as a leade

Maharashtra.

in Maharashtra.

He played a decisiv

the formation of the sant's and Workers' Party

Public opinion in Madhya Pradesh realises that the Birlas are being given what they want in Madhya Pradesh because the Congress Party needs the Birla funds to fight

the General Election. But the General Elections are some way off yet. The State Ministry is going to find itself in hot waters both inside and outside the Assambly over these clandestine and antipeople deals with Birlas.

AUGUST 28, 1960

## ON CONGO BATTLEFIELD, ALL AFRICA FIGHTS NEO-COLONIALISM

With the appointment of an Indian diplomat, Rajeshwar Dayal, as the United Nations Secretary-General's personal representative in the Congo, re-placing the American Dr. Ralph Bunche, a heavy responsibility falls on India. It offers an opportunity to India of playing a role, which can have significant repercussions affecting the entire future of the strug-gle being waged by the Government and the people of the Republic of Congo against the aggression, in-terference and attempts at neo-colonisation of the imperialist Powers

HE Statesman's Political other African delegations in Correspondent, obviously briefed by the External Affairs Ministry, draws atten-tion to the significance of Rajeshwar Dayal's appoint-ment, stating that "It is pos-sible that the announcement by Hammarskjold that an Indian diplomat would be posted to the Congo helped the Security Council reach the position it did during yester-day's (August 21) debate, in which the Russians and others did not press with their resolutions." (Statesman, August 23)

Congo's Demand

ward by the Congo delega-tion to the latest Security Council meeting was for appointment of a group of representatives from nentral countries of Africa and Asia, which would ensure Asia, which would ensure no "repetition of certain happenings which we deplore and which have created a crisis in the trust of the Congolese people." The chief Congolese delegate, Gizenga, said that his Governm ent would like Bammarskjold to "share his neavy responsibilities with this group set up by the Security Council." Soviet Depute

Soviet Deputy Minister V. V. Kuznetsov in his speech at the Security Council session declared the Soviet Government's full sunport for the Congo Governent's proposal "for the im-ediate despatch to the Republic of a group of represenatives of a number of neutrai countries." The Soviet delegation, obviously with the full accord of the Congolese and other African delegations at the U. N., tabled a resolu tion calling for the setting up

such a group: With the object that this group, acting jointly with the United Nations Secretaryensure on the neral. eneral, ensure on the spot immediate compliance with the resolutions of the Security Council, including the withdrawal of the Belgian troops from Congolese terri-tory and safefuarding the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo."

The resolution stated that was "necessary that cretary-General and aforesaid group hold daily consultations with the legitimate Government of the Congo while carrying out the resolution of the Security Council."

appointment of an Indian to replace the American over-all commander of the United Nations activities in the Congo, must have weighed with the Soviet delegation and with the Congolese and

AUGUST 28, 1960

at his Press Conference this month and during the Rajya Sabha debate on foreign affairs, stressed India's support for the demand for the withdrawal of Belgian troops and our determination to see that the integrity of Congo is preserved. In Afro-Asian group in the U.N., The announcement of the India has taken a leading

gun to be critical of the Congo Government. The Indian Express has called

nitia has taken a leading part in supporting the Congo. However, one cannot be complacent. For, sections of the Indian Press have be-





tion.

deciding not to press for the appointment of the neutral Afro-Asian group to act joint-ly with Hammarskjold.

It is clear enough that African dissatisfaction aga-inst the pro-imperialist activities of Bunche and Hammarskiold under the mask of the U. N. had reached a bursting point, exem-plified in the strong criticisms made of these gentlemen by Prime Minister Lumumha, Hammarskiold has appointed an Indian as a sop to African discontent. The imperialists hope to continue their game in the

fellow Africans, on the other hand, expect — and rightly—that an Indian at the head of the U. N. activilities with the will mean, in effect, the up by the faithful carrying out by the I." U. N. of the Security Coun-Foreign cil's resolutions in close cooperation with the Congo Go-vernment, so that all Belgian troops are forced to with-draw, Congo's integrity is maintained and the U.S. and other imperialists, greedly anxious to "fill the vacuum" are repulsed and Congo's in-

> They Expect From India

dependence, political and eco-

nomic, is preserved.

The African - peoples have every reason to expect this solidarity from India. The Indian people have always given their support to all peoples strugging to win or safeguard their independence. It is in conformity with our traditional anti-imperialist role that today we should stand wholeheartedly with

the Congolese. Prime Minister Nehru, both

for support for the puppet Tshombe's demand for a 'confederation" (which is the imperialists' new slo-gan). There is too much praise for Hammarskjold at a moment when he is being severely castigated by all African patriots (Nehru himself went out of his way to give an "excellent" chit to the U. N. Secretary-General in his Rajya Sabha speech).

### The Issues Involved

External Affairs Ministry spokesmen are at pains to emphasise the "puzzling" na-ture of the situation in the Congo, their lack of know-ledge "about the country's politics" and the necessity for the "utmost delicacy"; they hasten to add that by lending Rajeshwar Dayal to the United Nations, "the Government of India is not directly participating in the affairs of the Congo." (States-

York Herald Tribune spoke openly of the need for the "filling of the vacuum of au-thority" in "one of the richest thority" in "one of the richest and largest and most tempting under-developed-countries in the world". the clamo for control over the Congo has been increasing in the monopoly-owned Press in the USA and Britain.

On July 29, the Washington Post called for a "Congo development programme", which "the U. N. seems for the ideal investment." What was really meant was made clear by the British Sunday Times, which called on the U. N. to disarm the Congo army and added that "the long task for the U.N. in the Congo, in fact, will be trustee-ship." The proposal for a U. N. "mandate" was canvassed.

By the beginning of August, things were being said even more clearly. The New York Times Correspondent in Leopoldville wrote that "United Nations officials from Mr. Hammarskjold are down

from Canada, a member of NATO and an ally of the ag-gressor Belgians; the reports that Hammarskjold intends to draw more troops from NATO countries; and the arrival in the Congo of large numbers of American officials (largely military commandostensibly to work under the U. N. as "experts".

Above all Hammerskiold's plan for' U. N. "civil mea. sures" in the Congo has been strongly resented by the Congolese, for it amounts to the taking over of all effective administrative authority from the Congo Government, making it subordinate to the USA and other Powers, who would be the actual "administrators" of the "civil measures".

What is even graver is the rsistent demand being made in the American Press for a permanent U. N. machinery for intervention in different parts of Africa, to "guide" the incapable" Africans and thus spread the tentacles of n colonialism deep into the heart of Africa. The struggle in the Congo

is thus seen all over Africa as a common battle of all Africans against the peril of

The key demand put for-ward by the Congo delega-INDDIA CAN PLAY CONTAINS. The Belgians have been compelled to announce that they will withdraw all their VITAL PART IN ROUTING Congo but this time with an Indian, behind whom they can hide. The Congolese and their INPERIALIST PLOT

man, August 23) What does all this mean? What is "puzzling" about the situation in the Congo? What is so "delicate" about it all? is so "delicate" about it all? It is necessary to under-stand clearly the seriousness of the situation, the real issues involved, the forces that are operating. There has been a woeful lack of appreciation of the realities in the majority of Indian newspapers and the imperialist news - agencies have so distorted the truth that a completely incorrect assessment of the position in the Congo is being made even in quarters which should know better. Prime Minister Nehru him-

self in his recent public utterances, while rightly calling for the withdrawal of Belgian troops and insisting on the integrity of the Congo, has maintained an unfortunate silence on the dangerous efforts of U. S. imperialism. and its partners to "fill the vacuum" in the Congo.

### Reality Already

A month ago, one could merely warn against the likely attempt by the impe-rialists to use the U. N. action in the Congo to en. trench themselves more deeply in Africa. Today it is no longer simply a possibility, it has become a reality, constituting the biggest single menace to the independence of the Congo and indeed of all Africa. The imperialist Press makes to secret of it. Ever since

NEW AGE

thinking and talking" of the time for "administering" the Congo: "some say seven years, some say ten". The American "overlord" of the U. N. forces in the Congo, Dr. Ralph Bunche, told his staff: "You are here to pacify and then to administer the Congo".

### Congo Resentful

No wonder the Congo Government and people are deeply resentful of the man-ner in which the U. N. forces are acting. Suspicion of the U. N. has been heightened by a number of facts. The refusal of the U. N. force to assist the Congo Government to restore law and order and exercise its authority in all parts of the Republic, including Katanga, has naturally angered all Af-ricans. On top of this has come the actual encourage-ment by the U. N. led by Hammarskjold himself, to the treacherous work of the im-perialist puppet Tshombe in the the Katanga, and the effort to make out that the Katanga "revolt" is "a domestic affair" of the Congo, in which the U. N. cannot "intervene", despite the knowledge that the Tshombe regime exists only ecause of Belgian arme

The Congolese have objected particularly to the inclu-sion in the U. N. force. despite their protests, of troops

troops in eight days. Ham-marskjold, unable to defend his actions, took refuge be-hind a plea of "ambiguity" regarding Katanga in the Se-curity Council meeting. The imperialists were not able to push through a vote of support for Hammarskjold in the Security Council. And now, Bunche has had to be withdrawn and replaced by an Asian.

Through the key position which it will now occupy in the U. N. in the Congo, India can play a vital part in én-suring the defeat of the imperialist conspiracy in the Congo and also in the rest of Africa.

If Rajeshwar Dayal works in this direction, he will earn for India the high place it deserves in the hearts of the African ple and of all freedom and peace-loving peoples in the world. If the Government of India hesitates and prevaricates, tries to be "neu-tral" between the imperia-lists and the African peo-ples, the name of our country will fall in the estima-tion of Africa, we shall have failed them in their hour of need and Afro-Asian solidarity will have received a severe setback.

The Indian people expect the Government of India to act in accordance with the great anti-imperialist tions of our country. tradi-



**REGD. NO. D597** 



**MOSCOW**, August 23

This was to have been the dismal story of a pitiable specimen of humanity but before it was over, two happy dogs stole the headlines from the American spy.

THE culprit of the spy-flight has been given a just but mild sentence after a the function of the spy-received the received the ment last wed trial the fairness of which has been universally recognised and as I write, the people here celebrate another Soviet viccelebrate another Soviet vic-tory-the miraculous flight and safe return to earth of the Soviet space-ship with animals on board after a journey of more than 700,000 miles in cosmos. .

The contrast of the two flights is the contrast of the two worlds and it was sharply brought out by the three-day trial of Francis Gary Powers which has just ended in Moscow. contrast of the two worlds

The news of the launching of the new giant space-ship with two dogs and other animais on board came on the last day of the trial when the court had retired to consider the verdict and we were all the vertice and we were all waiting for the result. As loud-speakers announced the great news, somebody re-marked: "I think the two dogs in the cosmos are better than one spy in the airspace of the Soviet Union" and everyone laughed.

laughed. Here was aggression on earth and peaceful conquest of space, espionage science on one side, and the television bringing live and the television bringing live pictures from cosmos on the other; 'no doubt people prefer flight of the two intelligent dogs to this smart creature, a syn-thetic product of American wis-dom, this smiling button-pusher with blind faith in his superiors and his evil instruments who and his evil instruments who could have released a hydrogen bomb with the same ease if his orders said so.

### Historic\_ Trial

This was a great and histori-This was a great and histori-cal trial with not only Francis Powers, the dupe, but the Wes-tern Powers in the dock. It unmasked Western imperialists and brought before the public forum their dark intrigues and aggressive designs their play aggressive designs, their play with death and the great dan-gers which face the world today. Powers was tried in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions by a Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR in the presence of hund-USSR in the presence of hund-reds of foreign and local Corres-pondents, diplomats and a large number of observers from many lands, most of them legal ex-perts, and about 1,500 represen-tatives of the public. The whole proceedings were translated into English for the benefit of the accused. He was

benefit of the accused. all possible facilities for given all possible factures to his defence and many witnesses and experts were produced to another the produced to and experts were produced to prove the case in spite of the fact that Powers himself, the State Department and the U.S. President had pleaded guilty from the very beginning. On the first day, the President Judge Lit General of Justice

On the first day, the President Judge, Lt. General of Justice Victor Borisoglebsky, explained to the defendant his rights and procedure of the court. He asked if the parties had any objection to the interpreters, whether the defendant had

indictment and Powers replied that he had received the text of the indictago and had been told of the trial.

The Presiding Judge ex-plained to the defendant that he could give testimony in English, take part in the judi-cial proceedings, put questions to the witnesses and experts, submit new evidence, he could submit new evidence, he could ask the court to consider new documents. He was told that he was entitled to a counsel for defence and the last word at the end of the proceedings. Do you understand these rights, asked the Judge to make sure, and Powers replied, yes, without hesitation.

The court consisted of the President Judge, two penal assessors and the Secretary of

More

the court; the case for the prosethe court; the case for the prose-cution was presented by Roman Rudenko, Procurator-General of the USSR and the counsel for defence was Mikhail Grinyov. The prosecution and defen-dant Powers were both asked if

they had any objection to the court and both replied no. The Judge explained, "Defendant, you have the right to object to the composition of the you have the right to object to the composition of the court or to its individual members on grounds of any of them being related to any party in the case or having a personal interest in the case. Have you any objec-tion?" tion?"

Power Judge mers\_"No." Judge—"You can object to the prosecutor on the same

rounds." Powers-No objection.

Powers-No objection. The Judge asked whether he had any objection to the experts and he replied that he had none. Powers was asked whether he had any objection to his defence counsel. He said he had none. Asked if he had any requests or wanted to make a statement at that stage, Powers replied in the negative. Only after these prenegative. Only after these pre-liminaries had been completed, the indictment was read out.

### **Powers Pleads** Guilty

He was asked and pleaded guilty to spying under the Soviet Union's "Law of Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes", for which he could be sentenced to death or up to 15 years in jail. After an interval of 20 minu-es, interrogation of the defen-ant by the prosecutor began.

tes, interrogation of the deren-dant by the prosecutor began. Powers told the court that he flew his U-2 plane at an altitude his commander believed was be-yond the reach of the Soviet defences. "I was told it was absolutely safe and that the only danger would be by a mechani-cal defect in the plane."

He told that he was given a poisoned needle to kill him-self if tortured. The Prose-cutor asked — "Were you?"

and Powers replied that he had not been tortured but treated well, "Much better than I had expected". Later he added that he had been

he added that he had been "treated very nicely". Describing his feelings during the flight, Powers said he was physically all righ but nervy and scared. Asked why, he rep-lied, "It was just the idea of being over the Soviet Union--it is not something I would like to be doing every day." Powers said that he was fly-ing at a maximum altitude of nearly 68,000 feet when he saw

arly 68,000 feet when he saw orange flash and heard and an orange flash and heard and felt a hollow sounding explo-sion. His plane began to fall and break up and after losing height he balled out.

### **Purpose** Of Flight

Asked what was the purpose of the flight, Powers answered that he was ordered to do so. His job was to operate the equipment whose purpose he did not fully understand. When

There was a ripple of amuse-ment at this in the hall. The plane had a destructor unit and There his instructions were to blow up the aircraft, evade capture up the aircraft, evade capture and by means of his survival equipment make for the nearest border.

Liby

Powers was asked to comment Powers was asked to comment on the currency, valuables, gold rings and trinkets he had on him. "This was more or less considered part of my survival equipment," he said. Later he declared it was for "the food I would need on my 1400-mile walk and to aid me in any way."

"But you did not succeed in "But you did not succeed in bribing any Soviet citizen? The very first people you met detained you?" said the prose-cutor. "I did not try," said Powers. "Even if you had tried, you would not have found any," retorted Rudenko. "I think so, too" said Powers.

The pistol with silencer, he claimed, was for hunting and caused some laughter in the hall. Rudenko incredulously asked him to repeat his answer and Powers said, "I do not think the

Europe, "big wheels" as he call-ed them, visited the base. Powers revealed that even Cardinal Spellman had visited

Cardinal Spellman had visited them and there followed an interesting exchange between him and the prosecutor. *Rudenkco---"So Spellman is* also interested in military bases?"

-"I would say he is Powersinterested in military personnel, not bases."

Rudenko-"Personnel which

*kuaenko*—"Personnel which carry out spy flights?" *Powers*—"I do not think he would think too much of what a person does but of what a person is."

### Special Assignments

prosecutor asked Powers to describe the special assignments he was given by his superiors and Powers assignments he was picen by his superiors and Powers obliged: "In 1956 they seem-ed more interested in the Black Sea Area; later the centre of interest seemed to

## Than A Fair Trial SAYS AMERICAN

asked that he could probably guess the purpose, he replied "I could pretty well guess, I did not know exactly." Question : Now you know

exactly? Powers: Now I have seen the

Powers: Now I have seen the results I have a better idea. Question: From the first minute of the flight did you doubt the fact that it was a spy flight?

Powers : I did not doubt this. In spite of this Powers repeat-ed many times that he just operated the switches turning them on and off at certain places

them on and off at certain places but he did not know his equip-ment. "There could be no other reason for the flight than spy-ing," he declared later. There came a tense moment during the cross-examination when Rudenko asked: "You could with the same ease have released an atomic bomb?" released an atomic bomb?'

eleased an atomic bomb?" There was pin-drop silence in the big hall. Powers thought for a moment, then replied in his innocent voice, "It could be done, I am sure", but he added, after realising the full implications of what he had said, "It was not that type of a plane." Rudenko countered: "This plane flies at 20,000 metres; it violated our space. From the ground no one can see what it has on board." Powers: "That is right." right."

Powers declared he did not see whether the plane had identification marks or not and the prosecutor said he would leave it to the experts.

### Commander's Instructions

Powers declared that the com Powers declared that the com-mander of his detachment Col. Shelton, had told him that in the event of trouble "any field outside the Soviet Union would be better than any inside."

oistol had anything to do with the spy mission". The way Powers behaved in the way Powers behaved a

The way Powers behaved in the court showed beyond a shadow of doubt that he was in his right senses and all hullabaloo in the Western Press about brainwashing, rtess about orainwashing, etc., was sheer nonsense. Powers' parents and his wife who came for trial were also sure of this and his father, Oliver Powers, said after the fort day of the trial "that is first day of the trial, "that is my boy, right down the line. Every word was his." Powers said that he had

Powers said that ne had marked airfields, oil stores and other objects on his map dur-ing the flight, apart from operating the camera, the tape-recorder for recording Soviet radar signals and other equip-ment He described the route He described the route ment. of his flight in detail, and how and under what circumstances he had signed the contract with he had signed the contract with the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA. He was offered 2,500 dollars per month and "I liked the sound of a flying job with more money." One thou-sand dollars were withheld every month and were to be every month and were to be paid after the successful completion of the contract.

### Training For Spying

Powers said that the U.S. law Powers said that the U.S. law stipulated punishment of ten years in jail or 10,000 dollars fine or both for divulging terms of his top secret contract.

Francis Powers described his training period, places where he had worked, the preparations he had to undergo before his spy flight and conditions at Adama, Turkey, where his served at the server of the server because here the server of the s Turkey, where his spy detach-ment was based. He said, highranking military officers like the U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff General Thomas White and General Frank Everest, Com-mander, U.S. Air Force in

one townard the East. move toward the East. I was told on one night I might see a rocket being launched. By that I assumed they were interested in rockets." Rudenko: "Were these intelli-gence flights?" Powers: "I have no idea. I just turned switches on and off." Rudenko: "Like on May 1, you saw with what results." Powers: "Yes." I mas

LAWYER

Powers: "Yes." Rudenko: "Do not all these facts make clear to you that they were intelligence flights?" Powers: "I suppose they that they

And so on all the time, he thought he was being very clever but he came round and agreed to the charges just as easily.

The trial brought out, with-The trial brought out, with-out a shadow of doubt, the role of the accomplices in this dirty spying business of the USA—the help given by countries like Britain, Nor-way, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and others. Pakistan was constantly being

rakistan was constantly being used as a spy base and Powers had arrived at Peshawar four or five days before his flight of May 1, accompanied by 20 peo-ple and his Commander Shelton ple in a cargo plane. Pakistan personnel at the control tower had directed them to land. The aircraft on which Powers made his abortive flight was brought there on the eve of his spy mis-sion by another pilot.

### Visit To Pakistan

Powers had visited Peshawar Powers had visited Peshawar earlier, in June 1959, when he ferriëd a U-2 Plane. He said he was familiar with the place. None of the Pakistanis had met him personally. Rudenko asked: "Pakistani authorities were informed that your plane will be \* SEE PAGE 13