



Dependent On Foreigners



While the Indian Parliament, Press and political circles are worried over the growing foreign exchange crisis, the latest Soviet offer of 500 million roubles comes like a breath of fresh air. It is, when we are in dire need, prac-

tical fraternal aid, from our friend in deed.

It straight puts in the right perspective the whole propaganda barrage of the reactionary vested interests who seek to panic the country, over the grave foreign exchange crisis, only to press home their evil selfish campaign that inviting foreign private capital on a massive scale is the only way to go ahead with our industrialisation plans. This is the anti-national path, of mortgaging the nation's economy to foreign monopoly groups.

There is another self-respecting and honourable path open before the country. The real path to raise the public sector to occupy the commanding height, achieve rapid industrialisation and march towards economic indepen-dence has broadened out before our country, with Soviet aid for our Plans.

The Prime Minister And This Terrible Waste

SAALth

THE Chambal Project is after all getting completed, after long delays which have been the subject of very wide criticism through-out Madhya Pradesh.

The Prime Minister has agreed to inaugurate it. An aerodrome is being constructed, right near the project, for him to land straight from New Delhi and save him the motor-drive from Neemuch, which has a very fine aerodrome already and is only 150 miles away.

This new aerodrome has no earthly use except for this visit of the Prime Minister and later on, for some distinguished foreign dignitaries for whom such special flights might be consi-dered necessary. If this is not a crazy waste of public funds what else is, it?

Back in 1954 also it was announced that Pandit Nehru would visit the construction site, etc., in Chambal and then also work on building the aerodrome had begun. Twenty thousand rupees were spent but when it became known that the Prime Minister could not come, the work on the aerodrome was stopped and these thousands went down the drain.

Tall talk about waste must stop. The spe-cific waste of public funds like constructing this aerodrome near the Chambal Project, just for the use of the Prime Minister once, and the casual use of foreigners later on, must stop. The rot in the standards of the public morality must be resisted here and now. Here is a case where the Prime Minister must himself intervene.

KHRIEN

T all began only five years ago with the Indo-Soviet agreement to build the Bhilai Steel Plant and set in motion such a healthy chain reaction as to give India a big and mo-dern national steel industry during the Second Plan and lay the foundation for fur-ther and more rapid indus-trialisation in our Third Plan.

The Contrast

Indian Ministers and offiwere politely offered in New York, Washington and Bonn York, Washington and Bohn the traditional tailor's scissors to cut the Plan according to their "expert" advice before they could "safely" give us "aid". Our representatives, however, failed to see the im-perialist butcher's knife held behind behind.

behind. In contrast when they went to the Socialist countries, in Bucharest, Frague, Budapest, Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow, they heard words of fraternal sympathy and understanding and brought back news of good cheer. good cheer

good cheer. During his recent visit to India Khrushchov himself de-elared, "India's striving to develop industry is under-standable and near to the Soviet people."

The USSR was the first friendly Government to offer aid for our Third Plan with the first offer of Rs. 180 crores and now another Rs. 60 crores bringing the grand total of all Soviet aid to us to Rs. 385.6 crores crores.

Imposing List

A look at the list of Sovietaided projects in our Third Plan is enough to visualise the new, grand and forward-moving prospect that emerge before our country.

Raising Bhilai's capacity to 2.5 million tons, it alone will produce one-fourth of the ten million steel target.

million steel target. Building the heavy machi-nery plant at Ranchi, with a capacity of 80,000 tons of machinery every year, it will occupy the most strategic position in our economy. It will produce every year the whole complex to set up a modern steel plant like Bhi-lai. It will set in motion the process of continuous expanprocess of continuous expan-sion of our national steel in-dustry and supply the heavy machines that produce other machines for India's growing industries

The Mining Machinery Plant at Durgapur will pro-duce 45,000 tons of machinery and supply the wherewithals to Indian coal workers to dig more coal in the public sec-

thermal power stations, a new one at Singrauli of 250,000 KW, expansion of Neiyveli to 400,000 KW and at Korba adding another 200,000 KW.

Erection of a heavy elec-trical plant which will pro-duce huge transformers, motors and other electrical machines.

Building the big public sec-tor refinery at Barauni.

Aiding the exploitation, development and production of oil and gas by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission at Cambay and other areas.

On The Oil Front

India's annual oil import bill is of the order of Rs. 100 crores and it is rising yearly. Soviet aid has not only helped India to discover her vast sources but has made possible the task of building a nation-al oil industry.

The Soviet offer has com-pelled the three Western oll refineries to offer price re-duction and even reconsider the old agreements which gave them virtual monopoly rights.

India after independence

tor, which has been sadly lagging behind. A plant to manufacture precision instruments (indus-trial control instruments). Construction of three giant intermal power stations, a new at Singrauli of 250,000 400,000 KW and at Korba adding another 200,000 KW. Minister Patil is planning to visit the USSR to negotiate Soviet aid and machinery for more Suratgarhs.

Speeds Up Development

In its totality. Soviet aid helps India achieve economic independence, makes us more self-sufficient and less dependent on foreign countries for existence.

The hallmark of Soviet aid is that it speeds up India's industrialisation and streng-thens the public sector. All of it is for the public sector and heavy and basic industries.

On the other hand, the pic-ture of the "aid" from the capitalist Western countries is that it is designed to keep us ever dependent, it is meant to control our industrialisa-tion plans by seeking partner-ship with Indian monopolists, it demands the restriction of the public sector by keeping it confined mostly to social it confined mostly overheads.

These are two different

types of aid, because they are countries of and, because they are countries of two different social systems. Socialist USSR offers us the friend's helping hand. Monopolist-capitalist West throws its hook along with the bait, to get hold of Indian economy for its rapa cious exploitation.

Honourable **Possibilities**

Repeated experience has proved that Morarji need not go with the servile beggar's bowl to the West, that the more we rely on our own national resources and the help we get from our good friends of the Socialist camp the more the statesmen. the more the statesmen, bankers and industrialists of the West come to their senses, that they can no more deal with India in terms of a friendless dependent country. The chain reaction set in motion by the latest Soviet motion by the latest Soviet crude oil offer proves it to the hilt. The latest Soviet offer of 500 million roubles again highlights the new positive and honourable possibilities that actually exist.

We thank India's friend-We thank India's friend-the USSR. We demand that Finance Minister Morarji must not bow India's head when he meets his friends of the "Aid India Club" in Paris on September 12.

GOOD AIMS REITERATED __ NOTES OF THE **BIG PROBLEMS UNTACKLED**

T HE enemies of our nawhat they generally chara-cterise as "India bursting at the seams." Thinking elements, irrespective of political affiliations. are leeply concerned over the disruptive and debasing chauvinistic passions, being stirred in various parts of the country by reactionary elements, by the Assamiya-Bengali conflict in the east, with the Akalis continuing to stoke the Sikh communal fire in West Punjab, with the DMK exploiting one issue after another to popularise its own brand of separatism in the South.

In such a situation, people expected the opening round of the Parliamentary debate on the nation's Third Plan to give them new hope about the future and confidence that the present rot would be checked This is just what has not happened. The Prime Minister reiterated the pro-gressive aims of the Plan but he neatly left untouched the main issue of how the big and living problems on which depends the success of the Plan would be handled in future more successfully than

ce even liberal bourgeois in-tellectuals, typical middle-ofthe-roaders realise this. For example, the Enough has been s Economic Weekly, of August the Parliamentary 27, summates the Prime even by Congress M Minister's contribution in the indicate that su following realistic words:

One saw at the end of it all the picture of a man -a great and charming ap-ment itself before any con-fidence can be given to the people that it will lead to their welfare and the practi-everybody is responsible for anything." And 4^T ments, "This is a sentiment on which many men including the Prime Minister himself should ponder ome length."

Grave Policy Lapses

The real problem before the country and its Plan is not one only of implementation ne t. which the rsed the Prime Minister as the problem of s but something more problems but something more and above it. It is the grave policy lapses of the Governfrom declared basic policies which are mainly responsible for the present eco-nomic mess and popular dis-

knows that the Nagpur resolution stands completely scuttled, that there is no t whatsoever of land prospect whatsoever of land being given to the tiller even in the future. This lapse ex-plains why despite the two Plans, the food needs of our prospec dominantly agrarian country are met by importing foreign

after concession to the sector, which has p

the situation that there is tion are gloating over bigger backlog of unemploy-ment after the Second Plan and it threatens to be bigger still after the Third Pian-The experience of newly liberate countries proves that where land reforms are not bogus the capitalists are effectively "controlled" in national in terests, and the cooperative function honestly and democratically, the problem of un-employment exists no more.

The two Plans are virtual In two rans are than a ly over and the Third is in being but the big worry, common to the Government and the people, is how to hold the price line. The very purpose of planning is to control the capitalist law of supply and demand. Just because this has not been this has not been done in the past and there is hesitation to resort to it even now the prices con-tinue to be manipulated by the big monopolists of the industrial and business houses in their own selfish interests. The Prime Minis-ter knows it better than anybody else how even after the Planning Commission's proposal of "selective con-trols" and its due approval by him, his own Food Min-ister Patil is for no controls! It was not wrong in prin-ciple to expect foreign ald for We Communists were the first to stress the aspect when others nursed rosy illusions. Now from practical experien-situation in which after a deeconomic development but ral bourgeois in. cade of foreign aid we have ypical middle-of- become still more dependent have begun to on it for our Third Plan.

Enough has been stated in debate even by Congress M. P.s to indicate that subsequent public and parliamentary discussions on the Third Plan will demand from ever growing circles, a no orientation by the policy

lani onslaught against the Plan sounded like a whimper inside the House, but it is the widespread discontent the among the common people outside with the results of the first two Plans that constitu tes the real danger. The only remedy is to adopt new and effective policies with the consent of all political parties and elements who have faith and elements who have fail in planning as national po-licy and win their cooperation. for the practical implementa-tion of the programmes of the Plan and the realisation of its targets.

The present path of drift, nomic mess and popular dis-content despite the advances registered. Anybody who knows any-thing about the agrarian re-forms in the various States, the value of the value of the states, instrument of implementation; with the exploitation of the with the exploitation of the with the exploitation of the Plan for the partisan building up of the ruling party for electoral purpose, can go on breeding and worsening a situation which will destroy people's faith in planning itself and lead straight into the hands of the reactionary elements both inside and outare met by importing foreign food. Again, it is the failure of and reforms plus concession after concession to the private sector, which has produced are also the very elements who consider the plan targets too ambitious and so on. They are also the very elements

inled implementation of our friendly countries and by private foreign investment foreign policy to be a hind-rance in the way of getting the requisite "aid" from the Western camp and who again are no lovers of Indian demo-cracy. **Birla Solution**

FOREIGN EXCHANGE CRISIS

the "heartening news" of their willingness to "untie" T HE danger of imperialist pressure against India's pressure against India's available for trade deficits. Plan and progress is not ima-ginary but real. It is staring will need .all the discipline Plan and progress is not ima-

our economy in the face. The last foreign exchange very midst of the Second Plan and led to its. "recommended and led to its "reappraisal" and "pruning", and vital industrial projects were just dropped out, as demanded by the World Bank and the Western "aiding" Governments.

Western "aiding" Govern-ments. The latest foreign exchange risis comes on the very eve of the public projects, and crisis comes on the very eve of the Third Plan. During the last four years

ended March 1960, our foreign exchange reserves have de-clined from Rs. 902 crores to clined from Rs. 902 crores to Rs. 363 crores, even though external aid in the form of grants and loans, inclusive of net drawings from the Inter-national Monetary Fund, re-ceived during this period amounted to Rs. 1,081 crores.

According to the latest Reserve Bank returns, dur-ing the last one month end-ing August 12, something. ing August 12, something, like Rs. 21 crores net have been paid out in foreign exchange reducing the total amount of foreign exchange and gold in the nation reserve to an all-time low of Rs. 240.77 crores. The Reserve Bank is required by law to maintain this figure above Rs. 200 crores. India's foreign exchange reserves are thus only Rs. 40 crores above the statutory mini-

It is obvious that the preant drift cannot go on and the existing holdings cannot be run down further without destroying internation fidence in the Indian Rupee. Canital, the mouthpiece of British capital in the country, was against a big Third Plan. It now comments, "India is virtually scrapping the bottom of the barrel in order to meet the sudden deficits." And with hardly concealed glee it states the way out: "If the progress of the Indian economy is to be maintained, it is necessary to attract more financial assistance from abroad as soon as possible.

as possible." Its New Delhi Correspon-dent reports: "Three years ago, a similar situation arose and India's creditors were told that unless they accom-modated this country, their own suppliers may have to own suppliers may have to suffer losses. On her part, In-dia cut down the Second Plan to what is called the 'hard core'. The Western countries and Japan came to India's assistance. As soon as the assistance. As sound as interposition improved, the Japa-nese Yen credit was used for setting up a watch factory in the public sector." The complaint is easy to understand in terms of our own past history, it is against India manufac-turing its own needs and that,

turing its own needs and matrice too, in the public sector! Birla's Eastern Economist, August 26, admits the situa-tion to be "disturbing". Its way out is "Quite bluntly, In-dia's foreign exchange needs

NEW AGE



underwritten

negotiated on business terms."

It looks forward to the Sep-

tember 12 "Aid India" meet-

ing, due to be convened by the World Bank, to produce

their credits and make them

that it has to accept with

good grace a situation which, for the shorter period at any rate, cannot be remedied."

The Birla organ is obviously aware that Western aid will neither be selfless nor hon-ourable. That they will de-

mand, as they did during the

free entry of their own mono-

polists in those vital sectors through which they can con-trol our whole national eco-

nomy and harvest real big profits.

The Birla organ is not, on principle, against private foreign investments as the

pre-independence Planning Commission headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was and which even the Federation of

Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry once wanted controlled and res-

tricted. It now welcomes it, "negotiated on business

the public sector even ac-cording to the declared Go-

vernment policy. Similar deals about fertilisers are

being negotiated. Foreign

on India's oil, they also seek to get their finger in the pie of Indian expansion

The foreign exchange crisis

has set in motion a whole chain of menacing dangers

as outlined above. The weakness of Govern-

ment's resources policy to finance the Plan endangers

the very basic pattern of the Plan and exposes the national

list pressures. This is exactly the position on the eve of the Third Plan.

NAGALAND AND

PHIZO

vernment was blameless, and that the country need feel no concern for the future. A glance at the Anglo-Decese comments

American Press comments on this subject is enough to

convince any man that they continue to slander India

with Phizo as their mouth-

continue to

foreign imperia-

programme.

economy to

lists have their eyes

men to operate fro the Nagaland, after realis-ing that the old slogan of independent Nagaland is no more practical politics.

لردوة - ب

The Washinton Post (August 5) in an editorial, "State-hood For Nagas," writes, "India has had her own little colonial problem in the Naga hills....Notwithstanding some past Indian mistakes in dealing with the Nagas and some brutalities on both sides, the brutalities on both sides, the concept of an autonomous State within India is the only one that makes sense....The facts of geography simply do not permit a small sovereign but unviable enclave. The primitive independent Naga nation, virtually on the border of China would be a defenceless pawn."

The London Mail (August 2) said: "Another little war a) said: Another little war seems to have ended. This was in the Nagaland, now granted autonomy for which fought and admitted as a State within the Indian Union. Whether this will satisfy irreconcilables under Phizo remains to be seen. Nothing in this life is ever static, least of alb in a world of men and nations."

The London Times (August 7) under the title, "Hill-men Hardpressed," editorially sta-ted, "The story of the last few years is bloody and bruof the last In the past two years, tai.... In the past two years, the Nagas had been adminis-tered directly from Delhi and if the Nagas feel that they are properly represented there, then the settlement "negotiated on business terms", with the Birlas on our side as their Indian partners. The Birlas of our country seek to exploit the present crisis to get into partner-ship with the Kaisers ab-road. They have already got away with aluminium and other important projects which should have been in the public sector even acmay work. Even then it may take some time before the Indian mistakes and misdeeds are expunged."

House In Disorder

Imperialist slanders and pressure plans as revealed in the above comments would not have very much mattered if our own house was in order It is least so in Assam and its

neighbourhood. The mistaken outlook that hindered the ruling class from seeing the essen. tial justice of Naga grievan-ces persists in various forms as the dominant outlook of Congress ruling circles. It is responsible for the conti-nuing tension in Assam and this hinders the restoration of normal conditions.

The Assamiya majority is being inflamed by its chauvito undernists and refus stand the fears of the Bengali minority and the hill tribes. The Bengali minority is being incited by its chauvinists and refuses to see the just rights of the Assamiya-majority.

Torn amidst Assamese-Bengali tension and encouraged by the formation of Nagaland, the leaders of the hill tribes of Assam are de-manding a separate State of their own

THE way the Prime Min-ister spoke in Parlia-ment, he virtually made out that the establishment of the Naga State would almost autheir own. An unsettled Nagaland, on the very border of our unset-tled Assam, such is the poli-Naga State would annost au-tomatically restore peace in the area and win the Nagas for the Indian Union, that Phizo and his men hardly matter, that the British Go-vernment was blameless, and tical scene for the moment. The Parliamentary debat

The Parliamentary debate on Assam will reveal how much the various elements in our country and our present parliamentarians have learnt from the bitter experiences of the past, to be able to restore the spirit of Indian brother-hood and strengthen Indian unity.

-P. C. JOSHI piece and expect Phizo's August 30.

PRICE OF PL 480

T HERE are more wonders to PL 480 than is dreamt of in all our philo-sophy. It makes generous funds available to the U.S. Embassy to play around with. It helps the Swatantraites of various parties to sing the glories of "free enterprise". It aids the Congress leaders to relegate land reforms to limbo. And, of course, it puffs up S. K Patil to launch a direct ttack on State trading.

attack on State tracing. In the recent meeting of State Agricultural Minis-ters he made detailed in-terventions, both in public and private, against this officially declared aim of our "Socialistic Cabinet." His argument is that with-out ensuring the "normal flow" of trade, the interests of neither the consumer nor the producer could be protected.

He made much play with the fact that the Government wheat procurement in the Punjab and Madhya Pradesh for despatch to other States only helped to raise the general price heat all over the country. Government handling of

aimed at the Congress "ginger group", backed up by Mahalanobis, who had also been vociferous for

of withdrawing these cases was

under discussion, the arrest of persons for offences committed during the strike or even in the pariod preceding it continued

Attack On

ment employees.

Press

Persecution Of Central Govt. Employees Continues

WHILE the Government of Bihar is reported to have issued orders for the withdrawal of cases pending against the Central Government employees who partici-pated in the strike, the departmental bosses have not given up their retaliatory attitude and continue to: behave like little satraps out to avenge old feuds

About three thousand perso vere arrested in Bihar in con-tection with the strike. Of these nection with the strike. Of these 2,316 had been arrested during the strike, including 1,377 Rail-way employees, 718 P&T em-ployees, 83 Civil Aviation em-ployees, and 138 who were non-employees, functionaries of the unions, etc.

The latter include Ramanand Tiwari, MLA, and leader of the PSP group in the Bihar Assem-bly; Kapoor Thakur and Chan-dradeo Verma, both PSP MLAS, Deonandan Mahto, MLA and President of the Bihar State Kisan Sabha, Ramavtar Shastri, Secretary of the Bihar State Kisan Sabha, Jagannath Sarkar, Vice-President and Ratan Roy, General Secretary of the BPTUC. General BPTUC.

The Bihar Government order will not apply to these non-employees nor to those who are "charged with gross misconduct, acts of violence and sabotage". It is not yet known how many persons will be included in this ent order

Directed Against Leaders

The main purpose of the State Government order seems to be to concentrate their ire against the office-bearers and other functiona-ries of the unions participat-ing in the strike and to make the employees desist from associating with them. It was in line with these actics that while the question

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wheat has proved to be ex-pensive," he is reported to have said.

Almost at the same time the Prime Minister eloquently pleading "selective controls" on essential goods, including foodgrains. Nanda also backed this up while the Planning Commission is believed to be urging that a blueprint for selective controls should be kept in readiness. To all this S. K. Patil's

cynical retort is said to have been that neither "the Planning Commission or its grandfather" has an iota of the power of PL-480, which is meant to feed people and not fads.



The last remark was PL 480, in the vain hope



BRSEABCH-FOR whom?

T HE Indian Council for Applied Economic Re-search, headed by Birla's ex-employee Lokanathan, was set up by rather du-bious characters as a coun-terblast to the Indian Statistical Institute. Its main job for some time was to give the research veneer to what Big Business offices wanted to peddle. Many young Indian economists left the institution in dis gust.

But the Government of India seems to have a soft spot for it. They gave it status by asking it at one into the stage to enquire

impact of taxation on companies — the conclusions suited TTK very well, while he was Finance Minister.

The National Council re-paid the Government by nublishing a survey of the managing agency system, which gave an alibi to this hated institution and a critique of the Govern ment's attempt to control it through the Companies Act.

But the Government did not seem to mind and gave it a helping hand by recommending its services to various State Govern-ments. It has since gone on making expert "economic surveys." Their experts' finding in Bihar was that the private sector had to be given a freer rein and more scope

Now they have submit ted a lengthy report on Ra-jasthan to "help" the State Cabinet to frame its Third

Plan proposals. They have argued that Rajasthan needs to develop at a fas-ter rate than other Sta tes because of its relative backwardnes

For this the Government should concentrate almost all its investments on irrigation, power, agriculture, education and health-all the social overheads with very limited possibilities of surplus generation. The Centre should fix its attention on the construction of the Rajasthan Canal.

What about the private sector? The National Coun cil "experts" have naturally not forgotten their masters. To it has been left the lucrative field of industries and mining. Of the Rs. 100 and mining. Of the Rs. 100 erores to be invested in this sphere, they advise that the private sector alloca-tion should be as much as Rs. 90 crores. As a matter of fact, they insist that all of the Rs. 60 crores invest ment in industry should come from the private sector

While we breathlessly await the results of econo-mic surveys of other Sta tes, equally brilliantly conducted, we are left won-dering why Morarjibhai does not ask them to sur-vey the whole of India. Their findings would be so pleasant to implement.

PALAI AND SWATANTRA

T HOSE who were able to Hall of Parliament during the exciting days of the Palai Bank debate found an extraordinary effective lobby operating on behalf of the directors. It was a sight to see the

mighty George Thomas Kottukapalli himself condescending to personally explain matters to all he could grab hold of. At one stage this doughty personality even burst into tears and called upon God. He wept and said in a broken voice that the Finance Minister may not be just but "there was God who watched above and judg-ed." We can imagine the cosmic ironic mirth at this outburst.

Others went about whispering that the liquidation of the Palai Bank was Communist - Gujaratimil-Brahmin conspiracy. They were not quite sure who had bought over whom who had bought over whom but the hint was that CP. Ramaswamy Aiyar was the real master mind behind

the move. The fact that their propaganda didn't cut much ice didn't disappoint them -other easier forms of pressure were available to What did the directors. disappoint them was Masani's frosty reaction. He is said to have pontificated that Parliament was ago with the Palai crash when it should have been re sounding with the Plan crash!

Masani evidently that the failure of private banks will scarce Swatantra preaching will scarcely helu g about the superior efficiency and safety of the private sector

-ONLOOKER

August 30.

during the strike or even in the period, preceding it, continued unabated. The latest to be arrested is Habibur Rahman, President of the Bihar Provincial Trade Union Congress. He was ill and bed-ridden during the period of bed-ridden during the period of the strike but had supported the demands of the Central Government employees in meetings held to welcome him.

It should be remembered that It should be remembered that Habib was only recently acquitted and released after two years in jail as an under-trial prisoner in the famous Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case.

Another victim of the reven-geful fury of the State Gov-ernment is the progressive Hindi weekly Janashakti of Patna, which had objectively reported the course of the strike. Cases are pending scrinct the editor and the prinreported the course of the strike. Cases are pending against the editor and the prin-ter and publisher of the week-ly. But the police on the strength of the warrant of arrest raided the office of the paper at dead of night when the editor was at his home and searched and seized papers

searched and seized papers which had absolutely no rela-tion with the Central Govern-

ment employees. Next day, when the editor was in his office during office hours, the police went to his whouse and carried on the same vandalism there. In the process, they carried away personal files, note-books, account books and other papers. Not content with this the police raided the office of the People's Book House, ar-rested an employee and car-ried away account books, re-gisters and reports of the Book House which they have not yet returned.

strict screening and after forc-ing them to sign apologies, they are being taken back to work. But the process is very slow and the cases of more than one-fourth among them are yet pending.

Among the P&T employees alone, while the number of ar-rested was about 800, the num-ber of those suspended exceed-ed 1,500. Among them about 300 have not yet been taken



I T is now a month-and-a-half since the strike of the Cen-tral Government employees has been withdrawn. But some hardboiled bureaucrats in West Bengal are still reluctant to give up their attitude of reta-liation.

liation. Only a few days ago, charge-sheets were issued to 103 em-ployees of the defence establish-ment at Kankinara. Suspension notices were also served on three other employees.

The humiliating treatment meted out to a graduate Class III employee in the office of the Chief Commercial Super-III employee in the office of the Chief Commercial Super-intendent, Eastern Railway, shows how the Centre's in-structions are being imple-mented in atcual practice. As a measure of punishment, he was ordered on August 24 to work in the post of a Class IV employee. The latter was pro-moted to the post held by the graduate employee! Needless to say that the employee who was given the lift had not joined the strike. Then there is the case of a certain branch officer in the office of the Assistant Commer-railway. He climbed to his pre-sent high post from the posi-tion of an ordinary clerk. That is why, perhaps, he is sparing no pains to demonstrate his un-questioned loyality to the Cen-tral Government! If any employee is late by

gisters and reports of the Book House which they have not yet returned. About 5,000 Central Govern-ment employees had been sus-pended during the strike. After that his ordeal begins. He is

forced to take leave without pay for the day. On top of this, he is abused in filthy language and often turned out of the

room. It is now learnt that this gentleman is being sent to the Offi-cers' Training Institute at Ba-roda in recognition of his "me-ritorious services" to the Adnitorious services to the Ad-ministration! The Institute is meant for the training of only Class I railway officers, and till now no officer who has risen from the position of a Clerk, has been sent there.

from the position of a clerk, has been sent there. In view of the continued persecution of Central Gov-ernment employees, the Trade Union Relations Com-mittee, which is composed of representatives of the BP-TUC, HMS, UTUC and Fe-derations of Mercantile Office Employees' Unions and Asso-ciations, has decided to hold a central rally in Calcutta and meetings at import-ant centres on September 2, to demand that the offensive against the Central Govern-ment employees be stopped forthwith. The Committee has further decided to observe a "week" from September 3, during which signatures will be col-lected from all sections of peo-ple on an appeal addressed to the President of the Indian

ple on an appeal addressed to the President of the Indian Union, urging upon him to stop further harassment of and disfurther harassment of and us-ciplinary actions against the Central Government employees. A Trade Union Convention is also proposed to be held in the second week of September.



+ From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The West Bengal Assembly will meet at 9 a.m. on September 2 to adopt unanimously a resolution on the Assam situation. The resolution will be sent immediately to Delhi. where Parliament will be discussing the issue.

made by the Opposition par- Assembly.

Opposition's Suggestions

Earlier, representatives of Assembly — the Communist Party, PSP, Marxist F.B., RSP, F.B., Lok Sevak Sangh and Socialist Unity Centre—met and decided to send a letter to the Chief Minister requesting him to incorporate the following demands in the agreed resolution to be plac-ed before the Assembly.

• A public judicial enquiry into Assam disturbances by a Supreme Court Judge;

Administration of law and order under the supervision of a Central Minfor some time;

Rehabilitation of refuthe control and placed under the control and super-vision of a Central Minister and riot victims should be paid grants and adequate sation for loss of life. property and means of liveli-hood. The entire financial responsibility for the Assam evacuees in West Bengal should be borne by the Cen-

 The language issue should decided at a conference of all interests concerned and not by a majority vote in the Assembly. Pending such an agreement status quo should be maintained.

• Census operations, due to begin in October next should be postponed till a aceful atmosphere in Assam

Congress **Party Meets**

The letter was handed over to Dr. B. C. Roy just on the eve of the Congress Legislature Party meeting. Dr. Roy referred to the letter at the meeting and was understood to have remarked that a com-mon ground might be found to prepare a unanimous reso-lution, on which there should be no speeches when intro-duced in the Assembly.

But, he was reported to PAGE FOUR

THE decision to hold this have hinted that the demand Each decision to note this have ninted that the demand that the conditions in that meeting of the Congress Le-gislature Party on August 29 refer to it when the resolu-in response to the demands to the demands that the conditions in that the conditions is the conditions is that the conditions is that the conditions is that the conditions is the

> Dr. Roy told the Congress Legislature Party that it had two choices: it could itself adopt a resolution on the Assam situation or agree to the convening of an emer-gency session of the Assem-bly to adopt a unanimous resolution. The Congress members were reported to No Shelter, have expressed their choice in favour of the latter. No Food

Dr. Roy is expected to hold discussions with the Opposi-tion leaders today with a view to finalise the agreed draft.

Mage Rally

A mass rally was held in A mass rally was held in Calcutta on August 29 under the joint auspices of the Left parties. Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, Subodh Ba-nerjee, MLA (SUC), Jatin Chakravarty, MLA (RSP) and Barada Mukutmani (Bolshe-vik Party) spoke. Amar Basu, MLA (Marxist F. B.) presided.

The resolution adopted unanimously at the rally made the same demands as had been presented to the Chief Minister for inclusion in the Assembly resolution.

SAD 💀 PLIGHT

ØF REFUGEES

Meanwhile, refugees from Assam continue their tragic trek into West Bengal. About 42,000 evacuees are stated to have crossed the border since the terrible attacks on the minorities in Assam began. of this number, about 5,000 are somehow fending for themselves. The rest are entirely dependent on Govern-

The most disquieting fea-ture of the situation is that more than a month after the disturbances, there is no sign yet of the influx of abating. On the big railway stations in the refugees.

NEW AGE

LIFE SENTENCE FOR **COMMUNIST M.P.**

Kansari Haldar Convicted In Kakdwin Case

THE Judge of the Third before the High Court for use of the the the the proceedings. livered judgment on Aug-ust 29 in what is known as the "Kakdwip Conspiracy" preme Court also turned Case," in which Kansari down an appeal in Dec Baldar, Communist M. P., ber of the same year. and Jogendra Guria, Communist worker, were charged with conspiracy to commit murder and arson in the Kakdwip area between January 1948 and March 1950.

contrary, it is actually on

This is explained by the

fact that despite the claims of the Assam Government, these uprooted. people feel that the conditions in that

police. It is now abundantly

clear that they will not go back to the land of their adoption unless effective mea-

sures are taken to enable them to live there in peace and security, with their rights as Indian citizens fully guar-

As misfortune never comes

As missortime never comes singly, their sufferings have not lessened—not to speak of having ended—with their coming over to West Bengal. Over 37,000 of them have been

herded together in hastly improvised camps in North Bengal and in Nadia District.

Arrangements regarding food

shelter and medical treatment

are anything but satisfactory.

To cite an example, about

2,300 evacuees have been "housed" in tents in an open

field at Dhubila, about 60 miles from Calcutta. The conditions in which the re-fugees have been forced to

live in this camp are, to say

The tents afford little

protection against the tor-rential rains. Each family of four to five members is given free rations of two

seers of rice, two seers of atta, 14 chataks of pulses

and a cash dole of Rs. 4.56 for a period of 14 days. But most of the inmates do not

possess any cooking utensils and, to add to their hard-

ships, no fuel is available for miles around. There are practically no facilities for medical treatment. Little

wonder that 27 children.

aged two to twelve years, recently died due to malnu-trition and lack of medical

The present sufferings of

West Bengal Govern-

the Assam refugees are large-

ly due to the callous attitude

The conditions now prevail-

attention!

Attitude

the

ment.

State Govt.'s

the least, extremely deplora

anteed.

the increase.

acomitted.

Kansari Halder is now in **People's** jail. Arrangements are being made to file an **Leader** appeal before the High Court.

History Of The Case

The history of the "Kak-dwip Conspiracy Case" goes back to January 5, 1953, when proceedings started in the court of P. K. Das. Kansari Haldar, Jogendra Guria and 34 others were charge-sheeted by the po-lice. Of them, Haldar, Guria and four others were said to be absconding.

Eight of the 30 accused in the case were sentence to imprisonment for life. atenced Kansari Haldar was ar-

rested in New Delhi on August 21, 1957, and Guria was arrested near Bal in Orissa on November 22 of the same year. The evidence of 99 witnesses in this case was re-corded in March 1958, and

the charge-sheet framed on May 5. A petition was then filed

city, are reminiscent of the days of the 1950 influx of refugees from East Pakistan. About 2.000 refugees are packed like sardines in the halls and a godown of the station. The filth and squalor around the area would put even a pigsty to shame.

In the first place, the Government has refused to recognise the displaced people as "refugees". They are being treated as "destitutes" and, as such, have been placed under the charge of the Controller of Vagrancy! The State Government's Relief and Rehabilitation Department, therefore, has no responsibility whatsoever for these unfortunate peo-

preme Court also turned down an appeal in Decem-

The case then opened in March 1960, in the court of S. K. Sen, Judge, Third Tribunal.

Kansari Haldar Kansari Haldar was sen-tenced to imprisonment for life. Jogendra Guria was given benefit of doubt and Ashit Ganguli, Mukhtear.

During the British regime. Kansari Haldar was a prominent Congressman of 24 Parganas District, his field of work being Dia-mond Harbour area.

Shortly after the Kisar Shorily after the Kisan Sabha was formed in un-divided Bengal in 1936, Haldar joined the kisan movement and was elected Secretary of the 24 Parga-nas District Kisan Sabha.

Through the kisan move ment he came in contact with the Communist Farty which he joined in 1939. For ten years he was the President of the Union Board in his own area.

In the General Elections Haldar was elected to the Lok Sabha by defeating his Congress rival. He polled the highest number of votes all over the country

Kansari Haldar come of a Scheduled Caste family of Sarerhat Union of Diawas mond Harbour Sub-Divi-sion. He is now 55 years of age.

> Secondly, it is claimed that the State Government is "frantically looking for land the to start a camp" for the re-fugees stranded at Sealdah Station. But the Government could have surely requisitioned the big garden uses and uge plots of land owned by former zamindars in the suburbs of Calcutta. The plea that a few acres of land are not available anywhere in

Lastly, the Government has not explained why it has not yet pat up new huts on the sites of existing camps and made necessary arrangements for medical treatment and supply of adequate quantities

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Hardly any propaganda trick was too old and bad for them when it was a question of winning Indian sympathies for the Soviet Union. The Germans in Rourkela, on the other hand, dropped many a brick by expressing their views and desires freely.

Here is an example. In all their publications, even in purely technical reports on their foundry works, the Rus-slans stress that they adjust themselves to the living con-ditions of the Indians and do ditions of the Indians and do not claim any special rights (like the Germans do). For example, in Bhilai no Rus-sians took a drop of alchohol, because their Indian brothers were prohibited to drink alcohol by law. The cleverer Russian interpreters play this propaganda record to every visitor of Bhilai: "Since the laws of the State in which Bhilai is situated prohibit the drinking of alcohol, you will not find any Soviet citizen in Bhilai who drinks alcohol.

These declarations do not only work on the Indians, but above all on the German journalists. There is hardly a West German illustrated journal or paper carrying reports on Rourkela and Bhilai in which the Russians' teetotaller declaration is not repeated Reporter Hubman of the Mu-nich illustrated Quick praised the Russians by writing: "They.....strictly adhere to the Government's prohibi-

Nothing would be more erroneous than the assump-tion that the vodka-proof Soviet citizens in Bhilai had really to abstain from alcohol. They have only drawn the sons from the German

Drinking Habits

tion of alcohol."

When in 1959 the first when in 1959 the first mechanics from the Ruhr region settled in tents near Rourkela, the drinking of alcohol was prohibited there by law. The first thing the rmans did was to fight for a special permit; and the authorities who did not want to incur displeasure of the technical artists from Germany, consented. They cancelled prohibition for the entire district of Rourkela also for the natives.

After the German's joy in alcohol in India had aroused scathing comments, the Russtans had their wits about to this association): "Forbid them and renounced the eas- your mechanics the relations ing of prohibition with great; with these women." Kaupisch words and considerable propagandistic ado.

Another example: When the Germans started the cons-truction work in Rourkela, they asked the Indians to allow them to build their own hospital for the mechanics and their families. This separation attempt of the Ger-mans annoyed the Indians;

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Similarly clumsy were the Germans in regard to their club in Rourkela. They built an impressive establishment with kitchen and dining-hall, wiming-pool, tennis-gro-und, skittle-alley and open-air cinema and called it the "German Club." Passers-by "German Club." Passers-by are instructed by a plate at "For members the entrance: only" But only Germans can be members. The Indians, thereupon, erected their own club; later the "Brahmani-Club" was built which admits both Germans and Indians as

members.

Fishv "Ayahs"

I T was not only due to yet they agreed (the hospital the higher production will be transferred to the In-figures that the Russians won India's public opinion. the steel works). uncertain the steel works and the steel works and the steel works are the steel works and the steel works are the steel works a in reply: "Ours is a free coun-try. We cannot forbid any-thing." Things remained as

> "Fitters Hostel", in which the German fitters live like in barracks, was soon populain barrachs, was soon population ted with these fishy ayahs, so that Hindustan Steel Ltd., also became furious. They forbade the Germans any contact with the beddinggirls. The mechanics declared hypocritically that they could not protect themselves from the women who invaded their bachelor flats without having been asked to. The company, therefore, had a respectable barbed, wire fence built around the "Fitters Hostel" in order to protect the invad-ed Germans. The Germans thereupon lamented: "Cap-tives in Rourkela."

But what most confused the But what most confused the Germans in Rourkela was that they were rich people— for Indian conditions. Their employees had been generous in finances: every mechanic receives a daily wage of Rs. 40, his monthly income, tax free, thus amounts to Rs. 1200 (independently from (independently from

Many of these human problems were solved when the German workers had completed the spacious "German Club", — their ayahs remained in the bun-galows, which had been completed and rented by their mechanics. Enjoying had been rented by . Enjoying dance-music and beer they would sing their Rourkela songs:

bearer as cook and waiter, a mali as gardener, a dhobi as washerman, and an ayah for the children: exper this personnel:Rs. 200 to 250 per month. The German wives did not have to raise a finger in the house or garden.

extracts.)

In Bhilai—on the con-trary—no Russian woman



their salaries in India, each firm pays their mechanics the amount of their last salary plus a nearly 30 per cent grant for tropical countries to German bank account. Their a German bank account. Then entire income in Germany and India accounts to 2,000 to 2,200 marks per month). The mechanics could afford a high standard of living.

A number of them engaged their own servants so-called "ayahs"-for monthly wage of 60 rupe for a

(An elementary school tea-cher in India gets a salary of 45 rupees from the State). But they did not keep the But they do not keep the ayahs—in the native slang —"for drinking" but "for bedding"—as "Franleins". In this way they severely violated the strict Indian laws against prostitution.

The yearning of the wo-men-less Germans for womanly warmth was soon talked of in all parts of the country. Numerous prostitutes came from Calcutta. Steel Minister Swaran Singh complained to the representative of the Indian-Cemmeinschaft in New Delhi, Dr. Kaupisch (who in 1956 had changed over from diplomatic service to this association): "Forbid who had no such powers, proposed: "Don't allow women to

We love women, fight and adventure, but no remainder in the whisky-bottle. and

Well, who keeps an ayah, does not retain his health

And when the climax of these fetes is reached they throw the Indian waiters with clothes and all into the swimming_pool.

After the completion of the bungalows many mechanics wives came to Rourkela (Rourkela parson Dr. Eber-hard Peusch, 39: "The wives are of course a very appeas-ing element"). Many a Ger-man mechanic had also his girl-friend come whom he married at the German Con-sulate General in Calcutta or in the church of Zarakuda (Vice-Consul Vogelar: "Every. week one marriage").

German Wives

Many of the German wives Many of the German wives could not grasp their sahib-roles. Whether formerly a typist or woman-worker, in Rourkela they could keep as many servants as they liked; their husbands' earnings were sufficient sufficient.

keeps a servant or an ayah, even the roundish "matka" (Russian: corresponding to housewife) of Kremlin representative Filonenko doe not keep any. They do everything themselves. The Russian propagandists an-nonnce: "We do not want nounce: "We do not want to exploit Indians as ser-vants." Such phrases make a deep impression on Indian intellectuals.

Many Indians are equally impressed by the fact that the Russians do not take rikshas pulled by man. Since that take India's Prime Minister Nehru India's Prime Minister Venta once refused to sit in such a riksha ("It is unworthy of a human being", Nehru) no Russian will ever enter such a vehicle. The Germans, however, have no hesitation to be pulled around by the starving Indians.

The Evangelic pastor, Dr. eusch, complained: "In Peusch, complained: "In Rourkela they have no idea of what is moral and decent in India and what is impossible. Women are run about in shorts, and about in shorts, and with very daring necklines, and behave as if they were at Kur-feurstendamm in Berlin. The Indians are greatly shocked at this." But his severe reprimand in his paper "Nagara" (the news-carrier of the na-(the news-carrier of the tives) that the German ised: "Don't allow women to They rented big bungalows men should please to hide me to Rourkela, that is at low prices and employed a their bosoms, was fruitless."

Girls Are Unsafe

So Ugly Is The Reality, So

Damaging Is It To West Ger-

many That Their Own Press

Has To Make Such, Devas-

tating Exposures

weekly magazine, entitled "Russians on

the Roof." Alarmed at the striking suc-

cess of the joint Indo-Soviet venture at

Bhilai, some West German circles are an-

xious to expose the filth and mess at

Rourkela, in a quixotic attempt to im-prove matters. Recently, the West Ger-

man monopolists have started pouring

forth any amount of expensive, glossy publications to try to hide the ugly reality.

Here from their own Press is the true pic-

ture of the scandalous situation at Rour-

kela. Next week we shall publish further

(We publish below extracts from an article appearing in Der Spiegel, an in-fluential anti-Communist West German

> Pastor Peusch reported: "The Christian Indians in the "The Christian Indians in the jungles had come to know that Germans had arrived at Rourkela. The Indians think-Ing all Germans were super-Christians, asked for a visit, and so I went with some mechanics to them in the jungles."

Dr. Peusch did not comment on the events during this ex-pedition to their fellow-believers, but only the conse-quences: "I never undertook such a trip again" and "the Christian mission in the jun-gles has forbidden their girls to go as ayahs to Germans who have no wives in Rour-

Thousand rupees was stolen from a mechanic of the electrical firm Siemens A. G. At the same time his Indian bearer disappeared. He turned to five of his mechanic-colleagues for help who remembered that a brother of the run-away worked with a German family. Suspecting the runaway was the thief and his brother knew all about it, the five Seimens mechanics summoned their bearers and ordered them to get the run-away's whereabouts out of the brother. When he posed to be ignorant, they asked the other bearers to torture him. Hot irons burned naked portions of the body.

Another example: a mechanic of the Hamburg crane building firm of Kam-pwagel which did exem-plary work in Rourkela, raped an Indian girl.

Of course, in the German settlement other fauxpas were made that did cur in Bhilai



NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

WHAT IS WRONG WITH ANDHRA HIGH-SCHOOLS ? feature. Schools reopen in the the summer vacation itself. third week of June every year This suggestion has been re-after the summer vacation. jected by the Education Admissions are made and Minister.

+ by P. SBIBAMAMUBTHY, MLC

The publication of the results of the SSLC (Andhra and Venkåteswara Universities) and HSC (Telangana area) public examinations held in March 1960, have once again brought into sharp focus the deplorable position of secondary education in Andhra Prodech

According to one estimate the Andhra SSLC Board does not give percentages as many other Boards in other. States do—only 29.8 per cent vere successful in the examinations. This is 5-1|5 per cent less than last year.

As it is, Andhra stands at the lowest rung compared to other States. The percentage of success in Madras State is 45, in Poona 49 and se on, while in Andhra it is just 35. This year, Andhra has beat its own record and the last six ears confirm this progress in reverse direction

Too many people have been talking about problems in the educational field like fall in percentages, fall in standards of education and so on. It has me a fashion for everyon accuse the students indiscipline and make it the root cause for the state of cation in our country.

State Govt. Responsible

But, one who knows the history of secondary educa-tion in Andhra Pradesh cannot but place the entire responsibility on the State Government and particularly on the Minister holding the ation portfolio.

It may be mentioned here that this particular Minis-ter for Education, S. B. P. Pattabhiramarao, has been Pattabhramarad, has been holding this portfolio, des-pite changes in the Minis-tries, ever since the begin-ning of the Second Fivening of the Second Five-Year Plan. Such a long should help any tenure should help any Minister to pursue certain schemes, to analyse the situation and to find the remedies. But this Minister has earned the unenviable record of having done nothing to improve the situation. As a result of persistent demands from parents, tea chers and others, the SSLC Results Enquiry Committee was set up in 1958, composed of experts handpicked by the Education Minister. Haunted by the fear that its report also would meet the same fate as all other reports in Congress-ruled States, the Committee had said:

"The composite Madras Government had, therefore, to point a committee in 1947 Madras appendix a conduct in the secondary Educa-called indexids Committee' to tion Standards Committee' to investigate into the causes of investigate into the causes of the deterioral the deterior the deteriors that a scontary education stands for improv-suggest measures for improv-ing them. That constal after touring all the coastal districts and making a thorough investigation of the submitted a detailed the Government report of Madras composite State, analysing the various reasons deterioration and suggesting concrete proposals for raising the standards. But,

PAGE SIX

N OT even one-third of the candidates got through the examinations. we regret to state that no action, worth the name, was taken by the Government.... If the recommendations of that committee had been adopted in full, the conditions of secondary education in the Andhra area would have, per-

haps, been much better now. During the course of our During the course of our tours; several responsible peo-ple questioned the likelihood of any steps being taken to implement the recommenda-tions of the present committee

Proposals **Cold-Storaged**

The committee's fears have come too true. The State Government did not make any nove to effective implement these recommendations.

Most of the important recommendations like the restriction of the strength ing in many schools, early supply of text-books to pupils, supply of equipment and apparatus and other teaching aids to schools, provision of accommodation, provintment of as many teachers as there are sec-tions, improvement of the lot of teachers, etc., have so far not been implemented by the Government. The result of such non-imple-mentation was further fall in percentage of results this

While no one argues that Government must accept all the recommendations of any committee appointed, rejection of practically every im-portant recommendation can-not be defended.

Let us now turn to the high cost of education. In recent years, the school fees in higher forms was enhanced, though free education was introduced in the lower forms. All pupils including free scholars have to pay these special fees, which itself has trebled in recent times.

The increase in the cost of text-books is to the extent of 75 per cent on the average, compared to the pre-nationalisation period. A new burden added to the

increasing cost of education of late is the collection of "voluntary" donations from pupils, which is a pre-condi-tion for admission. At the college level, literally thou-sands have to be spent to get seat in the medical engineering courses.

When schemes of mass edication are taken up, much stress should not be laid on provision of massive buildings for schools and colleges. But this should not mean that the students should re-ceive education in wom-out composite State, ceive entration in without pro-the various reasons that deal sheds without pro-deterioration and tection from sun and rain, or concrete proposals in dilapionated buildings and the standards. But, congested chass-rooms.

In Eluru, West Godavari District, for example, a school building collapsed while teaching was going on and the students were seriously injured. A similar incident took place in Guntur District resulting in the death of a teacher's son. A college in Siddipet is located tobacco barns in an nother Government college another Government conege at Karimnagar in jail wards. Such is the environment where our students are receiving their education.

the Scarcity of seats in infant class as well as in the colleges is a general pheno-menon in the urban areas in the State. In Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, seats in kindergarten and other infant classes are book-ed at least a year in advance. In hig towns like Vijayawada, there is heavy rush for admis-sions into the sixth class and young students who are eager to enter the portals of a high school are denied admission for want of accommodation. ncement of re-Late comme

gular classes is a common

transfer certificates are issued to the pupils till the end of July Sections are formed and transfers of teachers are effected till August 15 every year. Text-books do not reach the hands of all pupils till this time. Thus, the whole of the first quarter (till second week of August) is spent without any teaching work. regular

Five Months Of Teaching

Again, by the end of February students appearing. for public examinations (SSLC and HSC) are let off for pre-parations. Thus, the students have regular teaching for only for months, it the Dusserbh five months, if the Dusserah and Pongal holidays are excluded. How can good results be expected in such conditions?

That is the reason why the SSLC Results Committee suggested that the whole work of issuing transfer certificates to the pupils, making admissions into class six and other classes, forming sections and so on should be over during

Minister. Another ridiculous exam-

ple of the methods of the administration is that scientific and other teaching apparatus are not supplied to the schools on the ground that tenders for supply of such laboratory equ are not forthcom

Again, more often than not. Government selects perthe sons to set question-papers not from among experienced tea-chers actually handling the subjects in secondary schools but from teachers or lecturers in colleges. That is why que tions are often found to be above the standards of aver. age pupils and outside the syllabus. This fact also con-tributes to the great number of failures in public examina-

Experience has shown that successive Congress Govern-ments, and particularly the present Education Minister not sensitive to the needs of education in Andhra. organisations of students and teachers have to meet this problem and with the co-operation of the parents and the public impose on these elements a solution in the problem right direction.

defective mechanism Of

distribution, the society was not

able to fully meet the demand form its members. Hence, it decided to secure a direct quota

of fertilisers and other agricul-

tural implements and has

- It is impossible to fully appreciate the efforts of the

organisers to keep the society going, unless the serious limitations the Cooperative

Act places in the way of the organisers are also taken into

For example, the limit of the

extent of loan is decided in

terms of so many times the ren

paid and not on the basis of the

ost of land or cost of produce

The amount of loan allowed is

24 times the rent in case of dry

land and ten times in case of wet land. This would come to

Rs. 60 in the case of wet land and Rs. 12 in the case of dry land in the area in which the

society operates. Of what use is a loan of Rs, 12 to a peasant!

When the managing com-

mittee of the society pre-pares the list of peasants apply-ing for loan along with all

documents. this list has to go

through the patwari, taluq co-

operative supervisor, inspector, deputy registrar and a host of

other officials before it reaches

the Cooperative Central Bank,

which grants the loan. And all

requisit

already deposited the amount of Rs. 2,000.

Limitations Of

cideration.

The Law

of a class of a section to 25 in the lower forms and 40 in higher forms, abolition of the shift system now obtain-ing in many schools -and the difference

> **H** ERE are two stories about the working of two cooperative institutions in Andhra Pradesh - one organised and run by Communist and Kisan Sabha workers and the other by Sabha• top Congress leaders.

The first is an enlarged cooperative credit society orga-nised and run successfully for the last three years by Com-munist and Kisan Sabha workers in CHENNARAOPET village in the forest area of Warangal District.

Obstructions Bm Vested Interests

It took nearly eight months for the organisers to get the society registered. Local landlords, officials and Congress men led by the District Con-gress leader, wanted to nip this society in the bud, raised an objection that the operation area of the society should not exceed three to five miles and hence this society should not be registered. Thanks to the assistance given by the Leader of the Opposition, the then Registrar waived this objection saying that this rule need not be rigidly applied in the case of societies in backward areas.

Another attempt was made when they propagated that they would start a cooperative society for each village, instead of one society for so many villages as the Communists were doing. The people were not taken in by this ruse.

A third attempt was ma through the instrument of village patwaris, who raised silly objections to giving solv-ency certificates to the peasants were members of the

NEW AGE

Fertiliser is very much needsociety and wanted to secure ed by the peasantry. But, due to its limited availability and delayed supply as also due to loans

If one remembers the powerful grip these reactionary sections have in the villages, one can understand the diffi-culties which the Communist and Kisan Sabha workers had

At last, they could get the society registered and during the three years of its exist-ence, it could distribute an amount of three lakhs of amount of three taking of rupees as loans to the pea-santry. Cooperative officials have expressed their satis-faction about the sound financial position of the society, which has on its society, which has on its rolls one thousand members, spread over 14 villages, with

Rs. 30,000 as paid-up capital and a turn-over of Rs. 1.60 lakhs during the last three uears.

Credit For The Poor

The organisers did not confine themselves to the routine pattern. Contrary to the usual prac-

tice in all societies, they gave loans to poor peasants and to such of those who had no pattas in their name. The society thus implemented the recommendation of the All-India Rural Credit Survey that loans should be based on "creditworthiness of purpose and not of person."

Again, the society, on its own initiative, launched the consstruction of a godown at a cost of Rs. 30,000, to provide storage facilities to peasants. Unfortunately, however, the construction is being delayed due to non-availability of zinc sheets and other iron and steel reouirements.

* SEE FACING PAGE SEPTEMBER 4 1960

Agricultural production can be developed, if all farms, irrespective of size are helped financially and technically. The National Sample Survey (Eighth Round) shows that 87.29 per cent of the total households own 35.99 of the land, each holding being ten acres or less. But, generally it is these farms that miss the attention of the Government. As several investigations have revealed, it is generally the landlords and upper strata of the peasantry that get the Lion's share of Government assistance.

HIS is not accidental by the Board of Economic Enquiry any chance. There is a cal-culated policy behind it. The nt holds that it is the Govern substantial holders and large-scale mechanised farms that can increase production, not the small farms which have no means to carry on efficient cul-

Huge

Loans

18.000

In Andhra Pradesh, the entire cost of a tractor, or a pumpset, or an oll engine or a tube-well is given on loan by the Gov-ernment, and such loan may go. up to more than Rs. 20,000 per each landholder. Who but landlords and rich peasants can avail of such assistance?

Tractor cultivation is in-creasing and this is made possible by the generous loan policy of the Government. In Punjab, the Development Minister, in March 1955, inform-ed the Punjab Assembly in reply to the question that 472 persons were given loans amounting to Rs. 4,479,612 which enabled them to pur-

chase 411 tractors. But, are the tractor-cultivated farms more efficient, more advanced and more productive, the bullock-cultivated than farms and is the policy of the Government in giving loans liberally to purchase tractors, etc., warranted by facts? The investigations made by

income per acre, net e ture per acre, yield of crops per acre, etc. It has been found that in every respect the tractor-culti-vated farms are inferior and less useful to this country as a whole in the present social setred to bullock-culup as compare tivated farms.

* FROM FACING PAGE this procedure to secure a loan

f Rs. 12 per acre of dry land! The organisers can justifi-ably feel proud of their reord when they have had face such heavy odds of red-tapism, opposition of Con-gress and landlord sections and the limitations of the Cooperative Act.

The second society is the Guntur District Cooperative Marketing society, whose Pre-sident in no less a person than

TRIVER

RDITOR : P. C. Joshi

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SEPTEMBER 4, 1960

of the Punjab Governm prove that it is not,

The Board of Economic Enquiry of the Punjab Govern-ment has recently published a report of an enquiry into the Economics of Tractor Cultivation in Punjah It relates to the year 1955-56. The enquiry was conducted in 36 farms-12 tractor-cultivated and 24 bullockcultivated—spread over the dis-tricts of Ambala, Amritsar, Lu-dhiana, Karnal and Ferozpur.

The enquiry is a comparative study of the economics of these two types of farms. The area of farms under this study was 50 to 308 acres in the case of tractor-cultivated land with average size of the holding being 95 acres and in the case of bullock-cultivated lands, the area was 7½ to 55 acres, average being 2114 acres

Comparison

The

Various aspects of the economies of cultivation were exa-mined like investment of capital, intensity of cropping, ne expendivarious TRACTOR-FARMING - Govt. Policies Are To Help It. But It Does Not Serve Agricultural Production In Our Present Set-Up

*by JAGJIT SINGH LYALLPURI~

INVESTMENT OF CAPI-TAL: On a tractor farm the investment of capital per acre amounts to Rs. 173 as against Rs. 106 on the bullockted farms. In case of tractor-cultivated farms 72 per cent of the per acre expenditure ac-counted for the tractor and 12 per cent for the tube-wells. Thus 84 per cent of the expen-riture is on machinery which is mainly imported. On the bullock-cultivated farms 62 per cent of the expediture is on bullocks and 23 per cent on wells and Persian Wheels. This is an expenditure which gene-rates further employment with-

in the country itself. INTENSITY OF CROPPING: In the tractor-cultivated farms. intensity of cultivation on irri-gated lands is 135.7 per cent as against 142.1 per cent on the bullock-cultivated farms, and on the unirrigated land it is 104 per cent on the tractor-cultiva-ted land, as against 114.9 per cent on bullock-cultivated land.

GROSS INCOME: Per acre the gross income is Rs. 249.56 for tractor-cultivated irrigated land, Rs. 98.14 for tractor-cultivated unirrigated land, and Rs. 267.60 and Rs. 147.17 respectively for bullock-cultivated irrigated and unirrigated land.

Thus, in this enquiry it has been found that the tractorcultivated farm is superior only as a labour saving device. It ands more area per wor ker than the bullock-cultivated farm. But in the present conditions of unemployment and the prevailing land system of private ownership, this "virtue" of the tractor farm is deterimental to our vast rural population as well as our population as well as our rural economy. It further en-hances unemployment at the bottom and concentrates rural wealth in the hands of a few at the top. Will the Government, at least

		737/001/07	
	GROSS	INCOME	

·			GROSS I					
	IRRIGAT	ED AREA	UNIRRIGATE	D AREA	IRRIGATE	D AREA T	NIRRIGATI	
CROP	Tractor farm	Bullock farm	Tractor farm	Bullock farm	Tractor farm	Bullock farm	Tractor farm	Bullock farm
	Rs.	Rs						
American Cotton	233.92	257.56	151.64	200.71	7.39	8.28	4.97	7:42
Desi Cot- ton	89.34	306.77	-	— 1	2.48	12.31	_	2.00
Wheat & wheat- gram	169.39 -	191.51	104.35	131.71	10.54	13.91	7.75	9.98
Sugar-cane (Gur)	280.89	453.79	104.74	355.11	26.98	40.35	8.80	35.34
Maize	92.91	102.44	36.04	156.17	9.49	11.21	4.81	15.11
Rice	161.33	183.90	58.05	125.00	16.39	16.76	6.45	12.1

TWO CO-OPS

the Secretary of the Pradesh Congress Committee, M. Ven-kata Raju. The report about the work-

ing of this society, given below, is not made up of allegations by Opposition members, but factutal charges culled out from a memorandum submitted to Chief Minister by responsible Congress MLAs from that very district.

It may be recalled here that the premises of this society in Guntur town was broken open by the present President and its administration was forcibly taken over from the erstwhile President, both Congres

The Government gave Rs. The Government gave for 15 lakhs to this society for loans, but it distribution as loans, but it distributed only Rs. 2½ lakhs during that year. What happen-ed to the rest? Nobody knows. A committee was appointed by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies for super-vision of distribution of fertiliseers through this society. The committee met just once.

The society purchased six wagonloads of maida, but did not dispose it of. Today, it has become unfit for human consumption. The loss to the society—Rs. 2,00,000.

Government has allotted 25 tons of milk powder to this society. Instead of being distributed and sold to the people, it was sold to a merchant in Hyderabad! When the authorities came to know of this, the society officials hurriedly drew up a list of traders to whom the

powder was alleged to have been sold. When things are done in such a hurry mistakes always creep in. Among the li of traders prepared by the society's officials was a beed merchant!

The society entered info deal to export red chillies to Ceylon through a company which later deceived the society. The society sued the company for Rs. 20,000. Strangely enough, a member of the managing committee, instead of defending the society, joined hands with that company and of which he was a member. No action was taken against him.

And lastly, lots of money was spent by the Presiden of the society in the name of travelling allowances, but no accounts were submitted. Simi larly amounts from the Cor mon Goodwill Fund of the society were donated to institu-tions, in which members of the society had personal interest and to organisations in which sons and relatives of the Pre-sident are officers.

This is the record of two cooperative institutions and there are plenty of similar instances. Still⁻ scores of Government decisions are there by which institutions manned and run by Communists have been niously superseded. on unceremoniously superseded, on flimsy and cooked-up charges, which the Government itself could not substantiate, except by way of mere assertion. Any comment is superfluous.

NEW AGE

NET EXPENDITURE per acre is: tractor-cultivated farm, irrigated—Rs. 152, 58 unirrigated—Rs. 75.59; lock-cultivated farm irriga-ted—Rs. 142.99, unirrigated -Rs. 72.56.

now, give up its policy of pampering the landlords and take up the policy of helping more the poorer strata of the peasantry so as to enable them to raise agricultural production in their farms?

dir'

NET INCOME PER ACRE IS AS FOLLOWS:-

	IRRIGATED		UNIRRIGATED	
	Tractor	Bullock	Tractor	Bullock
In case land and capital are self owned; and perma- nent labour is of family members	Rs. 132.11	Rs.	Rs. 37.70	. Rs. 98.05
Lands are owned; perma- nent labour is of family members; capital invest- ment on loan	144.25	156.95	33.09	89.66
Land on rent; capital loan; permanent labour is of family members	58.07	63.25	15.33	45.70
Land on rent; capital loan; and permanent labour on hire	3.14	27.51	9.48	6.66

NEW AGE POLITICAL MONTHLY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA Editor: B. T. Ranadive September issue contains: Konstantinov and Momdzhvan: Dialectics and Our Tim (official translation of an important article from Kommunist, Moscow) Satvabrata Rov: Note on the Third Plan (Article for discussion) Single Copy: Fifty naye Paise T. MADHAVAN 7|4, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi-1. La company and the second s PAGE SEVEN

THIRD PLAN DEBATE MIRRORS NATION'S ECONOMIC ILLS

Despite its shortcomings the Lok Sabha debate on the Draft Outline of the Third Plan with 50 members participating spread over five days was event of major significance in so far as it inevitably became a mirror of the state of the nation and its economy and the pulls working to determine its direction of development.

The shortcomings were due perhaps mainly to the fact that the debate was being held shortly after the draft outline had been made public and members had not had sufficient time to digest it. There was an element of shadow boxing and mock-fighting too, between Swatantraites and Government leaders. Among these latter some wags rather appropriately in-cluded Asoka Menta also.

The country's problems today are however too pres-sing to be submerged in or sidetracked by unreal dema gogy of any sort. Neverthe-less the undue importance attached to Swatantra did show the weakness of the foundations on which Inlian planning and its pro-laimed objectives and socalled strategy are plac

"Obvious Things"

The Prime Minister initiating the debate said "some obvious things" as he con-fessed: about the necessity of planning of industrialisa-tion and about, the primary

"Unless we are self-sufficient in agriculture and more we cannot get the where-withal to advance in industries. If we have to import food, then we are doomed, absolutely doomed, so far as progress is concerned.

All this according to him embraces the strategy What remains is nlanning. questions of detail like the methods of improving agri-culture ("Anybody can put them down as one, two, three, four, five, six, seven and so on... Better tools manure fertilisers, better seeds and

at least as a part of the de-tails, if not of the broad strategy, itself is deliberately and carefully avoided and from the emphatic reiteration of socialism (non-doctrinaire brand) as the goal there is a very quiet and smooth transition to defining socialism in terms of the "affluent society of the West," which seems to have been brought about only by the adoption and imbibing modern technology, having nothing to do with exploita-tion of the working class and other classes or of the colo-

How is this to be squared

ferent matter, to change the whole basis of society complequickly, you have to leave enough incentive for people to work... After all produc-tion comes first, before any Not that the Prime Minister could shut his eyes comple-tely to growing inequality and kind of equalisation or division. There is no point in having an equal measure of poverty for all." (Emphasis added) to accumulation of wealth and economic power in cer-tain hands, although he is not sure of the fact and would like an enquiry to be made.

Sop To to change that suddenly and **People** With this approach the failure of the Second Plan to achieve fully the targets set for it is explained as due only to the failings of the imlementation machinery.

Speaking immediately after Nehru A. K. Gopalan The people of India are

1100.41

benches drew pointed atten-tion with relevant statistics from the draft outline and elsewhere too to the fact of non-fulfilment of tarthe non-fulniment of tar-gets in the Second Plan. Ex-cept for the lunatic fringe of the Swatantra nobody sug-gested that this was due to planning as such in fact the advance achieved was recog-nised from all sides. But the nised from all succes but the disquieting features were so patent that Asoka Mehta's loud declaration of achieve-ments could not but jar on all ears and drew inevitable jeers.

Second Plan Falfiment

The issues that figured prominently related to the fact of growing disparity and Government's growing sup-port to big capitalists, greater backlog of unemployment left backlog of unemployment left by each plan, total scepticism ut Government's capacity to hold the price line equally complete refus equally complete refusal to be taken in by the talk of achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrain production by the end of the Third Plan as targeted in the draft outline.

Pointing out to the nonfulfilment of Second Plan targets A. K. Gopalan drew attention to steel production. It was targeted to reach 4.3

unless you are prepared com-pletely to change the struc-ture of society. That is a dif-ferent matter, to change the get, food production had been planned to be raised by 15 million tons but it was actually going to rise only by 10 million tons (from 65 to 75 million tons).

> In overall physical terms the Second Plan achievement Gopalan said was not goin to be more than 60 to 65 pe oning cent.'

It is not without significance that both the Prime Miniser and the Planning Minister who wound up the debate fought shy of the question of agrarian re-forms. The Prime Minister amed the State Govern ments for being slow in the matter. It was obvious that Government leaders do not regard it as a question that must be solved if self-suffi-ciency in food production is to be achieved. Gopalan drawing pointed attention to this aspect said that land reforms was the most bar-ren chapter in the draft outline of the Third Plan.

He pointed to the heavy He pointed to the neavy foreign capital and said it foreign lapital and said it was going to make the Third Plan "highly vulnerable to Plan "highly vulnerable to sities of life of the people.... political as well as economic while Big Business goes with and will certainly defeat the just a flea bite, is highly objectionable." He demanded

Of Trade He emphasised the need to step up exports and said, "It is plain that the scope for in-creasing our trade with the West is limited." He demanded diversion of more trade towards socialist countries.



Third Plan, the Finance Min-ister was emphatic in up-holding the draft outline

which visualises great indirect taxation in all possible forms. Gopalan indicted this policy and said, "The policy of heavy taxation on the neces-

debate on reorganisaand

He does not put it so bluntly

as Asoka Mehta did later in propounding his theory of "built-in inequality" or Mo-rarji Desal did with his cate-

rical assertions of continu-

Jawaharlal Nehru makes

the same point by saying, "You cannot advance in these lines, industrial lines, by the application of some methods,

ing disparity

tion of agriculture achievement of self-sufficiency in food and raw ma-terials A. K. Gopalan said that agriculture had not been given the importance that it should have been given.

Continuing he said:

Agriculture, being the king-pin, has remained a dead weight and it has not been able to move fast. Food im-ports in the First Plan have been 11.98 million tons, worth Rs. 593.45 crores. In the Seon.... Better tools manure fertilisers, better seeds and the like"). In this outline of broad strategy where even the men-tion of institutional changes, at least as a part of the de-tails, if not of the broad ons, worth Rs. 1073.90 crores.

Main Bottleneck

In addition, we have to import large quantities of cot-ton, copra, jute, etc. Why is it that we have to import these things? Because, agri-culture could not be develop-ed. Our agriculture, instead of vielding the surpluses nesary for economic development, has remained a deficit proposition. That is the main

as the national objective; they are then frightened with the bogy of "sudden" and "quick" change and once again the old rusty argument of production first, distribu-tion afterwards with no inter-connection or interdepen-dence seen in this instance. connection

Where Is Socialism

As The

National Objective?

thus first assured that the

Government accepts soc

that it was not simply a question of implementation but also a question of policy. but also a question of pointy. There was a deep-seated contradiction between the aims and objectives of the Plan and the policies and programmes and methods adopted in seeking to imlement the Plan.

had naturally to point out

training personnel, for chang-ing the whole atmosphere in fadia and making it more amenable to modern techni-ques. He spoke about agricul-ter-alled going to the extent of saying something which sounded fronte:

tle-neck in our economic de-velopment according to us.

In the Second Plan, the performance in the agricultural sector has been disappointing. If we look at the figures, from 955_56 to 1960-61, under foodgrains and cotton, the shortfall is very serious, com-pared with the targets. I will say that in this sector there is continued semi-stagnation. This is at the root of several of our major problems. By semi-stagnation, I do not mean that there was no increase in production. I mean that whatever the targets were, not only had we not been able to achieve thos targets, but we have been far

What are the results today? The results are constant pre-ssure on the cost of living, large balance of payment deficit, also inability to make fuller use of the under-em-ployed and unemployed man-power and severely limited market for India's industries, market for india's industries, particularly, small-scale in-dustries. Agriculture, at pre-sent, is a major drag on the industrialisation of the coun-try and improvement of the living standards of the peo-nle ple.

How can we improve and

reason, that is the main bot- unleash the vital potentialities of the working peasan-try? Enact drastic land re-form legislation and see that it is implemented. There can be only two kinds of develop-ment in agriculture. The first kind is transformation of the technical and social base of agriculture from below. The second is transformation from the top of the large estates capitallst into modern large

farms with gradual elimina-tion of the working peasan-try. We are developing in the second form and not in the first form. Fetters On

Development

What are the main fet-ters on the development of productive forces in agri-culture? The main thing is the concentration of land in the hands of a smaller minetic and else the deminority and also the de-nial of land to the majority of the tillers.

If we restrict the lands in the hands of the rich pea-sants and provide the surplus land to the poor and landless peasants, provide them with capital and knowledge of 189 days in the year. Among scientific methods of cultiva- the landowners also, accordscientific methods of cultiva-tion, we will be able to make

efficient use of the land and per cent possess less than five labour. The approach must be on the basis of a prosperous agricultural labour force and owner-cultivator.

Proposals in regard to land give this vast section reforms in the Second Plan have been carried over to the Third Plan, but they have practically failed. Land reform is the most barren chapter in the draft Third Plan, and it provides only a techni-cal solution. Intead of loosening the fetters on inappropriate production relations, the draft wants to overcome this difficulty by calling for expansion of irrigation and more output of fertiliser. These two are, no doubt, very important, but you cannot bypass the most important estion of breaking up the monopoly. Without land monopoly. Without changing the pattern of land holding, even if there is increase in agricultural pro-duction, it will only mean in-tensified exploitation and imtensified exploitation and im-poverishment of a large section of agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

Agricultural labourers with no or insignificant land constitute 30.4 per cent of our rural population; 80 per cent of them are casual labourers and get employment for only ing to the sample survey, 53 oor peasants is either unen

oved or under -employed. To SOT employment and increase its standard of living must be the main purpose of our agri-cultural policy.

There are two aspects of land reform-tenancy reform and ceiling on land. Let the Minister examine how far the various legislations enacted by the States in regard to these two aspects have been implemented and where.

It has been stated that after fixing ceilings there is no hope of getting more land for distribution. Why? It is not because there is no land available, but because there are so many gaps and loop-holes in our legislation. Exemptions are given to what are known as well-managed farms, orchards, plantations etc., as also partition and transfer.

There was a news item in the Press four months ago that when the Bill was introduced in the Madras Assembly, landlords in Tanjore be stamps worth Rs. 1 lakh and Rs. 90:000 respectively, for purposes of transfer etc.

In the matter of tenancy laws, I want the Minister to see if even today there are no evictions in the various States. Only four months back, in Alwar, Rajasthan, tenants who had been occupying land for 50 to 60 years were served with notice and evicted. There are many reasons for this, one of them being socalled personal cultivation.

Tenancy

Laws

The Report on Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad (1958) by Dr. A. M. Khusro, gives the information that out of the originally created pro-tected tenants in 1951, only 45 per cent remained at the time of enquiry in 1955. Out of every 100 tenants evicted, 51 were evicted illegally and 43 had surrendered their lands A similar scale of evictions was reported by the Poona School in their Report on the Working of the Bombay Ten ancy Act, 1948, and two-thirds of the "voluntary surrenders" were reported to have result-ed from threats.



On the question of raising

imposition of capital gains tax.

Hiren Mukerjee castigated the Government for gloating over food imports from USA.

for the Third Plan Asoka Mehta had whi about it as some sort of a great achievement. Hiren Mukerjee was particularly critical of foreign private capital being invited. This "I am glad it is coming," he sort of welcome, open, wild, said. "But I cannot under-stand the gloating over it and to foreign capital. But we I do want to say that this never know that the return question of PL 480 has got to on equity investment is highsort of welcome, open, wild, loud-voiced welcome is given The state of the state of the

that it is largely on the has in the interval of the basis of aid, friendly frater-nal aid, from socialist coun-tries that we are now able to tackle the question of machine-building: industry and that kind of heavy industry which alone is the foundation of a sound independent eco dependent economy whose importance has been stressed by the Prime Minister every time he opens his mouth in regard to this subieet."

He called for a return to Swadeshi-ism: "The menace of India Limited at one time used to be placarded all over the Press, our patriotic Press, but now we are inviting and ing foreign equity capital even for purposes of private investment and we are allowing the private sec-tor of this country to get hold of foreign exchange by hook of foreign exchange by hook or by crock, to impinge, so to speak on the total avail-ability of foreign exchange and to turn off production for purposes which bring profit-to them in a maximum fash-lon and divert the stream of productivity which is the ob-jective of the Plan. We are essisting the network sector in assisting the private sector in assisting the private sector in alliance with the foreign capitalist to get loans, to secure foreign exchange and by all kinds of devious means to find out better avenues for improvement of their inter-ests. Swadeshism is very ests. Swadeshism is very necessary and we should try to stand on our feet."

Congress Members Voice Criticism Of Second Plan Performance

internal resources in the be taken very seriously....As er than the interest—47 per Third Plan, the Finance Min- a result of this PL 480 trans- cent—which is charged by ister was emphatic in up- action tens of crores of rupees capitalist agencies in the inaccrue to the United Government as portion of the supposedly assisting us in re-PL 480 counterpart funds gard to this Plan." which is reserved for use by which is reserved for use by the U.S. for its own purposes in this country. It is dange-rous, the infiltration by a country which has unashamedly declared its intention whole

ternational sphere which are

He showed the difference between this sort of foreign aid and the aid from socialist countries.

"It is good to remember

-ZIAUL HAQ

With these loopholes, natu-rally there will be no land ment in Kerala, within the available for distribution. four corners of the Constitution, and in the spirit of the aims and objectives of the aims and object Planning Commis Planning Commission, passed three pieces of legislations to protect the interests of the tenant, to see that they were not evicted and to secure as much land as possible for distribution after fixing ceiling. There was also a Bill on debt relief to tenants. They were not given assent to. From an answer to a quespapers I understand that the President has returned them result of which thousands then can we improve agricul-of acres of land will escape tural production. ceiling.

> One modification suggests Waste recognition of voluntary transfers made by the big landlords and allowing the transferees to retain the transferred land up to the celling limit. This defeats the very purpose of celling. There are so many other exemptions also.

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show that if this is going to be the policy of the Govern-ment in regard to ceiling on land, security of tenure stopping of evictions, etc. we can never achieve in-creased agricultural production.

Legislation in the agricultural sector must be such as to release the energy and initiative of the 70 to 80 per cent of poor peasants and agricultural labourers. They should be given land, we should see that they are not evicted: we should also provide them with good manure, Only

Land

There is the question of waste land. I have raised this question several times during the last so many years. According to the Planning ion itself, nearly 32.5 Commiss One disastrous result of per cent of the cultivable the recommendations will area in the country is either be that lakbs and lakbs of cultivable waste land, or curarea in the country is either cultivable waste land, or cur-rent fallow or fallow; nearly

when the question of waste lands was being dis-cussed, we were told that Government was going to have a survey of the waste lands. Already, two Plans are about to be over, and now, we are discussing the Death of the White Plane and now, we are discussing the Draft of the Third Plan, and yet we are told that the survey is going to be under-taken. If the people know that there is going to be a survey, then there will be no more waste lands; all the waste lands will be taken away, as has happened in some of the States today.

When the agricultural sector is the most important sec-tor in our country, and when nearly 70 to 80 per cent of our people who are able to work on land are landless today. why is it that these waste lands, either cultivable waste, or current fallow or fallow, are not distributed? Some of them may be useful for food production, while some others may be useful for commercial crops. If these lands are brought into cultivation, then. the national income will increase thereby, and we shall also be in a position to solve our foreign exchange difficulties in some measure.

T feel, therefore, that certain drastic changes have to be made regarding the policy of land reforms, ceiling on lands and tenancy reforms.

THE PATH OF PROGRESS

O N September 9, the Bulgarian people cele-brate their greatest nation. brate their greatest nation-al day—the liberation from ascism and the establish ment of a People's Demo-

Ć

cracy. Towns look different now; with their numerous facto-ries and works, large new sing estates, wide b vards and vast parks, big shops full of goods and crowded with people and brilliantly lit show-windows

The Bulgarian countryside is just as different. When travelling by train or speeding along the as-phalt roads in a car, you will no longer see the lonely ploughman trudging behind his wooden plough. The vast cooperative fields The vast cooperative fields are worked by tractors and combine harvesters and the air is filled with the cheerful songs of cooperative

People look different, too; they are far better dress-ed and much more cheer-ful. One is impressed by the difference—people live far better now than forerly, they eat better, have better living conditions and their cultural needs are more fully satis

Life is certainly different Bulgaria, But things have not changed in a day. The story of these past 16 years is a brief one—a truggle for progress, for a more prosperous and hapmore prospe

Bulgaria is no longer a country of ploughmen and diggers but an advancindustrial-agricultural country. She has created and developed a heavy industry of her own, inclu ing her ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, heavy chemical industry, machine -building and power pro-duction which did not exist metallurgy, heavy formerly. Light industry has developed simultane-ously to meet the people's needs for consumer goods. Total industrial output is nearly ten times that of the prewar year.

Some figures given below for some of the major protions in 1959 illustrate the progress made (the figure in brackets are fo 1939); 2.869 million kwh electricity (266 million h); 15,341,000 tons of coal (2,214,000 tons), 376,004 tons of iron ores (11,000 tons), 117,000 tons of pig iron (0), 239,000 tons of pis steel (5,500 tons), 167,000 tons of rolled ferrous metal (4,400 tons), 209 million million metres of cotton fabrics (34.1 million m), 19 million metres of wooller fabrics (5.3 million m.), 10 million m. of silk fabrics, (1.1 million m.), 250,000 tons of canned fruit and

vegetables (10,300 tons) The following are new productions which did not exist formerly; 33,00 tons of lead. 9.000 tons of zinc, 9,201 combustion motors, 176,000 electric motors, 5,429 power transformers, 87.3 million m. of copper insulated conductors and cables, 2,004 freight wagons, 120,000 tons of soda ash,

I T is a delightful experi-ence to be in the midst of large numbers of people who are happy about their present and who look for-ward to their future with 91,000 tons of sulphuric acid, 17,000 tons of caustic soda.

At present the Bulgarian machine-building industry which accounts for 12 per ent of the total industrial cent of the total industrial output, produces hundreds of kinds of machines for the equipment of textile, food, chemical, wood-profood, ing and other induscessing and other matures, as well as all types of tries, as well as all types of the machines (with the exception of tractors) the exception of tractors) metal-cutting machines, sea-going vessels, radio sets, TV sets, motorcycles, bicycles, X-ray and other medical apparatus. Agriculture has also scor-

ed far-reaching successes. The whole of the arable The whole of the arabic land has now been pooled in about 1,000 large-scale cooperative farms, each of which has an average of 4,500 hectares of land (as against the former average of 4.5 hectares of land per neasant household, the peasant household. wooden plough being the chief farming implement).

Today the large-scale of farming makes feature possible the employment of machinery. Nearly 40,060 tractors (15 h.p.), about 6,000 combined harvester and a variety of othe rvesters machines are operating in the fields today. Improvement projects are launched on an ever larger scale. This year 650,000 hectares. of land (as against 37,000 hectares 16 years ago) are irrigated. The use of chemical fertilisers is stea-dily growing. This year 120 of chemical fertilisers kg per hectare have been spread on the fields. Over 12,000 agronomists, cattle breeders, veterinary sur-geons and thousands of specialists — secondary school graduates, are em-ployed in agriculture. Tens of research institutes and xperimental stations carry work to help the co

operative farms. Farming yields are cons-tantly growing. Last year saw the highest average vield per hectare in th country's history: 1,730 kg of wheat, 2,060 kg of barley, 2,000kg of maize, 1,470 kg of sunflower, 10,200 kg of notatoes, etc.

The growing industrial and agricultural production has increased the national revenue. Compared with 1939 in 1958 it increased over 2.5 times

In Bulgaria, the national



NEW AGE

FIVE WEEKS IN BULGARIA

the Balkan ranges where in 1878 a few hundred Bulgarian patriots held up huge Turkish hordes from passing and thus paved the way for the advanc-ing tsarist army (it was the Russo-Turkish war then) to come and inflict a crushing

defeat on the enemy. The Bul-

garian patriots and a large number of their Russian allies

lost their lives in this battle.

The Memorial Column erected

in their honour on top of this mountain pass is verily an im-posing and inspiring sight.

The tradition of the Bul-

garian people of continually giving fight to unwanted rulers persisted in a more

intensive form throughout the period of fascist barbar-

ism and terror. Partisan brigades, organised by the

Communist Party, operated

from mountains and hills

never allowing any peace to the fascist stooges. Hundreds

of Party comrades, the flower

f Bulgaria's youth, got but-

chered in the struggle. Their

unstinted sacrifices and hero-

ism won for the Party the

love and respect of the working people of Bulgaria. When towards the close of the Second World War, in Septem-

her 1944, the Red Army advan-

material and so on. In the period 1945-1959 over 562,000 houses were built in

Social insurance is free in Bulgaria. In the case of

temporary disablement, workers and employees re-

ceive allowances to the amount of 60 to 90 per cent

of their wages, depending on their length of service.

Expectant mothers are given four months' leave (one month before and

three after confinement)

Every worker and em-

ployee is entitled to paid yearly leave, which he can spend at the trade union holiday houses very cheap

ly. The Pensions Act of 1957

is an important gain of the working people in Bulgaria. This act has increased the

pensions considerably and widened the circle of peo-

Medical aid in Bulgaria

of the first places in Europe in the number of doctors in proportion to the population—there'is a doc-

tor to every 774 persons

The mortality rate has gone

down considerably—falling from 14.9 per thousand in 1945 to 7.9 in 1958. Infant

mortality has been reduced

even more—falling from 14.5 per cent to 5.6 per cent. Education is free and

compulsory up to the age of

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ple entitled to pensio

is free. Bulgaria ho

with full wages.

the towns and villages. Social insurance is fre

* SEE FACING PAGE

disablement.

the fascist stooges.

NEW AGE greets Bulgaria on her great national holiday and has pleasure in printing this article by P. NARAYANAN NAIR, member of National Council of the Communist Party of India.

Orissa) and I had that ex-perience during the five weeks we spent in Bulgaria from June 28 to August 5 dictatorship. The history of sojourn through the country, Bulgaria through these cen- we stayed a night at Shipka turies has been the history of Pass right in the middle of heroic fights put up by a brave the Balkan ranges where in people against foreign ensla-vers from sire to son and from generation to generation.

numerous places; we visited cooperative farms in at least Freedom Struggle mers, men and women, at their machines, in their homes and in

ward to their future with

tremendous confidence. Goku Mohan Rai Chudamani(from

We met industrial workers at

their plants in different districts

macnines, in their nomes and in their palaces of culture; we mingled freely with hundreds of young persons of both sexes at the International Camp of

Pioneers at Golden Sands, at

their local camp in Verna and

first what statistics and figures

were to reveal to us later. Perhaps, it is because this

happiness and confidence came to them after centuries

of travail and suffering and

relentless fight against fore-

the 11th and 12th cen-

ign and native exploiters that their faces reflect them in

turies, Bulgaria was under Byzantine rule; from the 14th

Century to 1878, she was under the Turkish yoke; from 1923, to

1944, she was under a fascist

revenue belongs to those who make it. Only a small part of it is allotted for expanding production, while the basic part goes

while the basic part goes for consumption. About 78 per cent of the annual re-

venue goes to the consump-tion fund, and some 22 per

cent to the accumlation

national revenue has made

it possible to raise the working people's wages and

purchasing power. For ex-ample, the average annual

wages of factory workers and employees increased from 4,853 in 1948 to 8,363

in 1958. The incomes of the

concrative farmers have

also rapidly gone up. In 1958, a cooperative farm man day reached 24.65

The increase in the

fund.

leva.

such hold relief.

confidence

and in their rest-homes

three districts and say

at theatres and opera

is confidence. Gokul

far-

There have been open revolts and bloodbaths, skirmishes and retreats and continuous mountain warfare, never allowing nts to rest. Hear the alien occupa their partisan folksongs, the glorious rich melody, and the glorious rich melody, and the patriotic content would inspire you to the marrow of your bones. Read their novels and poems, you come across a lovable people, good-natured and unsophisticated, so passion-ately wedded to freedom and co proud of their language, culat their district camp in Plaudif; we observed them in the parks and in restaurants, at theatres and opera houses, before television sets and at the stadium. Most certainly, they were all happy and con-fident. Their faces indicated so proud of their language, cul-ture and nationality. Poets like Hristo Botev were not merely their national poets but great national heroes who led their countrymen in open battle against unwanted rulers and sacrificed their lives.

Studded across the whole range of mountains and valleys so replete in that country are memorials and monuments erected in honour of thousands of patriotic men and women who laid down their lives at the altar of Bulgarian freedom. During the course of our

Not only the nominal wages of Bulgaria's workers and employees are going up, but their real wages too, i.e., the possibility of buying more for the same amount of money. This is achieved through systematic cuts of the prices of consumer -six general and two good partial price cuts since 1952.

The growing purchasing power of the population is also evidenced by the increased retail trade. In the period from 1950 to 1958 the retail trade turnover increased from 9.25 million leva to 18.432 million leva, i.e., by two times. The material status of the population in Bulgaria, however, is not only determined by what it receives directly in the form of wages and other remunera-tion for labour. It also has the benefit of a number of social and cultural under takings of the State, which indirectly contribute to raising its well-being in an

indirect way. The State builds flats and m to the working people for a very low rent, the monthly rent of a tworoom flat being not more than seven to ten per cent of the average monthly of the average wages. Besides, the Stat otes cooperative and private housing construction by granting loans, free

Organiser had a sensa-tional story in its issue of July 11 last. The story read:

HE RSS mouthpiece

"Tearing apart the curtain of hush-hush and secrecy which presently surrounds the . two accide tal' fires that broke out last month at the Survey of India Office, Dehradun, th Organiser reports to its readers deliberate and planned operation-sabotage by Communist

THE LEE

"The first blaze of June 6 which took the entire fire-fighting force of the town full six hours to control, destroyed the oldest records we had of surveys on the basis of which maps of the Sino-Indian border were made. It is also learnt that special mou ntain-climbing equipment, the only set of its kind available with us, has been reduced to ashes in the fire.

.ced and liberated Budgaria from the fascist yoke, the ground had already been prepared for the cratic for united under lership of the Co the le nist Party to take over State ver and start on the road of cialist construction

And within the last 16 years, the working people of Bulgaria under the direction of the Party and the Government have done iderfully well in building up their economy and in improving their material and cultural standards. Prior to liberation, Bulgaria was a country of small landowners with almost primitive methods of agriculture. Heavy industry was non-existent or in a very embryonic stage. Only twentyfive per cent of the total production came from the industrial sector. The number of industrial workers never exceeded a hundred

Economic Development

The Party and the Government set themselves the task of transforming this backward agricultural economy into an advanced industrial economy on Socialist basis. Georgi Dimitrov, intstanding leader of the world Communist movement and arcchitect of modern Bulgaria, addressing the Fifth Congress of Communist the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1948 said: "The task is not what alonly to reconstruct what al-ready exists in the national economy. We need a still more rapid new development of the forces of production in our country, so that its economicbackwardness be rapidly overcome and within a short span it emerge as a developed trial-agricultural country.... For the nurpose we must create big sources of power by the uti-lisation of all water and fuel resources of the country, we must rapidly develop our mining, we must build our own me-tallurgy and sufficiently develop engineering and other heavy ndustries, simultaneously deve loping, modernising and enlarging our light indu

On this secure basis, a concrete programme of economic development was worked out the First Five-Year and continued in the Second Five-Year Plan. By the end of the Plan in 1957, the inistrial base of the economy was firmly established. Bulgaria is now in the fourth ear of the Third Five-Year

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"A cue which would be extremely relevant to the investigations is the fact that union of chowkidars and peons of the department is controlled by Reds. A few gentlemen were seen rejoicing and

taking pictures. "On both the days, fire broke chowkidars to prot first fire started simultar

Record Room.

room. It destroyed what had escaped the first fire." use the

try we had occasion to visit the plant for manufacture of agri-cultural machinery at Rousse, the soda-ash plant at Daynk, the Stalin Chemical Works at Dimitrovgrad, some of the textile mills in Ploudif, the Lenin Steel Plant and some of the coalnits in Dimitrovo, etc. One thing which struck us at all these places was the great assistance in the matter of machinery and technical know-how which Bulgaria was receiving from the Soviet Union and the neighbouring Socialist countries. Close and useful cooperation exists between them; and this has been a big factor in hastening and advancing Sohastening and advancing So-cialist industrialisation. As in the Socialist countries, workers participate to the full in in-creasing production and the role of the trade union's in ensuring increased productivity and seuring the best living condition

of workers is great indeed. Late in 1958, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Party, on the basis of the report by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, put forward a programme for during the 1959-62-65 period, programme which embodied

Congress. In March 1959, taking the comments and suggestions made during the nationwide discussion of the programme into consideration, the National Assembly passed a law for the accelerated development of Bulgaria's eco-nomy, for rasiing the material and cultural standards of the people and for reorganising State leadership and econo-mic management. The labour enthusiasm that is sweeping the country and the high po-litical level of the working people are guarantees that the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress would be realised in a shorter period than has been suggested.

Achievement In Agriculture.

The biggest achievement yet of People's Democratic rule in Bulgaria appears to me to be in the field of the Socialist reconstruction of the country's

PAGE TEN

out after office hours when there were only peons and ect it. The in the four corners of the

"The police did not reach the spot till six hours after the first fire. Many are wondering why. "The second fire on June 8 started in the centre of the

The RSS mouthpiece was being very clever. A fire had broken out in the Survey of India store office. Why not opportunity to slander the Communist Party by making out that what was destroyed in the fire were documents and maps relating

MOUTHPIECE'S RSS LIE EXPOSED

& by OUR CORRESPONDENT

to the India-China border question and the Commu-munists, to help the Chinese, had indulged in incendiarism If the Organiser had not been so anxious to invent lies to serve its dirty anti-Commu-nist purposes, it could have easily found out the following facts.

TREE TREETER

FACT NO. 1: The first fire on June 6 broke out in godown Nos. 10 and 11 at about 5 p.m., the second on June 10 in godown No. 6 at about 4-45 p.m.

contained high mountain equip-ment (for survey work) and stationary and papers, godown No. 11 linen-backed papers and mable stores both termed as stores worth disposal and godown No. 6 drawing and printing papers—none of this "the oldest records...of the Sino-Indian border" as the Organiser claimed.

FACT NO. 3: All maps in the survey of India are kept in the Map Records and Issue Office which is in a quite diffe-ernt place, more than two miles away from the place where the

Plan. Already the targets of this

the accelerated velopment of the country and further developed the decisions of the Seventh Party

agriculture. Cooperative farms Plan have been fulfilled and in some cases even overfulfilled in four years. During our stay in that countheir working are of more than -passing interest to us in India.

The attachment of the people to land was so great in Bu that when the cooperatives were first organised, ownership rights were fully respected. The advantages of large-scale farm-ing, employing machinery and using the latest scientific me thods, were patiently explained to the farmers; and the State rendered real effective assistance in the form of credits, te-chnical advice, tractor service, chemical fertilisers, etc. The principles of voluntariness and gradualness were strictly adhered to.

Cooperative System

All available arable land was brought within the cooperative framework within the first few years of People's Democratic rule. Over 3.200 cooperative farms were established, with an average extent of about 3.000 acres. The successful working of these farms led to their further consolidation into still larger units; and at the end of 1958 there were just over 980 farms with an average extent of 10,000 acres covering all rural Bulgaria.

Life's experience taught farmers how, under the co-operative system, their earn-ings had increased, they had better housing conditions how their children were better cared for and educated and how they could live a fuller life with all the new cultural facilities made avail-able to them. The result was that within the last few years farmers in all the cooperativ farms, in general-body meet-ings, voluntarily relinquished their ownership rights and gave up all claims to receive any rent on the score of own-ership. Today the net income of the cooperative farms is divided among the farmers on the basis of labour put in and on no other considera-tion. The principles of Socialist economy are willingly ac-cepted and acted upon by all the working people of rural

Bulgaria. We visited some of the cooperative farms in the Rousse District, in the Dobruja region and also in the Ploudif district,

NEW AGE

and we could see for ourselves how through the employment of machinery and advanced technique, through better use of chemical fertiliser and through increased labour pro-ductivity of the farmers, the income of the cooperative farms had increased substantially during the last few years. While we were on our visit

to Dobruja region in the North East of Bulgaria, we had a pleasing experience. Dubruja is of vast extent and very fertile; but through the centuries they had been handicanned for want of water to irrigate the area. At the time of our visit, a commission of irrigation and power experts from Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and the other So-cialist countries was holding joint consultations there to give the final touches to a big project that has been worked out to lift water from the Danube river to irrigate these areas and to generate power from water so lifted

The whole population is enthused over this project. "Now you see, this big pro-ject that is being worked out would be carried through by our Government in the next few years; and then we will show what Dobruja can achieve in the field of agricultural production," said the comrade who took us round the cooperative farm to us in the presence of a large ga-thering of farmers. Thunderous clapping greeted this remark.

Not only in industry and agriculture, but also in transport and communications, education culture, scientific and health services and in all other aspects of national life. similar advance has been registered.

Facing The Fature

Especially in the matter of providing rest homes and holiday facilities to the working people, Bulgaria occupies the top place among the Socialist countries. September 9 is Bulgaria's

September 9 is Bulgaria's National Day. It is the 16th anniversary of her liberation this year. The working people, the Communist Party and the Government of Bulgaria can look back with legitimate pride on the success that has attende on the success that has attend-ed their efforts during the last 16 years in building a better life. by for the community.

FACT NO. 2: Godown No. 10 fire broke out. And it is widely known that all the maps con-cerning the Sino-Indian borders have already been sent to the Ministry of External Affairs and the old maps and records are kept in the National are kept in the National Archives. Even if there are some highly secret maps in the in the National Even if there are Survey of India at Dehradun they would be in the "con-fidential" section which is they would be in the "con-fidential" section which is directly under the custody of e Surveyor-General of India. The Dehradun Committee of the St

the Communist Party gave out these facts then itself and at the same time held that the fire was not accidental. But the people guilty of this incendiar-ism were not the Organiser's "Reds." but some others.

The General Secretary of the Survey of India Karmachari Class IV Union, said in a Press

hand-out: "Our union was all the time trying to move the Central Government about the reported serious financial and other irregularities in the Survey of India stores office.... "The report (of the Accoun-

tant-General, U.P. dated Sept. 27, 1956) had stated that 'it is noticed that surplus stores of the total book value of Rs. 1,261,686|7 fetched a sale proceeds of Rs. 132,888[3 only resulting in a loss of Rs. 1,128,798[4 to the public ex-

chequer.' "The audit report further added, "if progress of surplus declaration and disposal of stores is allowed to continue like this and Government did not put any restraint over these disposals, it is likely that the whole stock of Rs. 4,743,000 as it stood on 31, 12, 52 will not fetch more than Rs. 400,000..." "Such financial irregularities

were continuing since so many years and in spite of repeated audit reports, it is gathered, the matter remained as it is...." These irregularities were well

known to everyone in Dehradun and the godowns were destroy-ed on the eve of the audit party which was to arrive in the end of June: It was obvious as to who were interested in destroying the godowns.

VINDICATION

The Organiser does not have to go even by such surmises

any longer. The Statesman of Auguust 24, had on its front page a report headlined: "Arson to hide Accounts Discrepancy-Report

on Survey Office Fires." The report said: "A Com-mittee appointed by the Union Government to enquire into the causes of the recent fires in the Survey of India offices in Dehradun is understood to have come to the conclusion have come to the conclusion that they were not accidential. "Members of this four-man committee ... apparently feel that the two fires were caused to cover up discrepancies in store books "

Will it be too much, after this, to expect the Organiser to tender an apology and stick to facts and not invent fanciful fairy-tales to indulge in its anti-Communism? Or is that incompatible with the "Bharativa Sanskriti and Marvada which the Organiser' RSS patrons swear

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1 24

NOT A FLATTERING BOOK REVIEW PICTURE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF

DIA: A SOLDIER'S Humphrey LIFE bv Evans. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. Pages: 307. Price \$6.

A

SO much fuss had been nade about this book that one expected, if not sense, then at least sensation. But there is nothing of the kind in all the 300 -except for and odd pages—exce what looks like like giving our military secrets of tactics

Aim Of The Book

So sedate and uninspireduninspiring inevitably—is the book that one cannot help eeling that the censor, mental if not physical, has been at work. Perhaps, Humphey Evans has not been allowed to write all that he was told tai 11 not pnysicai, nas oeen at work. Perhaps, Humphey Evans has not been allowed to write all that he was told and the portions left out might have added the touch

of spice, so needed by rather unappetising dish. This feeling is heightened by the fact that the eagerly awaited chapter on Korea awaited chapter on Korea takes up a bare 12 pages, telling us nothing that the telling us nothing that the newspapers had not carried. and heavily slanted against **Positive** North Korea and China.

These pictures and the **Disservice** of India spread acros

both the inner covers of the book tend to give away the aim of the biography—to present an acceptable pic-ture of the Indian Chief of Army Staff not to us be-nighted natives but to that select audience in the United States of America, which is always so inquisitive about Nehru's succes It is necessary to protest, at once and strongly, about this map which so unashamedly leaves Jammu and Kash-

THIMAYYA OF IN. of spice, so needed by the cently, that the maps had

been noticed. Similarly, it is surely essential for the General himself to protest at this biography which presents him as a man in search of identity, ambinewspapers had not carried. Walent and wracked by doubt Yet all the pletures in the as to whether he is a British book are on the Korean epi- Indian or an Indian Indian.

Such a characterisation naturally does not help to raise his prestige among the very Indian Indian Army nor among the general run of In-dian humanity. Evans has done Thimayya a positive disservice by portraying him as a Brown Englishman.

Take the following descrip-tion of the Thimayya household: "General Thimayya's wife, Nina, wearing velvet toreader slacks and smoking through a long cigarette-holder, was talking in French to a lady diplomat. Mireille, teen-age daughter, wearing American jeans, was helping the servants to pass onade and beer.

history helps to contradict

opening remarks make. And, obviously, the impression is far from flattering. Indeed,

the stories, of the General's boyhood and of his early days, either as a cadet at Sandhurst or in the High-land Light Infantry, trotted

out by the author only go to

strengthen this impression. The continuing theme is ow Thimayya, who wanted

how Trimayya, who wanted so desperately to be accepted by the British as one of their very own—to gain the great privilege, for example, of be-ing allowed to dance with

British girls-made the grade

by acts of courage and dis-cipline. Some wicked British-

ers stood in the way but other

benevolent Britishers-genui-ne koi hai types-patted him on the back and helped him

along. Surely one is entitled to ask if there was not more

in the General, even in those

Evans does not deny that

the tremendous sweep of the freedom movement had also its impact on the young In-dian officers. He describes a

lunch engagement between

of much consequence. The

subsequent interview with Jinnah turned out, it appears

role of Indian armymen in the freedom struggle.

The more significant story

is a reported interview with Motilal Nehru, to whom Thi-mayya and others had gone

to ask whether they should not resign their commissions. "The elderly man heard

den

the in

ion that thes

EMPIRE TODAY

Idris Cox. Lawrence and Wishart, London. Price 2 sh. 6d.

DRIS Cox straightaway makes the extremely important and relevant point that the developing pheno-menon of political independence won by former colonial countries does not an that these countries are free from the British onomic imperialism, or economic American military imperialism.

Essential Features

Before analysing recent changes, the writer correctly that it is important stresse to study the five essential features of imperialism, summ rised by Lenin, as follows:---

1) Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, when the concentration and centralisation of capital create mo-

2) The monopolists also get the banking system associated with them to give rise to a finance-capital oligarchy.

3) The finance-capital oligarchy tends to export more of capital, than commodities. 4) The tendency of capital

export ultimately creates in-ternational capital monopolies and cartels.

5) This results in the territorial division of the whole world, among the greatest capitalist Powers. These features are still the characteristics of imperialism

today, even if it has sustain-

PAGE TWELVE

EMPIRE TODAY by ed serious defeat in large parts of the world.

Idris Cox next smashes the fallacy that imperialism benefited the entire British people. The mainte-nance of the empire was not in the interests of the British people and their future. The so-called work-shop of the world soon degenerated to managing with obsolete equipment. In agriculture there was act-In ual retrogression. And the real wages of the workers declined by ten per cent between 1900 to 1913 while the profits increased by 55 per cent. The other major dvantages were the rising burden of armaments for the maintenance of the and two cala World Wars. Benefits, indeed!

deed! In the General, e The Second World War days, than this weakened the British empire to a large extent, and at the same time the struggle of the **Freedome** colonial neonles reached such ights that they could not Movement be suppressed. Therefore, Britain had to guit India. Burma. Pakistan and Ceylon. Recog-nising this fact, the author mentions at the same time the areas of continuing direct rule and the new forms of mic exploitatio

the young Thimayya and Sarojini (spelt "Sairojini") Naidu, where the talk was not economic exploitation. He exposes with a wealth of facts the nature of imperialist "aid" and shows how economic dependence is a heavy milestone around the from the narrative, to be more of a discussion of milinecks of the newly free countries.

The book concludes with a stirring picture of what a great deal could be done if British monopoly capitalism was really smashed once and for all-for the benefit of the British people, no less than the rest of the world.

-G. Anand them out. 'Gentlemen, you

NEW AGE

have my sympathy,' he said then. 'In my opinion the contribution you are making to the cause is a difficult one. He advised them on no ac-count to leave the army.

"For thirty years, we've fought for army Indianisa-tion. We're now winning the fight. If you give up, we shall have lost it....But that's not the most important reason you must continue....We are going to win Independence Perhaps not this year or the next, but sooner or later British will be driven When that happens, India will stand alone. We will have no one to protect us but our-selves. It is then that our survival will depend on men like

The whole story seems too incredible to be true. Evans would further have us believe that this one interview was so compelling in its in-fluence that Thimayya never again had any doubts about staying on in the British army and discharg-ing all his duties, even when it came to shooting down his countrymen who they were fighting for the freedom of us all. This is to credit the General neither with intelligence nor patrio-tism. Nor is it flattering to the memory of Motilal Nehru. There has to be another side of this story.

No other description of the Thimayya family in all the pages of very persona-lised treatment of changing **Ideas** About Arman

It irresistibly reminds one of the famous parody by Tagore about a "revolutionary" who refused time and again to join any movement on the plea that this might endanger his life—he had to "save himself for the "revolution! But alast a common cold carried him away! Is it Evans' contention that Thima was "saving" himself for nayya day of India's freedom by participating repression of enthusiastically in the armed the freedom movement

Equally meagre and, one might say, malicious is the author's presentation (Thimayya's ideas about th Indian Army today. We are given picturesque descriptions of how he did away with the baneful contract system in the army—a laudable step, baneful indeed.

As for other changes, the author makes out that the General is not in favour of anything beyond a few minor of British subjugation of In-dia—have to be maintained, it seems.

"Some Indians wanted to do away with everything British simply because it was not Indian. The attitude was understandable, Thimayya, thought, but it attempted to deny rea-lity. The British were a part of India simply because they had been there for over two centuries. Their impact on Indian culture was considerable. It was they who had created the army India now-had. These facts were in-escapable', Timmy said." From this it would appear

tary technique than about the that the General's basic philosophy is that what has been should be, even if today is a new day and the Republic of India is not the British colony that India was. One wonders how all this

is in keeping with the cons-tant calls that Pandit Nehru makes to us all to shed our conservatism and plunge

into the exciting adventure of building a new and So-cialist India. If the whole country is to change and all our people to put on a new face, how can the army chored to the traremain ai ditions of thraldom? feels that, here again, if the author has correctly repre-sented the views of our Chief of Staff then Thima. yya stands opposed to the general stream of India's progress.

Armn And Politics

Regarding participation in politics Evans writes, "An equally important British legacy was their custom of keeping the military aloof from politics. My experience taught me that a country's services should be an instrument, but never an arbiter of national policy,' Timmy said." Here we have a healthy outlook but everybody would naturally ask that if this is the mental make-up of the General then why were they not manifested when so much unfortunate controversy was raging around him after his offer of resignation. However, one would like to

add that the army, even British-trained ones, cannot be insulated from politics nor automatically protected from the ambitions of Generals. After all. Avub Khan also graduated from Sandhurst and inherited a British-reared army.

Surely the correct an. proach is that asserted by the Prime Minister at the time of the resignation crisis. He said then that the crisis. He said then that the idea had to be popularised and accepted that civil power was supreme and that in a democracy the army had to obey the elec-ted Government of the land. There would be no harm but immense good in acti-vely inculcating these ideas vely inculcating these ideas g all ranks of our army. This would, undoub-tedly be a fruitful and posi-

about his views on this mat-ter, however, does not help the reader to make the as-sumption that Thimayya would readily accept this idea. The silence that is maintaincident by any standards-is not only conspicuous but also provokes suspicion. And, it makes the book not end abruptly so much as break off

It is not conventional nor, perhaps, the correct etiquette for the subject of a biography to protest. But convent d to be broken if truth and fairplay so demand. One cannot help feeling that the General should show that he is not the conventional type, the author seeks to present him as-he should go ahead and review the book himself. We are sure he will, to use his own phrase, send Evans most imperial rocket." If, however, no repudiation comes we shall have to reach the unhappy conclusion that our present Chief of Staff is a misfit in Independent In-dia, striving for democracy.

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PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION REPORT ON ASSAM: COMMUNIST M.P.'s DISSENT

We print below the text slightly abridged of Raj Bahadur Gour's note of dissent to the majority report of the Parliamentary delegation to Assam. He begins by welcoming the opportunity for collective work and states that "in a number of matters there has been more or less common understanding and a broad measure of agreement." Nevertheless certain serious shortcom ngs in the majority report made a dissenting note necessary.

events Poi

THE magnitude of the orgies of arson, looting and other forms of disturbances can hardly be exaggerated and the majority report would itself give a fairly correct idea of the extent of disturbances.

Disturbances Were Planned

I would, however, like to stress here that the perusal of the memoranda, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., as well as what we saw and heard would well raise the presumption that there was some kind of planning behind ces. The modus operandi which was more or less the same in all affected areas would only go to streng-

We came across some of gruesome murders and were also told about certain cases of molestation of women and criminal assa and criminal assault on them These incidents would shock human conscience throughout untry.

then this presumption.

There is no need for me fur ther to dilate upon this aspect of the report.

As for the role of the State Government and the administration, the majority report does not adequately go into the question beyond pointing out failures at lower _levels and lack of coordination beteen the "Executive and the blice". What however an ". What, however, ac tually happened was a virtua abdication of authority and even capitulation to the forof arson and plunder

So it is not enough to explain the role of administration merely in terms of dereliction of duty at different levels; there was something much deeper.

Many officials at different levels, including those in the higher echelons of the services, not only connived at the disturbances, but even directly en-couraged and abetted the rioters. There may be occasi when an administration with all its good intentions and efforts, get overwhelmed by force

Clamminiam In Administration

This in my view is a serious matter which requires a search-ing enquiry not only for the sake of Assam but in the larger sts of public administration in the country. Without going through this process, I am afraid, the adm inistration annot be rectified and overhauled, even though some disciplinary actions here and there may be taken. Chauvinism ated every pore of Assam inistration and the mala has to be properly diagnosed in order that effective remedy

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When the violent disturban ces raged in Assam, the adistration broke down mir indeed the Constitution itsel became a casualty, when even

tive extension of the General's ideas of keeping the army as an instrument and not an arbiter of national policy. The way Evans has written

ed about the resignation episode—a dramatic enough in in the middle

-Mohit Sen

get overwhelmed by force majeure. But here in Assam it was not such a case. Here the administration got implicated in the disturbances by its acts of omission and thus itself became a contributory factor.



The

As for the role of the Ministry, illness of the Chief Minister and the absence of the Finance Minister in Kashmir created a gap in the leadership of the Gor ment. But the role o of th Ministry cannot be disp of merely in terms of these factors. At a time when the Ministry should have been in full command of the situation exerting its best endeavours to prevent and quell the disturbances and protect the minorities, the Council of Ministers of Assam became all but a "functus officio"

This was the most unfortunate and calamitous development in the chain of tragic verful chauvi ments, in the Assam valley

Are Never Bepeated

the Union Government properties and employees were being attacked, when the minorities were being uprooted on a mas scale, what was the Union ment doing?

The Central Government did not even take due cognisance of the serious developments in Assam at a time when it should have come into the picture and acted vigorously. It merely looked on and it remained

Now in addition to giving all necessary financial and other assistance to Assam, the Central Government must ensure that the rehabilitation work is properly and speedily carried out brought back to the minorities.

Role Of Students

I cannot agree with the approach of the majority report with regard to the students nor can I lend my support to the recommendations it has made in this connection. It is true field of education and culture and in other spheres of public life can play a beneficial role in this respect.

It has been our common exthat the more democratic conseiousness among the students, the greater their democratic activities, the less is the chance for the chauvinis tic and reactionary elements to mislead them.

I must repeat that I am strongly opposed to any curb on legitimate, democratic student activities.

I do not understand why the majority report should have made a sweeping recommen-dation for restricting teachers' participation in students ment. Sometimes both teachers and students participate in common democratic and pro-gressive agitation over just ues. Such activities should not be restricted.

It cannot be denied that some sections of the Press both in West Bengal and Assam behaved irresponsibly and do not seem to be quite

thought fit to make such a

Now let me come to the most pressing question of judicial probe into the disturbances. This is a demand which has been put forward by large sections of the public in India as well as by the Press. Even what has been revealed before the delegation and stated in the majority report would fully justify a judicial enquiry. regret that my colleagues should have rejected this proposal.

FIRST of all, it must be realised that the delegation of Members of Parliament could by no stretch of imagination be regarded a substitute for a judi cial enquiry. It lacked the requisite authority of law and procedure which normally goes with a Commission of Enquiry

SECONDLY, it does not require to be said that no judicial enquiry could have completed its work within the twelve days which we had at pleted its our disposal.

THIRDLY, apart from the other limitations, this delegation was not meant to be anything like a Commission of Enquiry

Probe Needed

It is not proper, therefore, to avoid a judicial probe on the plea that this delegation of Members of Parliament had already been there in Assam and had looked into

I do not see as to why a judi-tial enquiry should complicate cial enquiry should complicate the situation and stand in the way of speedy rehabilitation. On the contrary, the institution of such an enquiry would give confidence to the minorities and work as a check on the chauvi-nistic and disruptive forces.

It may be recalled that lea ders of public opinion had in the past demanded such enquiry into communal riots and other disturbances. In some even the British were forced to them. I cannot see why in the present case a departure should be made

Anyone going through the findings of the majority report should be convinced that there is prima facie case for a judicial

What has happened in Assam must never again hap-pen there or in any other part of our country. It must be remembered that it is not for the first time that the minorities have suffered an attack in Assam. We must draw all necessary lessons from this great tragedy. Not only in the interests of Assam and its people but in the larger interests of the country as well, a judicial enquiry by one or more Supreme Court Judges into the disturbances has become a categorical imperative. I would urge upon Parliament and the Governnent to institu te such an enquiry without delay.

- In conclusion let me thank the leader and other members of the delegation for giving patient consideration to my views. I am particularly grate ful to all the se who co with us in the work of the delegation.

August 29.

PACE THIRTEN

that sizable sections of the students were in the forefront of the language agitation and a section of their leadership gave the movement an aggressive anti-Bengali slant S have even been mixed up with the disturbances. Quite clearly they were under the spell of the chauvinistic elements and became for the time being tools

It must be remembered that the chauvinistic elements out-side played on the grievances of the students, real or imaginary, and drew the young susceptible minds into turmoil.

Against Curbs

in their hands.

The solution. in my view. does not lie in curbing the legitimate, democratic rights of the student community or in harshly dealing with them. The students have to be corrected and freed from chauvi-nistic and disruptive influences. This can be done precisely by promoting den usness the student cratic conscious tivity among initu. Leading com 070aressine nersonalities in the

NEW AGE

aware of the consequences of what they were writing. Dis-play of news, the write-ups and editorials went to rouse passion and, thus, proved ex-tremely harmful in the situa-tion. It is most unfortunate that even some of the very well-established newspapers could not restrain the

In a situation like this everyone would like to see the Pr playing a constructive part and elping the forces of unity and

I hope the newspapers con-cerned will draw the correct essons from this grim experience.

The fundamental rights and the freedom of the Press are far too important to be trifled with OF restricted

Pressing Question

I am totally opposed to the majority recommendation in putting curbs on the cherished rights and freedom of the Press by executive decree orby legislation. It is most unfortunate that the majority of my colleagues should 1

So That Assam Incidents

JUDICIAL ENQUIRY TO DRAW THE **NECESSARY LESSONS**

began to dominate the situation and the Government lacked both courage and policy to stand up to the onslaughts of those aggressive forces.

Assam disturba which have wrought havoc in that State and dealt a severe blow to the fabric of Indian unity are inconceivable with-out the nefarious, anti-national role of these powerful chauvinistic elements. They the guiding and driving were behind the holocaust. In the interests of Assam and the rest of the country these evil forces have got to be exposed and hounded out of public life. They must be effectively dealt with

In this connection I consider it necessary to make a brief reference to the role of the Union Government, Unfortu nately the majority report makes no reference whatsoever to this vital question.

Centre's Inactivity



HE Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for 1959-60 and the meetings of the two councils which advise the Government on ' prob imports and exports have brought into sharp relief the imbalances in the various sectors of our economy. It is therefore, necessary that they are not summarily dismissed as yet another trite recount of "progress and " but are taken as necessary "corrections" for policies to be followed in stresses"

UNHEALTHY BOOM

The Report speaks of a marked increase in indus-trial production in 1959 compared to 1958, but it also mentions that agriculalso mentions that agricul-tural production—both in food and cash crops suffered a slight decline. In spite of two successive good crop years (1958-59 pro-duced a record crop of 75.5 million tons of foodgrains), however, the price level (wholesale) recorded a net rise of 5.7 per cent during 59-60 on top of a rise o 6.6 per cent in the previous year. Obviously, such a state of affairs, as the Report says, can only be

T HE smuggling and lucrative trade in

illicit Nepali ganja which

lincit Nepan ganja which long constituted the basis of the prosperity and financial strength as well

as political prestige of

Bihar, has now entered

the stage as a factor in

the internal squabbles in

Recently a Patna Hindi daily carried the news of the seizure of a jeep belonging to an influential Congress leader.

The jeep is said to have contained more than 12 maunds of illicit ganja

packed air-tight in the inner secret vaults of the

jeep. It is estimated to value about Rs. 75,000.

As another driver in the employ of the same Con-gress leader told this Cor-

espondent each Such trip

two thousands are paid to

sand go' towards the other expenses of the trip and about Rs. 12,000 are pocket-

e driver, about one thou-

brings in a neat sum about Rs. 15,000, out which one-and-a-half

many a Congressman

the State Congress.

Highly

expen

PAGE FOURTEEN

Profitable

indicative of "low margins on which the economy has been operating

Side by side with the price rise there have been "expansionary oticeable trends in the monetary sphere with a marked rise in both money supply with the public and bank credit. The result of these trends is also seen in a "somewhat unhealthy boom in stock and capital markets. Shorn of economic jargon what it amounts to is a speculators' spree unleash-ed by inflationary trends which the Government had failed to curb. The Report also speaks of

the issue market which, from being somewhat slack in 1958-59, "blazed into activity" during the succeeding year. Total consents granted to the pri-vate sector for raising capital through shares (other than bonus) and debentures during 1959 amounted to Rs. 112 crores ...the highest in any year since 1947-compared Rs. 66 crores in the previous year. Foreign parti-cipation in it, too, increased to Rs. 33 crores as against only Rs. 12.5 crores in 1958. Thus, the trends noted earlier, have after all, com-tributed to some "good" somewhere: they have helped to strengthen the

LUCRATIVE GANJA SMUGGLING

BECOMES ISSUE OF INNER

CONGRESS STRUGGLE IN BIHAR

private sector, and brought to it technical assistance and finance from foreign

capitalists. The Report has noted with some satisfaction the improvement in international payments position. The loss in foreign ex-change reserves in 1959-60, it says, was only Rs. 16 compared to Rs. 42 crores compared to Rs. 42 crores in the previous year. In fact, were it not for the payments involving Rs. 42 crores made to the Inter-42 national Monetary Fund the reserves would have actually shown a credit of Rs. 26 crores.

NOT A HAPPY SITUATION

While this development might be seemingly wel-come, it would be unwise to ignore the tenuous character of factors con-tributing to it. The im-ports were cut to their educible minimum of Rs 923 crores, although even at this low level they ex-ceeded the exports by some Rs. 180 crores. The shortfall was made up by official donations and loans whose burden has to be borne in future.

Thus it was not through an increase in exports, which alone can provide an enduring solution of the payments crisis, but through curtailment of imhut ports of merchandise and increase in availability of foreign funds, that the loss in reserves was reduced. Obviously, the scope of these latter factors being limited, it is not a situation

to be much happy about. Even with a reduced in reserves last year it is now officially admitted that the country has now reached the rock-bottom in reserves, beyond which it is not possible for it to go. In other words, now that there for it to go. In is practically nothing to fall back upon, it is only through export promotion and/or foreign loans that the payments position can be stopped from worsening further.

It is in this context that the disclosures made at the meetings of the two advi-sory councils assume an ominous significance. For, what they reveal is a state of almost semi-stagnant exports, which, despite the promotional measures, hav failed to show any appreci able improvement. This is mainly because the OEEC c o u n t r i e s—the "outer seven" and the "inner six -have almost consistently refused to make any shift in their rigid import poli-cies. (The slight concession which the West German Government has made in this behalf touches only the fringe of the problem," according to the Minister of Commerce and Industry.)

NOTES 🕯

Contrasting with this is ithe picture of exports to Socialist (State trading according to the Minister) countries, exports to which, handled by the State Tradnancied by the state Trad-ing Corporation , and hence doubly advantageous to the Exchequer, totalled Rs. 54 crores in 1959 and Rs. 30.9 crores during the first half of 1960. However, the share of trade with the tries in the total being yet small, it is not their policy of accommodation which matters to India so much as the policy of restriction practised by countries of the West and the United States which are India's major trading partners.

Apart from expanding there is little else exports, there is little on which the country base its foreign exchange calculations. Aid there is no doubt, but to date no Western country has offered assistance for any major offered Third Plan project, and in future, too, it is believed that it will mostly be "tied" assistance which they will be offering, which means that in addition to high interest to be paid on them equally high prices would also have to be paid for goods which they will help to procure.

Assistance from the Assistance from the Socialist countries, on the other hand, is of a different character. It is given on a interest rate and is meant to create capacities in vital sectors. To date, the USSR alone has offered Rs. 240 crore credit to set up some very important plants during the Third Plan period, while credits offered by Czechoslóvakia, Poland and Rumania have also been earmarked for import-ant industries.

OFFICIAL RECIPE

The Commerce and Industry Minister's recipe for increasing exports is to launch an "aggressive export promotion effort.' Concretely, it means that a detailed export plan, arranged both commodity and country-wise will be worked out. While this is a welcome step, it is neces-sary that his Ministry works it out on the basis of the experience gathere hitherto. Only if it is don gathered and the exports increasingly directed to Socialist countries as well as to other countries which are prepared to accept them in payment for their mate on the foreign ex-change front be broken, and the country enabled to "stresses" in its progress.

THE CONGO SCENE INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

O VER six weeks have passed since the U.N. Security Council first call-don Belgium to withdraw ed on Belgium to withdraw its forces from the territory ed on Belgium to withdraw intention of pulling "concerned" its forces from the territory of the Congo, confirmed the national integrity of this the base, and about the 36 new-born African State. Harvards and a squardon of Today (August 30), the DC-3s. "I am not going to be last units of Belgian troops, pushed out of here"—he has mander-in-Chief are to The U. S. too, is "concern-leave the Congo, leaving behind only the logistic which the Rockefeller family together with their Combehind only the logistic groups at the Kamina and Kifona bases, and the troops stationed in the Ruanda Urundi territory. These six weeks have wit-

13

These six weeks have who nessed desperate attempts by Belgian colonialists to stick on to Katanga, by dismem-bering the Congo, with the U. S. holding the U. N. screen ilitate this.

That these attempts have not finally succeeded is du to the Congolese people's determination to safeguard their newly won indepen-dence and to the might of the world which have prothe peace-loving forces in nonnced themselves in sup-port of the Congolese peo-

This week Congo presented the following picture:

FIRST, the renewed outdemonstrations in Katanga against the imperialist stooge Tshombe. With bows and arrows in hand, the demonstrators had barricaded themselves on the streets of Albertville, dealing counterblows to Tshombe's mercenambe's attempts to

Tshombe, under imperialist instigation, got round Albert Kalonji to sign for a "Con-federation" of Katanga and Kasai Province, the Governent of the Congolese Republic acted firmly and swiftly by despatching one thousand troops to the South-Western part of Kasai, to prevent the attempted division of the

country. THIRDLY, the grand demonstration of solidarity with the Congolese Government by all independent African Sta-tes, in the form of the Conient Afriference of Indepe on Nations, which has begun its proceedings in Leopoldville on August 25.

opening session of the The Conference was attended by eleven countries Ghana, Gui-nea, Morocco, the UAR, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Ethopia, Tiberia Togoland and the Liberia, Togoland and the Cameroons. Delegates from yet more countries are on their way to the Congo. About an countries and 20 African countries under observers from other coun-tries are expected to attend this Conference, where the African Foreign Ministers have on the agenda discus-sions on-African military cooperation, political solidarity to advance African independence, economic cooperation among African nations, setamong African nations, set-ting up of a Pan-African Radio Station and of a scientific research centre at Leo-

poldville, etc. This Conference enjoys the support of all peace-loving countries of the world and comes as a resounding rebuff to imperialist machinations surgent Africa.

The last of the imperialist intrigues in the Congo, how-ever, is yet to be heard. rer, is yet to be neard.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1960

* FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT d as net profit per trip by the smuggler chief. The said Congress leader is said to be plying half a dozen jeeps in the said trade-all sold to him at nominal prices by the Bihar PCC after use in the last general elections. An old adept in this business now, the said Congress lea-der was so bold and fearless due to his group contacts —he belongs to the domi-nant ruling group—that he did not care even to change at least the appearance of

these vehicles. He never apprehendd seizure, for besides con-tacts at the highest level, the local officialdom was over-awed into submission or purchased. But this seizure came as a result of action by the leader of the rival group in the Congress

And it was they who organised the publicity. The story as prevalent in circles close to the Sadaqat Ashram, the Bihar PCC Assnam, the Binar 10 headquarters at Patna, in-dicates that the particular jeep used in this trip, had also belonged to the BPCC and was originally used during the last elections in the constituency of a Mus lim Congress MLA in the Jehanabad Sub-Division in the district of Gaya.

A Darbhanga Congress worker who worked in the constituency, recognisthe jeep near Janak-Nepal near Suspecting pur the inside border. it to be engaged in the smuggling business, he im-mediately rushed to get in telephonic touch with the leader of the dissident group in the Congress, an ex-Minister. He was asked to intercept the jeep before it reached Jainagar inside th/ Indian border in the district of Darbhanga and have it searched and seized This was done.

Congressmen In Racket

This week another jeep seized under similar cir-cumstances at Jala in the ame district of Darbhanga also believed to belong the same Congress to

leader. leader. Many prominent Con-gress leaders, especially in North Bihar, are said to be engaged in this profitable clandestine bus Some months ago, the car of a Deputy Minister was reported to have been caught by an over-zealous officer for carrying ganja. The matter was hushed up.

NEW AGE

Still earlier, last year, a question was asked in the Bihar Legislative Assembly whether a young man arrested for ganja smuggling was the son of a particular Congress MLA; while the latter, who was then present in the House, main tained a stony silence, the Government replied that it had no information. Later the case is reported to have been quietly with-

drawn. This time, the matter cannot be hushed up so easily. The dissident Con. leaders are in a regress leaders are in a re-taliatory mood. Their over-tures for unity had so fai insultingly ignored been insultingly ignored or unceremoniously turned down-so much so that the Chief Minister did not condescend even to see the Union Minister for Parlia-mentary Affairs when the latter was here to intervene n their behalf.

latest development The latest development in this connection is that the Chief Minister is proceeding to Kedarnath and Badrinath for pilgrimage and has indicated to the Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs that he would like to see him on the way.

August 22.

own go

-ESSEN August 30.

houses in San Jose were flooded with copies of a caricature depicting Uncle Sam as winding up the springs of a number of puppets to make

open

them perform to order. The proceedings of the Conference so far show that U. S. schemes for further intervention in Cuba have caused misgivings and opposition in some Latin American countries. A UPI despatch last week, confessed that despite "behind-the-scenes manoeu-



F ORMED in April last, the Mali Federation in West Africa is - now the target of fresh conspiracies, the instigators this time being the French colonialists.

colonialists. Using the Presidential elections, scheduled for August 27, as a pretext, the reactionary forces in Dakar declared the "independence" of Senegal and its separation from Sudan on August 20. Balkanisation' — that

favourite trump of impe-rialism-is sought to be played in West Africa also, Senegal being assigned the role of Katanga in that

context. context. A draft agreement pro-viding for Senegal's join-ing the "French Commu-nity" and a draft provisional agreement on coope- nity.



told reporters at the base. which the Hockereith and had acquired in the most po-werful Belgian companies ex-ploiting the mineral wealth of Katanga in 1950, and about

the decision of "the Truman Consortium" alone to invest 50 million dollars in Katanga, in connivance with Tshombe. in connivance with Tshombe. The big U. S. banker, Ave-rell Harriman is already in Africa on a "fact-finding" tour. And in an article in the

New York Times of August 21 Chester Bowles has mooted the idea of the U.S. bringing a resolution at the forthcoming U. N. General Assembl Assembl ing U. N. General Assembly Session, calling for the "esta-blishment of permanent U. N. police forces", for the setting up of an "African Supreme Court to arbitrate in disputes between African nations", etc. For, had not the same New York Times pointed out that "in the United Nations, the United States has found a ready vehicle for its po-licy?"

licy?" But now in the Congo, with a substantial part of Belgian troops pulled out, the Indian representative who will be taking over the U. N. duties from Ralph Bunche, will be shouldering the responsibility to prevent just this from this from to prevent just happening there.

OAS FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEET

LATIN AMERICA STANDS UP

N the national theatre of San Jose, the capital of Costa Rica, was declared open the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Conference of

Organisation of American While machine-guns, tre, kept the vigil, the one But, that night, the cinema

vring" a number of Latin American Foreign Ministers were "hesitant about publicly" condemning Cuba."

In the first stage of the conference itself, its stagedirector-the U. S. Secretary of State, Herter—had received his first set-back in manoeuvring the Conference to intervene in Cuba. ference with His proposal for the ave-tion of a super-nation"Spe-tion of a super-nation "Spe-tion of a super-nation"Spe-tion of a super-nation"Spe-tion of a super-nation "Spe-tion of a super-nation"Spe-tion of a super-nation "Spe-tion of a super-nation" Spe-tion of a super-nation "Spe-tion of a super-nation" Spe-tion of a super-nation "Spe-strates" Spe-strates of cial Committee" vested with the authority to dispatch troops for armed interven-tion, was rejected by the Latin American countries.

In the second phase of the In the second phase of the Conference, the U. S. Secre-tary of State took to driving a wedge between Cuba and other Latin American coun-tries. As an instance of Cuba "...establishing a training programme for Communist argents and guerrillas to agents and guerrillas to spread Communist revolution spread Communist revolution throughtout Latin America," the U. S. memorandum went so far as to cite the only "ex-ample"—that of youth dele-

Plot Against Mali Federation

ration with France, have been adopted by the "Council of Ministers" of Senegal, according to a Dakar report. Dia, the Se negalese puppet, is already in Paris, for de Gaulle's

blessings. The Federal Premier, Modibo Keita, following a Federal Cabinet meeting, has announced that the life of the Mali Federation i threatened because "some political leaders" have political leaders" have "wished to endanger the integrity of the na integrity of the nation." De Gaulle appears to be in two minds to crown Dia, lest. Sudan may further drift away from France by joining hands with the

joining hands with the neighbouring Guinea which was the only former Fren-ch colony that opted itself out of the French commu-

NEW AGE

gations from various parts of the world having voluntarily joined with the Cuban youth in building the "school town in the Maestra mountains!

T HE newly formed Sou-

vanna Phouma Govern-ment which has won the

ment which has won the confidence of the National

Assembly and the support

of the people throughout

the country is being faced with serious U. S. machi-nations in the shape of a

military threat from the Phoumi Nossavan clique.

Evidently, the 225,000,009

dollars which the U. S. has poured into Laos as "aid", of which about 200,000,000.

Herter continued to harp on the worn-out tune of Cuba developing "in the Communist direction," violating "fundamental human rights and freedoms," and exercising "no representative democracy." He goaded the Argentine Foreign Minister to propose the con vening of a special American Foreign Ministers' meeting within ninety days, to draft a so-called treaty against Communism in the Western hemisphere; he cajoled the Colombian Foreign Minister to attack Cuba for "trying to weaken and destroy continental solidarity" by accept. ing "extra-continental inter-vention."

Opposition to these moves was soon forthcoming from other Latin American coun tries. The Venezuelean dele-gate declared his country's firm opposition to the Con ference taking any me which could be interpreted as restriction of democratic freedoms under the pretext of fighting Communism.

The Uruguayan Foreign Minister's conclusion was: Minister's conclusion was "that Cuban people in exer-cising their undeniable rights, have overthrown a tyrannical regime in a revolutionary way and have established a Government that conforms to their political choice."

The delegate from Panama, while declaring that Cuba be left to determine its own fate, turned the accusing finger towards the U.S. representative to demand that Panama enjoy all the benefits derived from the Canal which is situated in within a territory completely the framework of Panama's sovereignty."

sovereignty." So complete was the U.S. Secretary's discomfiture at the Conference, that when one of the U.S. "big friend" Trujillo of the Dominican Republic was strongly con-demned by a Conference re-solution demanding breaking off of diplomatic relations with that country, Herter off of diplomatic relations with that country, Herter tried to use the same dis-cussion for dubbing Cuba as "a totalitarian regime," and failed in that attempt also.

dollars had gone into strengthening the Laotian army and police, cannot be writen off so easily by

U.S. MILITARY

THREAT TO LAOS

So with Radio Thailand blaring day in and day out against the policy of peace and neutrality as a "dan-gerous policy" which opens the way to "Communist invasion", the SEATO bloc held burried confabulations Bangkok on August 25, plot intervention in Laos. The U. S. imperia. lists are reported to have allotted more than 100,000 dollars to help their stooge, the former Defence Minister Nossavan in opposing the present Laotian Govemment. And this lap dog of the imperialists, despite his talks with Premier Phouma, has perfidiously Phouma, has perfidiously occupied the two villages of Pak San and Sanakham, ot far from from the capital. Vientiane

The Phouma Govern ment, pursuing a policy conforming to the national interests of the Laotian eople, has ann etermination t ced its these SEATO - inspired schemes of some militarists and politicians inside the country. And for this, the Government has the full backing of the Laotian

Demonstrations and parades of the Laotian people and soldiers in support of the Government and denouncing the traitorous Nossavan group are almost daily occurrence in Laos these days.

Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, has also issued a statement calling laksat Party, has on all the Laotian people to strengthen their unity to support the Government of Souvanna Phouma and to crush the plots of U.S. imperialism and the Phou-mi Nossavan clique.

The Cuban delegate at the Conference successfully re-futed all U. S. slanders against his country. On Soviet aid to his country he declar. ed: "There is no question of intervention on the part of the Soviet Union, but of a spontaneous offer of help in face of the danger of aggressive interventions by United States."

And the knock-out blow to U. S. machinations at San Jose came from Havana in the words of the Cuban In the words of the work of a strong of the work of the oAS, we will win; with or without the OAS, the Cuban revolution remains an accomplished fact in this continent which. "With or cannot be ignored."

A sharp split has thus taken place in the OAS Con-ference. U. S. diplomacy has suffered yet another big set-back. the OAS Con-

-RAZA ALI



REGD. NO. D597

THE CONGO SCENE MILITARY FRAME



The Ceylon Government seized all copies of American news-magazine TIME of August 1, which contained a cheap slanderous story against its new Prime Minister entitled, "Tearful Ruler". The TIME reeks with propaganda for the sordid American way of life and their criminal war plans. This particular issue contained the story of a new successful deadly weapon, the missile Polaris, and how the aggression-plotters of the USA plan to establish submarine-cum-Polaris bases on the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. I do not know of a single important Indian paper that has called the attention of our people to the new menace. THE BOMBS EXPENDED BY BOTH SIDES IN WORLD WAR TWO (INCLUDING THE

SAKI)."

POLARIS was fired in the last week of July and here is **Time's** description of the same: "Suddenly the blue-green Gulf Stream erupted with convulsive fury. Like a marlin in a cascade of brine, a grey, bottle-shaped monster leaped into the aftermonster leaped into the after-noon. For an instant it hung against the sky—silent, omi-nous, streaming foam. Then it came alive with unearthly racket. Its tale belched flame, and it climbed into its new element with incredible ease. Arcing high into the thin, cold reaches of space, the first ballistic missile ever to be fired from a submerged submarine swing surely to-ward the south and east. Polaris, named after the ma-riner's bright pole star, needriner's bright pole star, needed no such, guidance now. Brief seconds after it breached the water of Cape Cana-veral last week and screamed down the Atlantic missile range, it was on its own-and it was on target."

and it was on target." Rear Admiral William Raborn, Jr., boss of the U.S. Navy's Polaris project, des-cribed this new weapon of war in the following words in a message to Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Ope-rations "This new star of rations, "This new star of peace hoisted a trail of mis-sile smoke from salt water to space as a signal of a bright new addition to seapower, a new strategic use of the world's oceans which will be felt around the world and across and behind the iron and bamboo curtains.

"Deterrent For '60s'

THE POLARIS HAS BEEN THE POLARIS HAS BEEN CHRISTENED IN THE AME-RICAN WAR-MAKEBS' JA. RGON AS THE "DETER-RENT FOR THE '608," ITS-IL RENT FOR THE '60S," ITS SUCCESSFUL LAUNCHING HAS BOOSTED THEIR SAG-GING MORALE. THE TIME CLAIMS, "POLARIS GAVE CLAIMS, "POLARIS GAVE FIRM PROMISE THAT THE U.S. IS READY TO MOVE INTO A NEW AGE OF SECU-RITY AND DETERRENCE WITH A REVOLUTIONABY WEAPONS SYSTEM, THE NUCLEAR SUBS THAT ARE ITS LAUNCHING PLAT-FORMS CAN ROAM THE WORLD'S OCEANS AT WILL, DIFFICULT TO DETECT AND DESTROY, AND READY TO DIFFICULT TO DETECT AND DESTROY, AND BEADY TO DELIVER THEIR LETHAL BIRDS ON TARGETS 1,200 MILES AWAY WITH AN AC-CURACY WITHIN A MILE. ONE SUB ALONE PACKS 16 MISSILES, AND EACH LOAD OF MISSILES. PACKS THE EXPLOSIVE PUNCH OF ALL

"They will open a new 4 4. "They will open a new sea frontier along 6,000 miles stretch of the Indian Ocean where the U. S. now has no bases."

No comments are necessary to understand the aggressive designs it is meant to serve and the danger to the peace of the world and sovereignty of every nation that it embo

The U.S. President told the Senate, "Never in my long military career has a weapons system of such 'complexity conception to the operational stage with such sureness and speed." en brought from its origina

By 1965, the Navy plans a fleet of 45 FBM Submarines— 30 on station at a time around the Eurasian landmass. And by 1965 Rear Admiral Raborn plans to extend Polaris' range from the present 1,200 to 2,500 miles per missile. Three-and-a-half

billion dollars were spent on the Polaris project before a single shot was fired. It was the first instalment on the Polaris fleet that will run up a bill as

than Eisenhower had asked for early this year. This is the biggest military outlay of the U.S. since World War II. A UPI report stated that the extra fund would go for the purchase of two addithe purchase of two addi-tional Polaris missile Sub-marines, expanded develop-ment of the long range B-70 Bombers and new heavy tanks.

Cold War Atmosphere

The London Daily Herald is far from being Left and is a loyal supporter of the U.S. loyal supporter of the U. S. policy of war and aggression. Its Washington Correspon-dent Harold Hutchinson in his August 15 despatch des-cribed the present day USA as "an armed camp. full of pessimism." He wrote that despite this being an election year, there was no talk among the ruling circles about old-age pension or full employ-ment or housing, "there is no talk of disarmament but only talk of disarmament but only of more and deadlier arms.



2. "In the long pull of cold war, Polaris will relax pressures on overseas allies, some uneasy at the provoca-tive presence of U. S. missile sites." 2 "Polaris"

A-BOMBS DROPPED ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGA.

What other strategic objec-tives is the Polaris designed to serve?

1. "With Polaris subma-rines at sea, no enemy can possibly figure knocking out U. S. power with a strike at SAC air-fields and missile

3. "Polaris itself is listed range missle but Polaris-plus submarine bids to be perhaps the most effective inter-continental missile of all." "Polaris itself is listed

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large as the entire budget for the Strategic Air Command. Soon after their success with the Polaris, the U. S. Defence Department an-mounced an increase of 500. million dollars in military outlay to step up arms drive and war preparations. The U. S. military budget for fiscal year 1961 will total 41.5 billion dollars which is 500 million dollars more is 500 million dollars more

Hutchinson went on to say that during his 8,000 miles travel in the USA, "Never have I been far from a bom-ber, a missile base or a great war factory. Nine-tenths of the news in the papers, radio and TV is about the cold war." Such is the atmosphere inside the USA out of which inside the USA out of which comes this Polaris weapon. Soon after the news of the Polaris appeared in the TIME,

the Burma National United Front in a statement strongly. protested against the U. war plan to station its "P laris" rocket-equipped su "Polaris" rocket-equipped sub-marines in the Bay of Bengal. The statement added that the The statement added that the stationing of rocket-firing submarines in the Bay of Bengal and setting up a roc-ket-bases on the soil of Thai-land by the American impe-rialists amounted to committing aggression against Burma.

The Anti-Nuclear Wea pons Organisation of the students of Rangoon University in a statement on August 11, declared, "We strongly oppose these U. S. activities and demand that no war base be established near our country."

near our country." "The war preparations of the U.S. are not only aim-ed at the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist countries but also directed against the people's strug-gles for national freedom, democracy, social progress and peace." The Burmese patriotic opi-mion is vigilant and they are rousing their people to the new menace. One cannot ex-pect the regimented Press of

ect the regimented Press of pect the regimented Press or Pakistan under Field-Marshal Ayub to speak up.

Base Against Us

THE POLARIS SUBMA-RINES IN THE ARABIAN SEA AND THE BAY OF BEN-GAL GIVES THE U. S. AG-GRESSOR THE STRATEGIC BASE AGAINST OUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE WHOLE EURASIAN SOCIALIST LAND MASS TOWARDS THE NOR-TH, WITHOUT THE NECES-SITY OF HAVING A PHYSI-CAL BASE ON OUR OWN NATIVE SOIL. THE U. S. FLAN OF HAVING POLARIS SUBMARINE BASES ON THE ARABIAN SEA AND THE BAY OF BENGAL IS A PART OF ARABIAN SEA AND THE BAY OF BENGAL IS A PART OF THEIR GLOBAL PLAN AS PROJECTED IN THE MAP ON THIS PAGE. IT IS A ME. NACING DANGER TO THE SAFETY, SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF INDIA, AND OF ALL THE AFRO-ASIAN NATIONS AROUND, AND TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

WORLD. The Indian monopoly Press formally supporting country's independent while the country's independent foreign policy of world peace and international cooperation is at heart pro-West and this, is revealed by its total black-out of the Polaris story and the menace it constitutes to India, Asia and the peace-and freedom-loving world.

Record Your Protest

A nationwide protest aga-A nationwide protest aga-inst the American plan of aggression and enslavement, against stationing of the Po-laris missile in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal is an urgent need of the hour. No difference among India's national parties should keep them divided on this issue which concerns the honour which concerns the honour, safety and the duty of our in-dependent, peace-loving and proud nation,

to Bourger Parton

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From: TIME