

PERFORMANCE

Last week it was in the Rajya Sabha, this week it was in the Lok Sabha. The same political drama played by the same Prime Minister for the same political purpose and as before without substance. It hurt some honest Congress M.P.s, who expected that the P. M. would turn his guns at those who had challenged his foreign policy in the same debate. The Prime Minister hownad challenged his foreign policy in the same debate. The trime himster how-ever won a glowing tribute from Goenka's Indian Express which chuckled saying, "The Communist Party of India stands thrice condemned". This Right wing tribune also picked up courage to throw "A Challenge" at the Commun-ist M. P.s in the following words, "Mr Nehru has thrown a challenge to the Communists to prove themselves to be nationalists and patriotic." And how? By disowning their Party and its organ!



THE Prime Minister's own words were, "The weekly organ, I believe, of the Com-munist Party, which is called New Age, has carried on a consistent, a blatant, a permiclous, and a false propaganda. And I use my words deliberately."

Slander Is The Weapon

Mukerji Comrade Hiren Mukerji duly replied, "I do not mind that advertisement which the Prime Minister gives to New Age in this House, but I do wish to say that if the Prime Minister can point out to anything anti-national stated there, ways and means are open to him as head of the Government to take action." The Prime Minister's only reply was, "No, No, we are not a court of law here to go into thig ' will

Any neutral person will ask-why then raise it in the Honse? And, after some thought he can himself answer that the Lok Sabha instead of being treated as the nation's Parliament, where serious issues are dis-cussed on the basis of known or proven facts and in terms of principles, is being transformed into a political cockpit, where the knife of slander is the wea-pon and the Press helps to Any neutral person pon and the Press helps to make the public outside the wide circle of spectators.

It is noteworthy that the Prime Minister called his above sentence, which is a general statement of his poli-tical opinion about New Age and has not been substantia-ted by him with a single fact or instance, as "I have given a specific instance." He did not quote a single article or a single sentence from New Age which in his opinion could bear out his own cha-racterisation. To put it very mildy indeed, this is neither an honest argument nor the method of a clean debate. The challenge of New Age stands. Let him make his points against us in the nation's Press or on the

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public platform or in a court of law. We have no-thing to fear. And we as-sure him that we will not treat him the way he treats us!

treats us! Once again the Prime Min-ister did not stop with New Age, but went on to slander our comrades in the Kangra District, Himachal Pradesh, in the Lahaul Valley, in Garhwal and in Almorah Dis-trict: "It is some kind of in-sidious propaganda being corrido on in these border dissidious propaganda being carried on in these border dis-tricts which are peculiarly delicate."

The police and the local administration in these re-mote border outposts are far more hostile to the Communmore hostile to the Commun-ists than in the more advan-ced plains districts below. And yet not a single Commu-nist in the areas and districts mentioned by the Prime Min-ister has been arrested for any activities against the law of the land or the interest of the netton. the nation.

In Border Areas

New Age will come out with more and more revelations on the subject, by and by. For the time being, I will only quote from the Sarhadi, a Hindi weekly edited by Naren-dra Singh Bhandari, Congress MLA from the Kedarnath Constituency, right up on the Garhwal-Tibet border. It is an anti-Communist New Age will come out with

Garhwal-Tibet border. It is an anti-Communist rag which concentrates its fire against the Indian Com-munists and its central theme is the "danger from China" across the border. It ought to know much more than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, sunk in files in the New Delhi Secre-tariat, about what the Com-munists in the border area are doing.

BUNKUM and all that

N the course of his Assam debate speech in the Lok Sabha, Prime in Minister Nehru said:

"In his minute of dis-sent, Dr. Gour talks about democracy and students. I shall be very respectful to Dr. Gour, but what he says there—I say so with all respect—is just bunkum; nothing else than bunkum. I hone it is parliamentary. I hope it is parliamentary. But still here, to talk in this context about demo-cracy and students, really cracy and students, really has no meaning. We want students to develop, to become big, to grow and serve their country and serve themselves and serve others and be ambitions, if others and be ambitious, if you like. But to call this business of building up caucuses, to hold that everything is democracy in action—the students, etc., has no meaning from either the students' point of view or the democratic point of view."

What had Dr. Raj Baha-What had Dr. Raj Bana-dur Gour said in his Minute of Dissent to the Parliamentary Delegation's report? Here is the relereport? vant extract:

"I cannot agree with the approach of the majority report with regard to the students nor can I lend my support to the recomsupport mendations it has made in this connection.

"It is true that sizable sections of the students were in the forefront of the language agitation and a section of their leader-ship gave the movement an expression and is a Rengali ship gave the movement an aggressive anti - Bengali slant. Some may 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 in their hands. "It must be remembered that the chauvinistic ele-ments outside played on the grievances of the students, real or imaginary, and drew the young and suscep-

tible minds into the tur-

tible minds into the tur-moil. "The solution, in my view, does not lie in curb-ing the legitimate, demo-cratic rights of the stu-dent community or in harshly dealing with them. The students have to be corrected and freed from chauvinistic and disrup-tive influences. This can be done precisely by promoting democratic consciousness and activity among the democratic consciousness and activity among the student community. Leading progressive personali-ties in the field of educa-tion and culture and in other spheres of public life can play a beneficial role in this respect.

"It has been our common experience that the more the democratic consciousthe democratic conscious-ness among the students, the greater their demo-cratic activities, the less is the chance for the chauvi-nistic and reactionary ele-ments to mislead them.

ments to mislead them. "I must repeat that I am strongly opposed to any curb on legitimate, demo-cratic student activities." A perusal of these para-graphs would make one thing clear—at no place does Dr. Gour say that what has happened in As-sam is the democratic actiwhat has happened in As-sam is the democratic acti-vities of students—in fact he says they became tools in the hands of chauvinistic elements; all that he says is that the corrective lies not in the curbing of legitimate democratic rights but in promoting rights but in promoting their democratic cons-ciousness to free them from chauvinistic and disruptive influences.

ruptive influences. The bourgeois Press. which printed Nehru's remarks on Dr. Gour's Minute of Dissent never cared to print the Minute of Dissent itself. But the Prime Minister should have shown a little more respect to the Members of Parliament who had the Minute of Dissent in front of them. of them.

the Communists in the hilly districts of Uttar Pradesh are increasing, at that time with full responsibility we stated that it was incorrect. There are no Communists in the re-gion and the couple or so of Communists that are there, are doing no such propaganda that harms the country. The Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Sampurnanand had also Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Sampurnanand had also stated that it was not true that in the hill districts such literature is being distributed which incite the local populace.

It is an anti-Communist lace. "In the some inclustion of the some inclustic some inclusted in the some incluster in the some interester in the some incluster in the some interval in the some in

become Communists. No pa-triot will like to create such a state of affairs." (Sarhadi, July 25)

We present the above as only our first real story for the Prime Minister and his Secretariat to read, chew and think again

Who Is To Decide?

In his concluding diatribe, the Prime Minister assured the Lok Sabha that his vicithe Lok Sabha that his vici-ous attacks against us had "nothing to do with Commu-nism. It has to do with nationalism, and India's free-dom and India's integrity." Fresh with the experience

of the Assam Assembly by-election and the Calcutta Southwest Parliamentary by-election which we fought by-election which we fought on this very issue, Hiren Mukerji politely stated that "elections will decide." However this did not assu-age the Prime Minister. He

NOTES OF THE WEEK

The Mad Men Must Be Held tiations the present agree-ment has been reached.

United Nations Assembly next and his urgent pleas to the heads of other important States to do the same is the news of the week. Pandit Nehru has welcomed the Soviet initiative on the floor of Parliament. Indian public nion must fully know the desperate and mad plans of the imperialist war-plotters and realise the gravity of the involved.

London Daily Express report of August 29 admits that the aggressive spy flights are yet being carried out, with Britain as the base, by U.S. Air Force with more RB-47s and by the RAF using y the RAF using l-up" Canberras. The aim of the flights was to aim of the highly was to "probe radar, fighters and rocket defences." This is con-sidered essential "to enable allied bombers to reach their argets" in countries supposschind "the iron cur-It is clear enough that have learnt nothing the flasco of U-2. they

MASTER PLAN

The mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly capital, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT in its August 29 issue stated that the recently establish-ed U.S. Central Military Planning Agency is making intensified efforts to draw up "the master plan for nuclear world war." The nuclear world war." The the militarist die plan is to draw up before the Western camp December 1, "America's truly unified plan for atomic war." The aim is "to Prime Minister gear all America's retalia-tory weapons to fire at pre-isonely marked farenets" as viously marked targets the U.S. Joint Chief of Staff issues the order for attack. Such is the disaster towards which the U.S. militarists will lead the world if they have their

U.S. Colonel, Donnelly, been entrusted by the Senate Disarmament U.S. Sub-Co mmittee to draw up a report on research on means of chemical, bacteriological report on research on means tes of the world band, the of chemical, bacteriological new Agreement has been and radiological warfare. The negotiated, and after long U.S. Army Chemical Corps delays and complicated nego-

K HRUSHCHOV'S dramatic has been given over one hun-announcement of leading dred and three million dollars the Soviet delegation to the for 1960 and its plan is to add another 30 million dollars for 1961 U.S. Defence Secretary Gates has asked for more appropriations for the Army Chemical Corps at a meeting After the full text of the Agreement is published what will need careful scrutiny is of the House Military Appropriations Sub-Committee.

The report admits that the U.S. is obstinately opposed to the Soviet plan for a ban on chemical, bacteriological and radiological weapons and opines that the Soviet pro-posal for banning all these foul weapons "runs counter to the present U.S. policy." Newspaper readers are aware how the Western and

Pakistan Press has been link-The above are only a few ing the Canal Waters Agree-ment with Kashmir and the items from the current U.S. Press but they are enough to joint defence pact. The GLASGOW HERALD, Septem reveal the grim reality that constitutes the desperate and ber 2, under the caption, "Quite Flows Indus". editorimad U.S. war plans against which Khrushchov is rushing ally states, "After years of often bitter delay, India and to the U.N. General Assembly. President Soekarno will also join him. It is good news that Pakistan are ready to start on the great enterprise. More difficulties than economic ones, may pan out in the quiet waters of Indus." India's Prime Minister has agreed to go if and when serious issues come up before the General Assembly and India can help.

Many Western capitals Many Western capitals are seriously and construc-tively considering Khrush-chov's proposals. Warm-hearted and full throated Indian support for real and rapid disarmament plans and firm warning to the provocateurs and aggressors will rea a long way to tone Ayub's contradictory attitude towards Prime Minister Nehru's visit to Pakistan. He had talked about India's provocateurs and aggressors will go a long way to tone up the situation and isolate the militarist die-hards in He was no less insolent in his Pakistan Independence Day broadcast where he threatenthe Western camp.

have to do so in the interest of their own ultimate secu-rity and well-being." The U.S. pat on the back had obviously gone into his head and he seems to have been duly deflated to get started all over again. On August 19, at Quetta, he said that Pak-iters would be delibited to THE main purpose of the Prime Minister's visit to Pakistan is to sign the Canal Waters Agreement. In 1958, Governor-General Gulam Mohammed signed the treaty that divided the waters between our two countries. Later, the Government unilaterally pudiated it. Under the au Pak ces of the World Bank, the

Repeat Performance

* FROM FRONT PAGE

went more dogmatic than before and shouted, "Whether they win or lose, they are acting wrongly, anti-patriotically, anti-nationally," In other words it is HE and not the PEOPLE who are to decide what is wrong and what is right, what patriotic and what unpatriotic, what na-tional and what anti-national. With cool firmness and righteous indignation Hiren renlied "The Com-Party members have to this house been elected not by the grace of the Con-Party. He said we act nti-national' This is a kind of statement which goes aga-inst the grain of Parliamentary disc ussion. If they were to push us out of Parliament. Nehru himself.

PAGE TWO

ways and means are open to them to do something about it. But I cannot understand this kind of deviation into an unmannerly exhibition of anti-parliamentarism." This did hit the nail on the head.

Anti-Communist slanders Anti-Communist slanders may be a good general elec-tion investment according to the new light of the Prime Minister and the mounting pressure of his own Right-wing. But the Prime Minister will realise in good time that it does not pay. It can only debase for the time being the means the doad of Indian independent foreign policy because of the Canal Waters Treaty, though some of its moral standards of Indian public life and give the chance of their lives to the Masanis, Jan Sanghis and aries so desire. A great danger, however, arises from Asoka Mehtas to strut about as more national and patrio-tic than Pandit Jawaharlal our dependence on foreign

NEW AGE

"aid".

clauses are likely to leave

room for mounting up tension

whenever the Pak reaction-aries so desire. A great

FEROZE GANDHI

The Communist Party of India deeply mourns the untimely death of Sri Feroze Gandhi, an eminent fighter for India's freedom, a staunch democrat and an outstanding parliamentarian; and sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

The Hoffman Mission

Generous Indian opinio will not grumble against

the concessions that India has made to Pakistan to supply water for over a

quarter of a century from our own rivers and at the cost of our own prosperity and that almost free. That

is a good-neighbourly deed.

the role reserved by the World

Bank for its own representa-

tive under the cover of a technical adviser and the likely traps under the arbi-

AYUB'S SPEECHES

This also explains President

Prime Minister before Dr.

aghuvira in insulting terms.

ed, "just yet, the Indian leadership does not seem to

leadership does not seem to see the virtues of settling this (Kashmir) dispute with us though one day they shall have to do so in the interest

When the Pakistan issue

ed for Indian initiative, to

relations with that

improve relations with country, not in the sense that normal patrioti

policy itself.

that normal patriotic Indians desire, towards real

he likes.

The

tration clauses.

THE World Bank's latest, Hoffman Mission report on foreign aid for the Third Plan, has been leaked out by the HINDUSTAN TIMES, the to pre-August 31, with a view paring Indian pub to accept the ept the foreign monopolists' anti-Indian demands. They should, however, help to make Indian opinion vigilant

make Indian opinion vignate and active. The World Bank's Hoffman Mission is reported to have recommended "generous assis-tance" for India's development programmes but let us examine how, where and on

ed to be critical of our "steel, coal and oil programmes." In other words, it does not want us to ex-pand our basic industries and advance towards great. industrialisation.

It has opined against our simultaneous construction of three steel plants" on mund that we did not have the necessary technical per-sonnel and the rest of it. The lesson is driven ho we want new and more ste we want new and more seten plants we will have to trust the World Bank to nominate the steel builders for us. This is just what the U.S. Steel Mission had come to scout a few months earlier.

pressed disappointment over the anticipated short-fall of about five or six million tons in the coal target for the Second Plan." Since the pridriven home that we must permit free run in the pri-vate sector in coal and give up our ideas of developing the public sector faster to istan would be delighted to and power source, for the receive Nehru and he could development of the national stay there as many days as economy. The grievance of the Mis-

sion in respect of oil seems to be of a fundamental nature It is learnt that in a fortthcame up in the foreign policy debate in Parliament, it is not only PSP spokes-men but also the JAN SANGHI Vajpai who pressright analysis of India's oil policy, the Mission has minc-ed no words that the policy as it stands cannot promote progress at the pace requir-

NOT AID. BUT TRAP

good-neighbourliness des-pite foreign policy and other differences but as a stepping stone to changing India's independent foreign The report argues that India does not have the vast resources needed to develop oil in the public sector and since the need for oil is growing and urgent, we must invite the Western oil mono The Prime Minister, howclear that he nolists who have the where ever, made it clear that he was going to Pakistan only to sign the Canal Waters Treaty withal, experience, and the personnel to come in. The very fact that Hoffman can personnel and that there was no change in his attitude against the joint defence pact and the like. There is no immediate make such tall demands against the declared policy of our country shows how weak and dependent they consider Indian position to have danger of a reversal of our

become The World Bank Mission The World Bank Mission was for about ten weeks in India from April onwards. In its report, it has "spot-lighted the importance of a more rapid increase in agricultural production." In other words, they are back

at the old game of organising and concentrating their pressure that India's Plan must remain in reality priagricultural and narily industrialisation has to be done must be under the control of foreign capital and in the private

1594 -0

sector. So from the World Bank, we should look out not for aid but a trap for India's Third Plan. The

Finance Minister Morarji Desai, is due t Washington for the due to go to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund meetings, beginning on September 25. Thereafter, he is scheduled to pay a four-day visit to New York "to meet U.S. bankers and industrialists with a view principally to amplify the Government's policy on the mestion of private investment in India and to assess the progress of American participating in the capita Third Plan development proin increasing degree. ramme TIMES OF INDIA, Septem ber 7)

Morarji Desai had gone on a similar errand last year as well. Those who re-member his speeches then and have followed his activities thereafter cannot but fail to recall how concesfail to recall how conces-sion after concession has been made in the interests of the foreign monopolists and how they have been permitted to enter indus-tries hitherto reserved for the public sector and so on. Morarji Desai will again act the traditional Adam with the Eve of Western capital, in the conference rooms of

in the conterence ruons of the World Bank. The country must warn Morarji in time that his ill-begotten progeny will not be welcome, back at home. The Minister has recently been talking a lot about national and anti-national His own test will come once again, whether he himself owns or disowns the antinational deals which sarily follow from Morarji's visit abroad, and after the Hoffman Mission report.

COMMUNIST PARTY WEE

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-P. C. JOSHI

TING PRESS

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council, Communist Party of India, meeting in New Delhi from September 4 to 7, 1960, adopted the following resolution on the Communique of the Communist and Workers' Parties issued at Bucharest:

> THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist of India notes with Party satisfaction. that the munique of the Con and Workers' Parties issued at Bucharest reaffirmed adherence to the 12-Parties Declaration and the Peace Manifesto. It welcomes the statement that the Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries will continue to strengthen the cohesion of the world Socialist system and will struggle unitedly for peace and security of all peoples and for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-

Leninism The Central Executive Committee has also heard the report made by two of its -Comrades Bhup Gupta and M. Basavapunaiah who attended the Bucharest meeting and had enefit of exchange of views with Communist leaders of other countries on the current international situation.

The Central Executive Committee considers that world events since November 1957 have brilliantly confirm-ed the validity of the Declara-tion and the Manifesta and tion and the Manifesto and that therefore, it is necessary to adhere to them firmly i theory as well as in practice n firmly i

During the recent years several occasions have arisen when world peace was threa-tened by the aggressive designs and moves of the imperialist Powers. In each case, however, war was averted and world peace saved by im-perialists being forced to re-trace their steps. This has been rendered possible by the und change in the lance of world forces-the growing power and influence of the USSR and the Socialist world, the disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence of a large number of countries like India, Indonesia. UAR who are pursuing independent foreign policies, the increasing strength of the Communist Parties and the working class movement, the rise of national liberation and the widening sweep of the world peace

All these factors favourable the maintenance of peace ave continued to develop further.

This does not mean that imperialists have changed their nature or abandoned their designs. The dastardly U-2 flight which wrecked the Summit Conference and caus summit Conference and caus-ed profound disappointment to hundreds of millions of people all over the world, shows how serious the war danger still continues to be and emphasizes the need for and emphasises the need for Never sharpening vigilance. s, in this very period have taken place the events in South Korea, Turkey and Japan which show growing instability of regimes sub-servient to them. There has been open criticism of the provocative acts of American imperialists even by many capitalist circles. In their

SEPTEMBER 11, 1960

ces, and the persistence with which he has been eeking reduction in prices charged by the foreign comanies in India, have been stigmatised by these as products of petty gain mindedness" on the part of the Minister, who in their eyes is "obsessed with good-for-nothing doctrinaire theories." (Commerce, September 3) The opposition of the foreign companies, whose pro-fits are affected by cuts, de-manded by the Minister, has at least a certain rationale behind it. Used to lording it over the consumer countries, whose Governments let them make enormous profits,

they are piqued if a different experience confronts them now. But the "concern" for their interests, shown by certain indigenous circles, whose mouthpiece Commerce is, can only be a product either of extreme ervility. or of the mistaker notion that any stick is good to use against the Govern-ment, so long as it hits the

public sector. Commerce thus reveals itself as a journal, narrow and petty in its approach to national problems. To it oil is not an asset whose benefit should be exclusively for enriching the nation, but a mere item of trade not worth much bothering about. worth much obthering adout. It even finds some virtues in the refinery agreements with foreign companies which are like a halter round the nation's neck.

hence has not much validity. In fact, it congratulates the country on not having a that time "a Minister in charge of oil who was so bargain-minded as Mr. Malaviya is now." And why

The World Bank has "exvate sector is nearer its target and the public sector is lag-ging far behind, the lesson is public sector faster to con-trol this big industry, the fuel

what terms? The World Bank is believ-

C. E. C. RESOLUTION ON BUCHAREST COMMUNIQUE

totality, recent events consti-tute another setback to the warmongers and bring added strength to the forces of peace. The thesis put forward and the Manifesto that at present the forces of peace have so grown that a real possibility exists for averting wars. has found further confirma-tion. Therefore, the work of Communist Parties must continue to be guided by that thesis. The broadest unity of masses and action by them is

in the Declaration

essential in order to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, abolish military bases and military alliances and achieve all-round disarmament.

In the struggle to safeguard peace and bring about relaxa-tion of tension, the countries of Asia and Africa who have thrown off colonial rule have played and are playing an important role. Of especial significance, in this context, has been the role of the Republic of India-a role which has earned India the respect of people all over the world. Our Party has clearly stated its assessment of the stated its assessment of the policy of the Government of India in the Palghat and Amritsar Congress

Wilhelm Pieck The Communist Party of India expresses its

deepest grief at the death of Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic and one of the founders and architects of the international Communist movement. The Communist Party of India conveys its heartfelt sympathies to the people of the German Demo-cratic Republic, the Socialist Unity Party and members of the bereaved family.

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

tions. The Central Executive conflict inside a country be-Committee reaffirms that tween the exploiters and ex-position. As before, the ploited or of the gradual Communist Party of India, transformation of capitalism while criticising shortcomings and weaknesses, will continue to support the Govern-ment of India's policy in defence of peace.

The possibility of preservation of peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence do not, however, mean acceptance of the thesis of elimination of

economy

erations

operations — Government

infructuous prospecting in

West Bengal - needed to be

utilised somewhere. Now

Jaisalmer in Rajasthan is to

that it happens to be indulg-

ing in its drilling pastime in a contiguous area in Paki-stal as well.

Another end of the Go-

vernment's oil policy, which revealed itself to be as yet

new refining capacities. To date it is not known whe-

ther, apart from the propos-ed refineries at Nunmati and Barauni, which Rumania and the USSR are helping to

set up, it has canvassed for assistance for establishing

any more public sector refi-

loose, is that of sanctio

be its area of

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agrees for no reas

into Socialism. In defence of their democratic rights and civil liberties and in order to mprove their conditions, the toiling people in alliance with all democratic and progressive elements, have to wage a continuous and sustained

* SEE PAGE 15

OIL POLICY

T HE two-hour discussion on the Government's oil policy in the Lok Sabha last week has provided oc-casion to certain circles in the country is a safe the country to pour ridi cule on the Minister of Mines and Oil. The vigi-lance exercised by him in respect of the changing trends in the world oil pri-

"har-

Much of the criticism of these agreements in its view is "based on hindsight" and

not, since its criterion of a useful Minister is that he should be "somewhat ignorant of many complicated details of oil economics." Obviously, with the present Minister evincing a keen interest in these details --- and terest in these details — and hence singularly failing to measure up to the attributes laid down by *Commerce* — the oil policy of the Govern-ment could not but be an anathema to it. *Commerce*, and the circles

it represents, are not, however, against cuts in oil prices so long as these can be had without scaring away foreign capital. In fact, its grouse against the Oil Ministry is precisely the latter's utter ignorance of the "cru-cial importance of foreign aid and foreign private capital." Here, however, its criticism is unfortunately patently unfair to the Ministry, which has gone out of its way in inviting foreign interests to prospect for oil in India on "suitable terms."

Weakness Of Govt. Policy

This brings us to the weaknesses of the Government's oil policy which, too, were revealed during the debate. The Minister reiterated in revealed aurin The Minister his speech his Government's policy to associate foreign private prospectors in the private prospectors in the search for oil, and although he expressed himself dissatisfied with the usual 50:50 sharing of profits, he had no justifiable explanation to offer for going in for such association at all, when means to prospect under the aegis of the Gov ernment can be readily had. The Soviet have been ever willing t render assistance in this behalf, and if there are certain circles in the Government in the Finance Ministry or elsewhere—blocking a high-er allocation to oil, they should be made to give up their recalcitrance in the national interest.

The first concrete proposal under this policy of associa-tion has come from the Standard Vacuum Company, whose equipment-after the

neries. Without doing so, and putting up the maximum possible capacity under its it would be folly on its part to even entertain any proposal for expansion of the private re-The latter have of course not been wanting in shrewd-ness in this behalf. They have tried to exploit the Government's eagerness bring about a reduction to

prices for pressurising it into accepting their proposals for expansion. While the Goexpansion. While the Go-vernment has rightly failed to succumb to these temp tations its willingness to even consider these propo-sals — in face of the sad ex-perience with the companies - is an indication of its lack of firmness in this behalf.

This lack is exploited also by circles represented by Commerce and the Eastern Economist to popularise the idea that an increase in quantity of oil, refined now by foreign companies, will result in a greater saving in foreign exchange than will be the case if more refineries are set up by the Government only some time later. While their case can be debunked on the basis of data made available in Parlia-ment last month, which showed that the foreign exchange saved in 1959 was Rs. 10.44 crores while the amount (in foreign exchange) spent annually on the import of crude oil was of an order of Rs. 41.70 crores, the fact that time is the essence of the matter cannot be denied.

NOTES

Hence to silence these publicists, as well as to make the country self-sufficient in its refining capacity, the Go-vernment should expedite the country setting up more refineries under its own auspices. under its own ausr Crude for refining, it Crude for refining, it can have in abundance from the USSR at lower than the Western price, but to store it nt will have to the Go create storage facilities.

Distributing Concerns

As yet, however, it has shown no volition to create such facilities either independently or in partnership with indigenous interests which are willing to do it. There is, however, another quarter which can provide it these facilities. The agreements — so sacrosanct to it — being only with the re-finery companies, can it not take over the installations of distributing concerns, which at least in law are separate entities?

The oil policy of the Government is said to be governed by the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which puts oil among in-dustries to be developed exclusively in the public sector. Any departure from this resolution, on the plea of expediency or otherwise, will not only be a violation of a nationally-accepted policy but also an invitation to the very forces which it seeks to curb within the country.

-ESSEN

PAGE THREE

September 6

NEW AGE

M. VISWESWARAYYA

IT was towards the end of 1914. Work on the construction of the Cauvery Reservoir—now known as the Krishnarajasagar — was going on. Suddently a difficulty cropped up. The engineers found that while there was rock foundation in the middle of the river, the ground was soft on both sides, How to get over this difficulty the engineers on the spot had no

But the work could enot stop, there was a commitment to be honoured. Power supply to the Kolar Gold Fields was very irre-gular and the company had on occasions sued the Government of Mysore for damages. The State's Chief Engineer had promised that he would increase the supply of electric power and make it re-gular by 1915. This promise could kept only if construction of a part of the project was finished by then. And here were the engineers on the spot not knowing what to



-100 YEARS OLD

The Chief Engineer, who and decide on action to over-had by then become the come ignorance, poverty, ill-Dewan of the State, went health, etc., and its three there, called the staff toge- permament committees on nd told them that the ther and told them that the Education, Industry and Agri-work had to be completed according to schedule. But The credit goes to him for how? The plan was slightly altered, earthen hillocks were constructed on both sides instead of masonry work. No cement was-used, its place was taken by a combination of new ard the stabilishment of a sepa-rate Mysore University in 1916-till then the colleges in Mysore were affiliated to the Madras University. But the creation of new cement was used, its place Mains onversity. was taken by a combination But the creation of new of lime and thin powdered industries was the task brick. Once the solution to the problem was thus found, work went ahead and the promise to the Gold Fields and soap manufacture, the metal factory, chrome tan-

with this first multi-purpose maustries, etc., are all to his project in our country, the credit. biggest in that period, was A major industrial unit none other than M. Viswesz started by Visweswarayya warayya, who celebrates his was the Bhadravati Iron 100th birthday this Sept. 15. Works, a project which many Born in a poor family he thought would be impractic-able and end up in huge to give tuitions to main-himself during his coltain himself during his col-lege days. After getting his lege days. After getting ins two coal was available, be engineering degree with a there was plenty of firewood first rank from Poona, he joined Bombay Government service and in 1909 joined the it would provide the necessary joined Bombay Government service and in 1909 joined the Mysore State service as Chief Engineer. In 1912 he became Engineer. In 1912 he became the Dewan of Mysore and continued in that post till 1918, when he resigned due to some differences over policy with the then Maharaja.

with the then manaraja. period from 1922 to The one condition he laid worked ceaselessly to down when he became Chief Bhadravati a success.

all-round development had become almost a passion with him. The regenerated India of his vision was to be a modern nation, though he had no very clear ideas about political free-

dom. To list even the major achievements of Visweswa-rayya in all the fields he took nterest in Mysore is to make

it a long one. He was mainly responsible for the setting up of the Economic Conference to discuss

PAGE FOUR

Education, Industry and Agri-

The Chief Engineer, whose name will always be re-membered in connection with this first multi-purpose industry, the central industry, the central industry, the central industrial workshop, a num-ber of small and village industries, etc., are all to his

thought would be impractic-able and end up in huge losses.

No coal was available, but it would provide the necessary fuel. After work started, he had to retire from Dewan-ship and the construction slowed down. The Govern-ment had to requisition his services again and in the period from 1922 to 1924, he worked ceaselessly to make

town when he became Chief Engineer of Mysore State— incidentally he was the first Indian to be appointed to that post—was that he would have full authority over the completion. An American company with whom there was an agreement for the construction. proposed clos. pheres also. For anyone who knew Visweswarayya this was nothing surprising. The re-building of the mation, its all-round development had building of measure building of the mation, its all-round development and building of the mation, its all-round development had building of measure all-round development and building of the mation, its building of the mation building of the mation

be shut down." These gloomy forebodings did-not stop Visweswarayya. He went ahead and with success. He found too many foreigners around as ex-perts and got rid of them all- and in their place installed local talent. When Visweswarayya took

nings could already be seen of a modern Mysore. He was anxious to start work on an automobile and aircraft factory. After retirement from Dewanship, he worked out a detailed scheme for automobile manufacture and persuaded Walchand Hirachand to take it up, but the then Government of India would not approve of it. The Premier Automobiles could be born only after World War II

the State was in slumber, by the time he left the begin-

and the transfer of power. As for the aircraft factory, only after Dunkirk and after one of the worst British defeats did the British rulers realise the need for an aircraft industry in India to serve the Allied war efforts and Hindustan Aircrafts came into existence in 1940-41, wing its origin to the efforts

Visweswarayya. But he is not fully satis-fied with these industries

fied with these industries as everything is not yet made here. He will be satis-fied only when every part is manufactured in India. His keen interest in the industrial growth of our country is seen in his close association with the All-India Manufacturers' Orga-nisation and his slogan is. nisation and his slogan is, "Two heavy industries in every State, medium indus-tries, district and village industries in every village." Visweswarayya has all his life been a liberal, taking visweswarayya has all his life been a liberal, taking very little interest in poli-tical developments tical developments, even though he could see how alien domination was throt-tling our economy and hampering our development. In his hundredth year, it

is too much to expect that he fully grasp the fast and far-reaching developments that are taking place in the world of today. But he is anxious to preserve world peace, he wants all nuclear weapons to be banned.

weapons to be banned. We are proud of this Grand Old Man who has kept the vision of a modern India before him and has striven all his life for that one aim. When he celebrates his 100th when he celebrates his total birthday, we offer him the warmest felicitations and wish he will be with us in the exciting years in front of us when India's battle for economic development will go

-N. L. Upadhyaya

NEW AGE

forward.

C.E.C. Resolution **On Floods**

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its sympathy with the hundreds of thousands of people in Orissa and Punjab who have suffered in every way very heavily, including the loss of about 150 human lives due to floods. The floods have affected an area of over six thousand square miles in Orissa and one-third of the State's popula-tion. Fifty, per cent of the standing crop in the State has been destroyed. More than a lakh of houses have been destroyed. Besides, thousands of cattle have been washed away. The total loss amounts to nearly a hundred crores of rupees.

destroyed. Besides, thousands of cattle have been dealed waked away. The total loss amounts to nearly a hundred crores of rupees. In the face of such a heavy calamity facing the people, the Government has done very little to help them. The relief measures taken by the Government are totally inade-quate and belated and the administration is extremely callous to the sufferings of the people. It did not even re-question the help of military personnel despite repeated re-quests. The CEC is of the opinion that the present calamity could have been partially avoided had the Government taken effective anti-flood measures in the preceding years. Floods are a perennial problem in Orissa and could have been met by effective means taken in time. Similarly, seven districts in Punjab have been very badly affected by floods and the Government has not been able to control it yet. Hundreds of towns and villages are under water. Thousands of houses have collapsed, 30 lakh acres of standing crops have been destroyed—the total loss is of more than Rs. 50 crores. The responsibility for all this loss rests squarely on the Government which has failed to take necessary elementary measures to control the floods, e.g., proper drainage system and other measures which the engineers and public opinion have been pressing for long. Even now the Punjab Govern-ment is taking a very complacent attitude, and its measures to meet the present situation are very inadequate. The CEC demands effective relief for the suffering people and calls on the State Governments to form all-party committees in the two afflicted States to distribute relief to the people. The CEC calls upon all Party units to do their utmost in helping the suffering people.

Drought In Andhra And Mysore

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the situation in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore arising out of the serious drought that hit the States this year. Out of 20 districts in Andhra Pradesh, 15 are completely affected and uplands in the other five districts also are similarly affected. Simi-larly mine districts in Mysore State are in the grip of famine conditions.

arry nine unstrates in inysore state are in the grap of minime conditions. All the kharif crops including millets and groundnut are completely lost and the irrigated paddy crop also in the Deccan districts is damaged considerably. Even drinking water for men and cattle is scarce and deaths of many cattle are already being reported. Fodder scarcity is acutely felt and in the coming period will become much more serious. Agricultural labour finds no work and already migration has started from Rayalaseema on a considerable scale. Food prices have gone up tremendously, one maund of paddy (coarse) being sold at Rs. 14 to 15 and jawar at Rs. 16 and more. Due to the failure of crops for the last two or three years in many parts of Rayalaseema, large sections of pea-

but to the failure of crops for the last two or three years in many parts of Rayalaseema, large sections of peasants are severely affected by these conditions. If such is the situation now, there is every possibility that they will reult in a terrible famine in the coming months. Hence this Committee calls upon all the Party units in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore State to throw themselves into famine relief work immediately. They should demand:
Immediate stoppage of collection of all taccavi loans, etc., by the Government;
Opening of cheap grain depots in all villages and supplying them with adequate stocks; Taking up repair, maintenance and construction of minor irrigation works on an extensive scale as famine relief works;
Opening of free grüel centres in all famine-effected areas;

S Famine loans and special agricultural loans on a libe

Famine loans and special agricultural loans on a libc-ral scale;
 Supply of fodder from the deltaic areas and from the forests.
 The CEC further calls upon all the Party units to campaign for the construction of major and medium irrigation and electricity projects, for, the construction of these works alone will save the State from recurring scarcity and famine. The CEC appeals to the Central Government to make adequate food stocks available to these famine-affected States and advance loans and grants to start extensive famine relief works and sanction the construction of major and medium projects.
 The CEC calls upon the Party units to unite in this work with all official and non-official agencies, parties and organisations, set up relief organisations and organise self help and popular relief and take all measures to see that the State is saved from a ghastly tragedy.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1960



JOKE OF THE MONTH

I THINK the Jan Sangh's walk-out against the passing of a "communal" resolution in the Delhi Corporation should be put down as the best joke of the month. For an out-and-out communal party to protest against "commu-nalism" is indeed rib-tickling antics. It is antics that should make even the best performing circus-monkey go green with envy. As the Times of India reported, Prem Sagar Gupta, leader of the Com-munist Group in the Cor-poration remarked that it was amusing that the most communal organisation was mmunal organisation was dubbing a resolution as communal. The Jan Sangh as thus shown its place. Over-cleverness, they say,

just another name for muldity. The Jan Sangh stupinity. The Jan Sangh tried to be over-clever in trying to show off against communalism when in fact, its tall lies irretrievably burded to communation ed in communalism

buried in communalism. I have been reading with amusement its thesis on the Assam language riots— one of the most tragic happenings in post-freedom India. The Jan Sangh's weekly mouthplece offered the following profound analysis:

weekly the following paralysis: "It (riots) is the result of Hindus in forether "It (riots) is the result of a failure of Hindus in Assam to stand together. The Bengall Hindu long considered a Bengali Mus-lim nearer—and dearer—to him than the Assamese Hindu, or for that matter any Hindu. Today the Assamese Hindu thinks he can use the Muslim—even the Bengali Muslim!—to browbeat, if not drive out, the Bengali Hindu. He does not realize that if, as and when the Bengali Hindu goes of the Assam scene, when the Bengali Hindu goes on the Assam scene, the Muslim will make mince-meat of the genteel Assamese Hindu." And it published a report on Assam with a picture of Chief Minister Chaliha with the caption: SHEIKH CHALIHA. Troical words! And the

Typical words! And the "solution" offered Typical words! And the "solution" offered was equally typical. Said the tabloid: "Solution clearly lies in Assamese and Ben gali Hindus joining hands to put the Muslim in his place." A plain exhortation to substitute the language riots with communal riots. The anti - democratic party of communalism and profiteering interests thus thoroughly unmasked its hypocrisy. hypocrisy

DANGEBOUS GAME

How dangerous is the game of bandying charges of 'anti-national-ism' and lack of patriotism' and lack of patriot-ism' can be seen from the following sequel. The Jan Sangh promptly flashed Nehru's outburst against the Communists in its journal—a front-page box item and then in its next issue it wrote: "Pandit Nehru's homily

patriotism for the ctation and edification of our Communist brethren was a diversionary the exquisite incongruity of which its impeccable blissfully

The Sancho Panzas of the Swatantra Party could do nothing better than dig up our old respected Rajaji, so Rajaji has gone and dug up decrepit old Schacht. The story wins the palm for delectable humour.

-GARUDA



ignorant of. A sense of humour is not such a com-mon blessing of supermen as to help us to see their more numerous frailities. Pandit Nehru holding forth on patriotism is fit only for mock heroic treatment." And in another column it added: "Do not the Prime Minis-ter's by-fits-and-starts sal-

"Do not the Frime Mins-ter's by-fits-and-starts sal-lies against the Commu-nists reduce themselves to just an impressive exhibi-tion of theatricals and clap-trap? Or, is it a clever attempt to sound as patrio-tic as Jan Sangh?"

tic as Jan Sangh?" How wonderful! The lesson, however, is obvious. Only the fascist and the ragtag and bobtail of reaction will come off hest in this game. As every-one knows Adolf Hitler claimed the supreme mono-poly of 'nationalism' and V. L Lenin was dubbed a 'German agent' in 1917.

C. B. QUOTES SCHACHT

T ALKING of Hitler re-minds me of fascism's financial wizard, Dr. Scha-cht. It will be interesting to note that our own vete-ran, C.R., has most delec-tably and edifyingly cited this Schacht against the Five-Year Plans in his latest article on the sub-ject. (Swarajya, Sept. 3).

latest artaite on ant and ject. (Swarajya, Sept. 3). "Here are a few words of advice from Dr. Schacht," writes Rajaji, "taken from his book wherein he refers to his discussions with our Prime Minister on the draft of the First Five-Year Plan". Follows the quotation from Schacht: "Nehru had asked me to arrange some discussions with the members of his

romows the quotation from Schacht: "Nehru had asked me to arrange some discussions with the members of his Five-Year Plan Committee, of which the draft had just been published. On these occasions I was un-able to veil my criticism behind mere polite speech-es. All these four-year plans, five-year plans and such like have invariably seemed to me pretty sense-less. In this intance also I could not refrain from demonstrating that the vast programme which had been envisaged for a period of five years could never be realised during that time. Still less would the means set down on paper suffice to carry it. out.... It seems to me far better to tackle a certain job each year — even if a smaller one — and to see it through so that, when completed, one can point to it as an example of pro-gress and growth." Schacht hates the big jobs (say a Bhilai or a Chittaranjan). He votes with both hands up for the smaller ones. And to those whom the wheels of progress appear like the Jaggernant, Scha-cht is adviser, counsellor and minister par excel-lence. History indeed has a profound sense of humour. The Sancho Panzas of the Swatantra Party could do nothing better than dig up our old respected Rajaji, so



A three day session of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party, held at Trichur on August 29 and 31 and attended by Communist members of the State Legislature considered the recommenda-tions made by the President with regard to the Agrarian Relations, Janmikkaram and Debt Relief Bills.

HE Council noted that the HE Council noted that the President's message had not yet come in the form of concrete amendments pro-posed to be moved before the Legislature. Some of the re-commendations made in the Decident's message are them President's message are themselves couched in such terms as are liable to be interpreted

in more ways than one. Furthermore, it is not yet known whether the Government will ultimately accede to the demand made by its supporters that the Presi-dent's message should be taken advantage of to push all the amendments which taken advantage of to push all the amendments which the Congress, PSP and Muslim League parties had moved to the Bill when they were in the Opposition. There is, however, no doubt that pressure is being put on the Government to make

it adopt this course. In view of these facts, the Council decided to authorise the State Executive Comthe State Excention mittee of the Party, in con-sultation with the Sate Legislature Party, to scruti-niss the concrete amendments nise the concrete amendment to be placed by the Govern-ment before the Legislature and to take appropriate deci sions with regard to the acti-vity of the Communist Legi-slature Party in the House. In slature Party in the House. In case the amendments are of such a character as to require broader and more thorough discussion, another joint session of the State Council and the Lagislature Party work and the Legislature Party may

Against The **Rural** Poor

The Council, however, consi-The Council, nowever, considered in detail the President's message as it stands, and came to the firm conclusion that the President's recommendations make encroach ments on the rights conferred on the tenants, the kudiki-dappukars and the landless rural poor who had expected rural poor who had expected to get land out of the surplus above the ceiling. The Coun-cil expressed its opinion that these encroachments on the rights of the rural poor have been made not with a view to giving further protection to the poorest and most deserv-ing categories of small land-holders, but to further streng-then the nosition of plantathen the position of planta-tion-owners and other big landlords.

The Council desired to stress that the Communist Party was behind none in its anxiety that, while conferring more and more rights on the tenants, kudikidappukars and the landless rural poor, every progressive land legislation should take into account the interests of the poorest sec-interests of smallholders who President to send the message should be given adequate he did. On the other hand facilities to make the least the big landlords and planta

NEW AGE

painful transition from the old order to the new. The Party is also eager that plantations and other forms of technically superior cultiva-tion should suffer no serious damage when reforms are carried out.

These considerations were clearly and fully taken into account when the former Communist-led Government of Kerala piloted the Agra-rian Relations Bill. The Council desired particularly to em-phasise the provisions of Clause 18 in relation to the smallholder and Clause 57 (2) There is also room f and Clause 59 (2) in relation prehension that the

to plantations. The former gives those who own less than five acres the right either to

Resolution Of The Kerala Council Of The Communist Party

etc. These provisions were incorporated in the Bill because the Communist Party and the Government led by it were anxious to give all possible protection to the smallest category of landowners.

landowners. As for the plantations, the provisions made in Clause 57 (2) empower the Government, it is satisfied of the necessity for the conversion of any land into plantation or for the expansion or preservation the expansion of preservation of an existing plantation, to exempt that land from the provisions regarding ceiling. Clause 50 (2) enables a land-owner to own or hold land above the ceiling if it is a plantation.

In Favour Of Planters

The Council, however, noted that it was not such con-siderations of affording prosiderations of anording pro-tection to the smallest cate-gory of landholders, or safe-guarding the genuine inter-ests of plantations, that had guided the Government of guided the Government of India when it advised the President to send the message he did. On the other hand,

tion-owners are enabled to further strengthen their grip over the tenants and kudiki-dappukars and to keep more land than was provided for in the Bu the Bill.

The Council noted parti-cularly that, with regard to small holders, the President's message did not give any additional protection to those who owned less than acres. What the Presid than five message does is only to fur-ther widen the category of holders who get the same rights as have been conferred by the Bill on those who have less than five acres.

Benefits

There is also room for ap-prehension that the very salutary proviso to the definition of smallholder—to the effect that those who had their lands reduced to less who can be right either to then five acres by partitude receive higher rent, or to than five acres by partitude get a part of the land back and transfers after December from the tenant, or to re- 18, 1957, should not be deem-ceive the amount of com-ceive the amount of com-moved, thus unduly enlarging the sircle of "smallholders" and reducing the number of those who stand to benefit by the Bill.

> As for the plantations, all As for the plantations, all the specific proposals made in the President's message toge-ther would enable every plantation owner to get full proprietary rights on a much larger area (20 per cent more of unplanted land not only "contiguous to", but "in the vicinity of, or within the boundaries of," the planted area and all "the agricul-tural land interspersed within the planted area"), even though such additional land is not necessary for the proper is not necessary for the proper working of a plantation.

The recommendation made by the President with regard to the definition of kudiki-dappukars would mean that kudikidappukars occupying areas within a plantation, areas whim a pranatoli, mill or a factory would not even get alternate sites, which they would get if they are kudikidappukars under other types of landlords. All these provisions together would threaten thousands of kudikidappukars, occupying or other lands which may now be made plantstions, be made plantations, large-scale evictions.

> The Council could have understood if any proposal had been made to further improve the provisions to give protection to owners with less than five acres, provided that, in the process of such improvement, the interests of kudikidappukars and tenants were not un-duly affected. The Party, however, cannot agree to any proposal (like those that are made in the President's ommendations) which would threaten the safety of tens of thousands of

> > * SER PAGE 12

PAGE FIVE



A zumia of Tripura—her people are still waiting for rehabilitation after zumia (shifting) cultivation has been hanned in Tripura.

A news-item from New Delhi indicates that the Draft Third Five-Year Plan for Tripura has been pruned by the Planning Commission from Rs. 35 crores to just about Rs. 15 crores. THE Rs. 35-crore Draft

Plan was submitted to the Central Government by the Chief Commissioner of Tri-

Chief Commissioner of Tri-pura. In drafting that plan, the Tripura Administration

the various suggestions offer-ed by the public of Tripura. The Territorial Council which

is the only elected body in Tripura could not voice its opinion, as the Chairman of

fledged discussion on the

Plan. Therefore, it could not be said that the Draft Third

Five-Year Plan reflected the total needs of Tripura which

remains inaccessible and un-

developed even after 13 years

of independence. By slashing that draft plan to less than half of its shape, the Central

ment of this one of the most

neglected territories of India.

It is surprising that before drafting the Third Plan, the Tripura Administration made

no attempt to assess the achi-

evements and failures of the two previous plans. It has kept significant silence over

the targets set for various schemes, and the results achieved. Of course, such an

evaluation would have totally

exposed the weakness of

those previous plans and the hollowness of all the tall

Let us examine at least two

So far as production of

foodgrains is concerned, the Second Plan envisaged that at the end of the plan pe-

riod, there would be an overall surplus of 350,000

overall surplus of books. But maunds of foodgrains. But the Tripura Administration

cultural Development

ed before the Agri-

Č of

Com-

of the main targets of the Second Plan and their actual

claims of the bureaucracy.

fulfilment.

PAGE SIX

Second Plan

Not **Reviewed**

ent has only reveal Government has only reveal-ed its attitude of shameful apathy to the future develop-

the Council opposed a

hardly accommodat

mittee (Rajendra Singhji Committee) that Tripura

Democratic Set-Up A Omly Ensure Development Of Cam Territory Neglected This

ly because the planners while going about their job forgot

ura. They forgot that Tripu-

loked the fact that more than

half of the population are displaced persons from East

Pakistan. They refused to see

that a large majority of them

also belong to various back-

ward sections, about a lakh of

them being landless agricul-turists. They ignored the fact

that the production methods in Tripura are feudal, and the

peasantry here are debt-slaves; that the actual back-

wardness of the people is a dead weight on her, the num-ber of literates being only 15 per cent. They failed to note

that Tripura, a territory al-most surrounded by East Pakistan, remains an inacces-

sible area, a big part of her and and natural resources as

and and natural resources as yet unreclaimed and unsur-veyed. They did not realise that while the 'economic self-sufficiency' of the tribal area

has been completely shattered due to the influx of four lakhs

of displaced persons, no at-

of Tri-

ra has a population, one third of which belongs to various backward tribes; they over-

terest

Dehte

the snecial features

imported 712,000 maunds of foodgrains (in 1958-59) in order to meet her annual deficit. Under the Second Plan, 800 acres of land was to be converted into fisheries. But the total area brou-

ght under fishery is not more than 200 acres. That the Second Plan did not give any importance to minor irrigation was clear from the fact that its aim was to bring only 10,000 acres of land under such irrigation plans. But the total area irri

gated is even less than that, only 6,490 acres or so. Secondly, let us take the schemes for development of industries for providing more employment. It was expected that due to expansion of elec-tricity 6,000 new hands would be employed, and due to the setting up of different small industrial units, a further 5,187 people could be employed during the Second Plan period.

Special Features

But what has been the reality? Only a handful of people could be provided with jobs in these enter-prises, while the army of the unemployed is swelling in number. District Employ-ment Exchange figures show that while about 500 people register their names n ly as unemployed only 50 or so are provided with some job.

How is it that though Rs.

tempt had really been made to rebuild her economy on a completely new basis. Broadly speaking, there are three big hurdles to be cross-

ed in order to make progress in Tripura. First, the landless and the land-poor have to be given land; secondly, the pea-santry has to be freed from the grip of the mahajans; and lastly, trade has to be rescued from the clutches of the mahajan-trader-hoarder.

Basic Problem Untackled

Unfortunately, none of these problems have been tackled by the planners, either in the First and the Second Plan, nor is there any indication of the Third Plan

ckling it. What is the position of land in Tripura? Of the total area of 2,634,300 acres, only about 15 per cent are under cultivation. The rest are under forest and about 3.5 per cent is not available cultivation. for While about 18 per cent of the land may be treated as cultivable waste land under possession of the Govern-ment, lakhs of displaced per-sons, tribals, zumias and other landless people remain



NEW AGE

vance of dadan money. The rate of interest is as high as 700 to 800 per cent. Though the Bombay Moneylenders' Act has recently been adopted, it has not been brought into operation. About 400 .cooperative societies have been set up, but most of them have fallen into the hands of the village sharks, and so are ineffective in restricting the scope of exploitation of these mahajans. There is no schemes to free these village people, agriculturists as well as artisans, from

Inaccessible

But none thrives in an incessible area so easily as trader-hoarder, who is pura has no rail-links. Export and imports of necessary goods have often to be done through airlifting. What does that mean? When jute sells in Calcutta at Rs. 45 a maund. the growers of jute in Tripura gets only Rs. 25 or 30. On the other hand, when sugar is sold in Calcutta at 75 nP. per consumer ⁻ in Rs. 1|50 or more. Inside Triland-hungry. Rs. 1|50 or more. Inside Tri-The recently adopted Land pura when rice sells at

eight crores was spent in im-plementing the Second Plan for nine lakhs of people, Tri-pura made no advance in any of her vital sectors. It is main-cupy Government waste land, be plementing the second Plan secure land, threatens to cupy Government waste land, be provided at Rs. 30 at Sadar, which is only 40 miles from Khowai at Rs. 40 miles from Khowai at Rs. 30 at Sadar, which is only 40 miles from the people who oc-cupy Government waste land, threaten and the people who this territory con best he imagined

* TRIPURA'S THIRD PLAN

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S

SHAMEFUL APATHY

reclaim it on their own, raise

crop for livelihood and ask for settlement on it. The Se-cond Five-Year Plan had no

It set up bone dusters that now lie idle, purchased huge quantities of chemical ferti-lisers that now remain un-sold, spent money for intro-ducing the Japanese method of cultivation which never became popular. When the bargadars got evicted in thousands, the land reform was unusually delayed due to the pressure of the vested in-

the pressure of the vested in-

Not only for the talukdar

not only for the tankans and big jotedars, Tripura is a paradise also for the mahajans. The report on agricultural indebtedness reveals that over 90 per

in Tripura are in debts. The

cent of the landless

Burden Of

territory can best be imagined when one looks at Amarpur, a Sub-Division of Tripura. A natient has to cross a distance come rive-rear rian nao no patient has to cross a distance scheme for the survey, re-clamation and distribution of of human beings, in order to this Government khas land. It set up bone dusters that A student has to shift to a different Sub-Division for getting admission in a high school. If a complaint is to be lodged against anybody in a court, one has to travel on foot a similar distance. Is it, therefore, any wonder such inacces le areas become the best breeding gro-unds for corrupt practices of the vested interests who have always the blessings, of the bureaucracy.

Though two plan periods are about to be over and a Third Plan is in the making, there is no assurance Tripura would be linked with the rest of India with rail-ways, that roads would be constructed inside the territory to make each and every the area accessi

Cart Before mahajans have complete grip over the land and crop of the villager through ad-

The planners put the cart the plainers plat the cate before the horse. Instead of taking up schemes for the distribution of Government khas waste land among the landless and the land-poor, instead of adopting suitable means for the reclamation and irrigation of these lands, for the distribution of better seeds, implements and cattle, the planners make provision for appointment of 49 new gazetted officers for the deve-lopment of agriculture in the Third Plan period. No less than two lakhs of the agriculturists are now in Govern-ment colonies (both displaced persons and zumias) as well as in cooperative societies.

The Plan fails to see that these organised productive forces can be best utilised in joint farming, if the cooperatives are democratised and adequately aided. They are blind to the fact that if a. the the exploitation of the mahajans and traders is not restricted, through cancellation and scaling down of debts, through large-scale advance of dadan money and State trading through reorganised coope-rative societies, it is useless to talk of better production of foodgrains and of im-provement of the lot of the common man. Tripura can produce huge quantities of jute, cotton, sugar-cane and oil-seeds if the Government cares to develop her on these lines and consider all such expenditure as good investment. But it is to be regretted that such an outlook is missing in the Plan. Similarly, construction of railways and roads should get topmost priority. With her rowing production of cotton and jute and sugar it can reasonably be expected that Tripura will have her me-dium-sized jute, cotton and sugar mills to provide jobs for

* SEE PAGE 11

SEPTEMBER 11, 1989

AMAZING

CLLOWING urgent re-

ports which for some time had been pouring into the Duisburg "Indian-Gemeinschaft Krupp-Demag GmbH" from the jungles of India's coastal State Orissa, the firm's Director-General Dr. Hans Heinrich. hurriedly set out for his ninth trip to Rourkela. where 35 German firms are erecting a huge modern iron and steel works according to plans designed by Krupp and Demag. This is the biggest foreign order ever given by an Indian Government Gerto a man firm.

Tragedy In Iron & Steel

Rourkela, however, as an-mous engineers had warned the planning firm in Duisburg, was well on the way to becoming the "Indian tomb of German enterpreneurs" or the "Stalingrad of German industry". In the iron and steel plant itself one could witness a "tragedy in iron and steel" which had already resulted in an investigation by a Parliamentary Commis-sion from New Delhi. In the interest of the Federal Renublic and her industry, immediate action and the in-tensification of work on the construction of the tseel plant were imperative.

Dr. Hans Heinrich, a widelytravelled iron foundry expert and steel-works planner, arrived at Rourkela almost simultaneously with the stream of distinguished guests for the inauguration of the steel works. Yet he paid so little heed to the festivities that he almost dozed off dur-ing the festive speeches so as to recruit his energies for his tesk in Rourkela-a task in which nobody envied him. Dr. Heinrich was to get going the production of the Rourkela iron and steel works that was hopelessly stuck in a bottleneck.

What Dr. Hans Heinrich saw on the plant-site only underlined the necessity of . Steel Works Not his mission:

The production plants of Rourkela are used only to 50 per cent of their capacity

present. The depots store 35,000 which neither finished goods can be made because ants required for this have not yet been built nor can they be sold as they are because the sales organisation does not exist;

 Labour organisation does not exist.

Ladles That Can't Be Used

The absence of labour organisation led to serious difficul-tles of which the fate of the pig iron ladles of the works renders a vivid example. these ladles the melted In iron is transported from the foundry works to the steel works and poured off into the mixers. After every journey a little hardened crude iron re-mained in the interior of the ladle which in German factories is removed by the work-

Since, however, the steel works in Rourkela was not yet completed and could, therefore, not remelt the pig iron the entire pig iron production of 1,000 tons per day was led via the pig cast-ing machine. But to which-ever extent this machine was

the machine.

Completed



SEPTEMBER 11, 1960



Areas the trader-hoarder, w also at times a mahajan

seer, a village consum Tripura has to purchase

West German bungling has been such that we have to send Rourkela slabs all the way to W. Germany to be rolled into wide strips and sent back to India

We continue here the extracts from the West German weekly magazine Der Spie-gel's report on the West German-built Rourkela Steel Plant. When a West German paper itself has to talk of Rourkela as "the Stalingrad of West German industry the rot has set in to an extent difficult imagine.

A few months after the fur- result of this hurried start of operation could have been predicted even by technical laymen. The dolomite used did not maintain its necessary Steel Works AG (VOEST) and the ESSEN firm Fried Krupp were put into service with that the casting machine that the casting machine would be only used on Sun-days and holidays. But the steel furnaces pro-ved to make things worse. The Voest-converter No. 1, fired on December 27, 1959, had to be put out of service as early as on January 11, 1960, that second converter which had been put into operation on January 12, 1960, in the pre-Steel Works AG (VOEST) and form but burnt within a few

and steel works works works would, just as before the fur-nace, produce into a vacuum, because the plants for the further processing of steel did. not exist yet.

Behind the steel works Dr.



steel was not yet completed; the construction of the steel works' foundations had been delayed by several monthsunlike in Bhilai where the construction of the furnace and the steel works had been coordinated. The pig iron produced needed a bed: it was to be poured off over the pig casting machine into small moulds wherein the iron is

But in Rourkela, neither did not produce more than 50

the foundry works nor the to 800 tons per day, anyway, steel works felt itself res- Pig iron dropped on the ponsible for this indispen- tracks and, quickly cooled

sable cleaning. The conse-quence was that ever more hardened iron deposited in the ladles which in turn could hold an ever decreas-

ing amount of melted iron.

ing amount of melted iron. Soon many ladles reached a condition when no pig-iron could be poured into them at all. Of the 20 pig-iron ladles of the works,

only four or five could

The history of the German

iron and steel works at Rour-kela is a succession of such small but serious failures

which is harmful not only to

also to the prestige of the Federal Republic in India.

The start appeared to be

good: only on February 4, State President Prasad could

inaugurate the first Russian

naces which overnight had become the symbol of compe-tition between East and West,

started the production of pig

But the German furnace

produced into a vacuum be-

cause the steel works which

iron at the same time.

blast-furnace. Both the fur-

partner-firms he prestige of

but

the

ready

the reputation of the

Succession Of

Failures

Gern

Pig from dropped on the tracks and, quickly cooled by water jets, stopped the machine. A part of the pig

iron formed heaps of hard-

ened iron under the ma-chine. As a result of this the

casting machine could only

be operated for a few days a week because it was re-

the furnace production had to be throttled to about

naces had been put into ope-ration, the furnaces of the steel works constructed by the United Austrian Iron and

January 12, 1960, in the pre-

sence of the Indian Steel Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, and the Essen big in-dustrialist Alfred Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach was al-

out of service when the

half of the capacity

atedly clogged. Finally,

Normally, 95 per cent of the Normally, 95 per cent of the furnace iron is directly trans-ported to the steel works and the pig casting machine is supposed to work only on Sundays and holidays when the steel works does not ope-rate Therefore the designers rate. Therefore, the designers had planned that only five per cent of the pig iron should run over the pig castin machine—an amount that casting well within the capacity of

Rourkela, on January 16, 1960. experts have arranged a block The second converter stood rolling mill which rolls the only 44 charges (in the West steel blocks into slabs and German industry one counts with 350 to 400 charges).

Indian manager of the State-owned iron and steel works, complained about his misfortune in moving words: "The German firms have made me the laughing stock of the public.... They have left me in the ditch.... They have broken my heart."

It was by no means the fault of the building firms Indequate Voest and Krupp that the steel converters had to be put out of service after such put out of service after such a short period of operation. The reason of the failure was that the converter lin-ing was burnt because the dolomite stones applied were absolutely unsuitable for the lining.

Complete Disaster

Although, the furnace was already a risky new constru-ction and the suitable dolomite was not available. the technicians of the Friedrich Siemens GmbH themselves put the furnace into operation as if to make disaster coming machine. But to which-ever extent this machine was the operation team envisaged overcharged, the Indian staff by their firm at home. The

was to remelt the pig iron into last guests were about to leave Heinrich and his planning then transports these slabs to the plate rolling mill or the M. Ganapati, 56-year-old wide strip mill. Whereas the rolling mill produces finished products, mainly ship and boiler plates, the wide strip mill chiefly produces the preliminary products for the cold strip mill, the products of which are thin metal plates used above all in in the automobile industry.

Training

The block rolling mill was put into operation at the be-ginning of January 1960. At the same time, the assembly work on the thick plate roll strip mill as well as the wide-strip mill and the cold strip mill was started which are supposed to be completed by the beginning of next year at the earliest.

So as not to have to throttle throttle the production until the completion of the wide and cold strip mills, the Indians found a way out which demonstrates their dilemma perfectly: the slabs from the block rolling mill are to be transported then by ship to Germany

over a water route of more than 15,000 k.m. There they are to be rolled to wide strips and sent back all the way to India, and sold there.

there. Although almost all Indians holding key positions have been trained at German fac-tories, "the training provided our people to little experien-ces," said Sudhir Ghosh, chief of personnel of the Rourkela steel works. Ghosh, last Secretary of

India's national hero Gandhi. stated: "Our people were trained well in the theory in Germany. But they were not allowed to operate the produtrain themselves. The Ger-man directors were afraid that they would break something In this way training was inadequate although it us 10,000 márks a year

per person." It had been different with the Russians. The Indians had had the possibility of operating the production plants, even at the risk of their causing damage. The Indian staff trained in Russia was therefore able to operate Bhilai themselves. Since the Indians employed

by the Rourkela works have had inadequate training and the technical plants of the Germans are too complicated for them, the Indians came to the conclusion to employ German experts as factory staff for some years. Mr. Ghosh went therefore to Bonn in autumn last year and negotiated with the Federal Economy Ministry for pro-curing 120 German experts who were to be paid by the Germans, Ghosh could not get their consent. The report on his visit to Germany read, "The Germans are not sufficiently interested in Rourkela"

The British and Russians, on the other hand, are ready to provide the Indians with their experts. Up to now 190 Russians have already been nominated who will remain in Bhilai as advisers for three years, and this despite the good training of the Indians. Who will tone up the Ger-

man steel works in Rourkela after its conpletion, is a problem that has to be solve yet. Said Ghosh, "I am abo to get an American team. If I don't succeed in procuring them, I shall take experts from wherever I can get them." Questioned whether by rail from Rourkela to he would also take Russians, Calcutta, 400 k.m. away, and he hesitated: "I don't want to



NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN



I N the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on August 31 and September 1, the Prime Minister dealt at considerable length with the estion of disarmament and emphasised in this connection the unusual importance of the forthcoming General Assem-bly of the U.N. He said that although India was not one of the Powers which were heavily arm with nuclear and other weapons, India was deeply interested in this question of disarmament because of the consequences of not finding a solution. They are terri-

Disarmament-Most Vital Question

All other questions which Parliament has to discuss, Nehrù said, pale into insignificance when put in the background of "all the world living on the brink of this chasm or precipice when even the slightest nent, even by acci-might make the mover dent. world topple over. There fore, I think, the most vital question in the world as it is today is that of disarmament

Soviet Premier Khrushchov's intention to lead his Government's delegation to the U.N. General Assembly for the discussion on disarmament having already been announced, Nehru said: "Members may have seen reports in the news papers that possibly the important heads of States or heads of Govern may even go there to attend this session because f this question of disarmament. Anything that speeds un the process of con ion of this issue and lea to some steps towards it solution will be welcomed by us," he declared.

Welcoming another imtant feature of the forthcoming General As-sembly—the very large number of newly indepenforthcom dent African States-Nehru stated once again Government's policy his wards the Congo, namely "the integrity and sovereignty of the Congo should be maintained." He declared that he did not intend "to enter into the internal disputes in the that Congo except to say this we still adhere to approach of the integrity of Congo."

Attitude To Congo

While reiterating his rnment's "appreciation f the steps that have been TTN." taken broadly by the in the Congo, he conceded:

"The U.N. may occasion-ally or its representatives may occasionally make mistakes." Nevertheless, he said, there was the "wh force of world opinion and all the world community is represented in the United Nations to check them and keep them on the right path." Thus the need for keeping a sharp eye on the activities carried on in the Congo in the name of the U.N. was indirectly recog-

The Prime Minister once again explained and defended India's foreign policy of non as a positive policy and an independent policy. "When people talk of siding with this military block or that, it exhibits a strange confusion; when of Indian policy," he said.

He referred to arguments and discussions taking and discussions taking place over "this question of peaceful coexistence" and "as to whether war is inevitable or not." Un-fortunately while all his remarks seemed directed against one particular country and on a theoretical plane, the practical reality of the U.S. and West Germany and their allies in NATO, etc., carrying on a mad arms race and never accepting peaceful coexistence and "this idea of countries following their different policies in their own ways" never got even a mention.

The Prime Minister announced to Parliament the contents of the Chinese Government's reply to India's latest charge of incursion in the NEFA area. In its reply the Chinese Government had stated that nine working per-sonnel who were out to fell bamboos in the forest had lost their way due to low clouds and thick fog. They had crossed over the border by mistake and had returned as soon as they discovered their mistake The Prime Minister anno-unced that the Government was further enquiring into the matter.

Challenge To Prime Minister

Hiren Mukerjee speaking next on behalf of the Com-munist Group challenged the Prime Minister's allegations against New Age and Communists roaming the China horder.

Speaking of the U.N. role in the Congo, Prof. Muker-jee said that the U.N.'s job there was to restore peace, secure Belgian withdrawal and help the Congolese stand on their own feet in administration. It was necessary for Congo's

closest friends-and India certainly was one of them —to help the Congolese and see that colonialists did not retain a finger in the pie.

It was in this context that the U.N. Secretary-General had gone wrong and had tried to treat Katanga on virtually the same terms as the legal Government of the Congo Republic. Further it was disturbing to hear reports that a sort of U.N. admin-istration, vested with broad powers and independent of the Congolese Government, was being considered. "It is a dangerous idea which has be fought," got to be foug Hiren Mukerjee.

brain.'

however.

Powerful

Contribution

be noticed.

In a powerful contribution

Acharya Kripalani made the

telling point that what was involved was not a language

controversy, except, perhaps, in a formal sense. After all

"It is in this regard," he said, that I again regret to have to say that we have missed the role of our Prime Minister which he used to play so ably earlier. The Prime Minister of our country used to be hailed as the voice of freedom of Asia and Africa. Now, we get a feeling these days that, unfortunately, that voice nowadays is very faint, somewhat hushed."

In the debate a number of speakers including Nath Pai on behalf of the PSP, N.G. Ranga for the Swatan tra, A. B. Vajpayee for the Jan Sangh, Jaipal Singh for the Jharkhand, Mahan-Jaipal Singh ti of the Ganatantra Pari-shad and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh from the Congress concentrated their fire on China and on the Govern-ment of India for being soft towards China.

Support To

Non-Alignment

balanced and sober plea for not applying any sort of double standards Was made by Indula Yajnik, e.g., between China and Pakistan. "There is only one standard," he said, "and that is of peace, non-alignment and peaceful coexistence."

A. M. Tariq of Kashmir reminded the House of the foreign military bases erected on Pakistan soil which still remain a threat to India's security. Most speakers called upon Pakisspeakers called upon rakis-tan rulers to agree on a no-war declaration with-India. A majority of Congress speakers gave fighting support to the Government's policy of non-alignment and of settling disputes with other countries by negotiations, of supporting efforts for peace and disarmament.

Incidentally the only in support of ster's charges speech made in suppor Prime Minister's cha against Communists roaming about in border areas making it all look still more sinister was the one made by Jan Sangh spokesman, A. B. Vajpayee.

-ZIAUL HAQ



Lok Sabha as it discussed our gravest tragedy since Independence-the Assam holocaust. Almost without who spoke and those who exception the members listened seemed to sense the horror of what had happened and what it could portend.

pened and what it could portend. THE Prime Minister des-cribed it as "a stab on India" and as "shaking the foundations of our country and our unity." With anguish he quoted the lines: "To fall out with those we love, Doth work like madness on the brain." the heroism of many As miyas, who had protected their Bengali compatriots even at the risk of their In his concluding speech he In his concluding speech he spoke of being haunted by the evils that seemed to be well-ing out of India in different forms and shapes. Some lack lives. She made it crystal clear that the judicial enquiry for which the Com-munist Party and others of compassion for the victims on the part of Nehru could, were pressing was not at all meant as an inquest on the

Many Bengali Congressmen including Asoke Sen, Renuk Ray and Atulya Ghosh spoke of the great hurt that the heart of West Bengal had in a formal sense. After all the worst scenes of the tragedy were enacted in the Assam valley, where the Bengali - speaking sections had accepted long ago that Assamiya should be the prin-cipal language of the State. Yet it was they who were attacked while Cachar, with a Bengali-sneaking majority, rereceived. The last two criticised Nehru for The last two also Nehru for his August 15 angry reference to West Bengal's abandoning of celebrations of Independence Day.

But the West Bengal Congress king-maker Atulya Ghosh did ill-service to the Assamiyas and Bengalis alike with his face-saving resolu-tion on a judicial enquiry ("at an appropriate time") which was tantamount to pro-viding an alibi.Asoke Sen also waxed rather offensively waxed rather offensivel eloquent about the "giant Pandit Pant and expressed his satisfaction that the Centre had done all it could.

Menacing Portents

Among the very best speeches in a debate of high order was that of P. K. Vasu-devan Nair. He mentioned the visit that he had made together with Dr. Raj Baha-dur Gour to Assam—the Com-munist. Party had taken communist Party had taken com-mendable initiative in the matter of getting at the facts. He congratulated the people of Calcutta and other places in West Bengal who had demonstrated their anger but not allowed their own minorities to be touched.

He brought the menacing protents from Assam dow to earth by mentioning the fear and insecurity that the minorities all over India felt. If this insecurity was awed to fester and any unfortunate incidents took place, India would be riven anart.

The second main issue which the Lok Sabha delibe-rated upon was: who was guilty, why did the riots take place? It was on this question that Nabru and most other Con-

It was on this question that Nehru and most other Con-gress speakers quite dis-appointed the House. Pandit resembling a petty police officer whose bona fides were being questioned—his speech row. This created an impression that could not be effaction officer whose bona fides were being questioned—his speech

level. Nehru admitted that in "some districts the adminis-tration had broken down" as also that the work of the Intelligence Department in Assam had been "very, very bad." But otherwise the Centre had done all it could, the Assam Government had functioned quite creditably, the Governor (who gave a woefully wrong and com-placent report as late as June 28) was very able-nobody was to blame. It was all a question of mass passions. And if any-one was guilty it was the students and the Press! He made a distortion here of Dr. Gour's point on this question in his note of dissent which did him no credit.

meant as an inquest on the Assamiyas. At the same time she forcefully put across the point that the justified sorrow and anger in West Bengal were things to be reckoned with. Many Rengali Congressmen Many Rengali Congress He naturally had no answer to Kripalani's sarcastic query as to whether the Prime Minister felt that the Assam

riots were just a natural cala-mity like an earthquake, an act of supernatural forces? Nor could he answer the searching questions of Hiren Mukerji and Renu Chakravartty: Why was the circular of

the I.G. of Police in Assam. dated June 1 ignored?

keg situation in the State, of which the Centre should have Why did the Central Cabinet "sit supine" (in the phrase of Hiren Mukerji) been aware of or being aware of did nothing about. It was by marvellously nimble questioning that this M.P. got Nehru to make the and consider that the only was President's rule, which nobody wanted? form of intervention possible categorical declaration that Why was there this lack Assamiya would not be im-posed on the tribal peoples. of clarity as to when the help of the army was offered?

Why if the army had moved in from July 4,

were the gruesome activities allowed in district after dis-trict after that date?

If the Assam Chief and Finance Ministers were not available, for whatever reasons, what was the rest of

the Cabinet doing? A brilliant speech by Hoover Hynniewata also caused

MONOPOLIES UNDER FIRE

A NOTHER important de-bate in the Lok Sabha was the one on the oil policy of the Government of India. It was initiated on a metion by P G Deb G Deb on a motion by P. who characterised the Government's policy in this sphere as queer. He referred to the recent the more the foreign exchan-

Soviet offer to sell crude oil ge saved in the long run. to India at prices much lower than those in the world **Policy** ment of India approached the Changes three foreign companies which have established refineries in India, namely the Standard Vacuum Oil Com-pany (U.S.), Caltex. (U.S.) and the Burmah-Shell (British) the Burmah-Shell (British), all three refused to have any-

foreign firms and the terms it had agreed upon with them for the establishment of the refineries

refineries. Government policy had been so myopic that it had not kept in mind the possi-bility of having some other source of crude. The need for a guarantee clause had not been kept in mind so that supply of crude to rethat supply of crude to refineries would have been arranged at fair price. The companies have forced the companies have Government to keep quiet because of its commitment. But surely, said P. G. Deb, that should not prevent the Government of India from Time

Oil, K. D. Malaviya, in his re-ply claimed that what Gov-She charged the Government with not having a com-prehensive oil policy and said: "We are told it is the Governernment was implementing was a comprehensive oil policy. He explained once again his Government's inabi-lity to accept the Soviet offer ment's policy to take the help the Burmah-Shell (British), all three refused to have any-thing to do with the refining of Soviet crude. "It has given a rude shock to all", said P. G. Deb. He castigated the Govern-ment for the agreements it had entered into with these foreign firms and the terms it refineries had declined to accept the Soviet crude on the by the companies on the post-ed price which had mean-while fallen, the Minister said stands in the way? ... The reason I feel is that more and more the Stanvac and other oil companies which have a plaintively: "It was only when the Soviet group offered oil at the port of Bombay that foothold already in this cour try do not want to give up what they have already got." She quoted a recent issue of the Time magazine which said that subsequent on American "straight from the with the present reduction and explained how the situa-tion had changed since 1951 shoulder advice", the Indian Government had made basic the Indian policy changes. "No longer are such fields as petroleum and syntahetic rubber to be dominated by the 'public sector', i.e., State-owned", the

Parvati Krishnan de-manded a straight answer from the Government as to whether the exploration of whether the exploration of oil, its refining and distribu-tion were going to be in the public sector under the con-trol of the Government, or He said that if they failed to

had said

Riaht Note From Assam Manjula Devi (Cong.) P. C. Baroah (Cong.) and Bhagvati (Cong.) all and Bhagvati (Cong.) all spoke of the shame that gripped them and of the need for atonement through speedy return to brotherhood and place? quick rehabilitation. Manjula Devi, in particular; made a Nehru and most other Con-means speakers quite dis-

to the insults and worse wrongs. that had been done to her sisters and expressed her sor-

Bengali-speaking majority, re-mained comparatively quiet. He did not hesitate to castirate his own party and held that something really menacing had taken place which ing had taken place which needed a thorough probe— on the point of complicity he later had a passage-at-arms with fellow PSPer Hem Barua, who made a rather un-pleasantly truculent speech. Hieron Muterice's words-Hiren Mukerjee's words-We are the children of India"-echoed with the still sense of utter loss. He still sense of utter loss. Its warned emphatically that what had occurred in Assam portended the breaking and battering of Indian unity itself. Tridib Chaudhury in

itself. Tridib Chaudhury in a resounding perotation brought home the terrible wrong that had been done to Mother India, whose blood and tears dropped fact

fast. fast. In a restricted sense, how-ever, the tragedy had a deeper impact on the people of Assam and Bengal. It was a creditable fact that, on the

moving reference

whole, members from both States participating in the debate did not indulge in

partisan passion.

Reaction's Offensive

Hiren Mukerjee asked the Prime Minister to free him-self from partisanship and examine the role of his party -easily the most powerful in ssam-both in the area of Assam—both in the circle of actual looting and killing as well as at the Centre. Vasudevan Nair stated

is it that in the name of the

shortage of foreign ex-change, in the name of difficulties that we are

facing we are going to have the foreign sector creep into the oil industry

more and more instead

ing out?

the national sector spread

work carried out by our tech-

The Minister for Mines and

cheaper crude: "Existing ineries had declined to

ground that they were com-mitted to their own suppliers."

On 7½ per cent finally offered

the oil companies offered a

He said he was not satisfied

and the market had become a

buyers' market. It would be his effort, he said, to get the cheapest crude oil possible from the companies which

have tied us to the refinery

agreements calling upon "our friends—the oll companies" to consider this matter seri-

ously and find out ways by which they will satisfy the refineries which have so far been called 'tied' refineries.

change their approach radi-

reduction."

nicians in the Cambay area.

about learning Assa-

miya was legitimate or deserv-

ing of support, yet his speech

did reveal the rather powder

the entire nation realise that Assam should chowed that reaction was on the offensive in our country, utilising all our backwardness. And it was the Con-gress leadership that was gress leadership that was encouraging these evil forces in various ways. Not negatively only by failures in policy but also positively as in the case of the Muslim League, which it had helped to revive in various parts of

was the need of the hour. But by whom? Surely not by the innocent and the guilty, the ravaged and the ravager alike

Tridib Chaudhury put the matter forcefully and correct-ly when he said that the Cen-tral and State Governments, and their tallest representaand then tanks topset. They tives, were in the dock. They were the accused and to the charge of guilt their reply was only pious and equivocal platitudes

From this issue the natural OIL: AGREEMENT WITH FOREIGN

pressure in the name of paucity of foreign exchange. "A very penny-wise and pound-foolish policy," she called it, for the more invest On behalf of the Communist Group in Parliament, Parvati Krishnan paid tributes to the

cally the future would not be very bright for them.

However, when asked by a member what he would do in case the companies re-fused to fall in line, the Minister preferred to ignore the question.

Minister's Explanation

As to the question of oil policy the Minister declared that oil remained in Schedule A as proclaimed in the Indus-trial Policy Resolution of 1956. Nevertheless, he admitted that recently Government had invited "oil interests from all over the world" to come and join in the search for oil and this would still be within the framework of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

He defended at length Government's efforts and ex-penditure on oil exploration and declared that it remained Government's policy to build as many refineries in the public sector as possible but refused at the same time to say anything about the pri-vate sector's efforts to have a hand in the pie jointly with foreign private capital. Planforeign private capital. Plan-ning on a medium-sized re-finery in the public sector to be started by the end of the year in Cambay or Saurashtra was the only addition defini-tely promised by him. All in all the debate reveal-ed—despite the open advocacy of foreign oil companies' brief by pecepia like Jaingh-

by people like Jaipal Saingh-keen desire to rescue this key industry from the grip of the foreign monopolies and firmly go forward with strengthening and enlarging the public sector.

-Z. H.

by MOHIT SEN

transition was made to the third big theme of the debate what was to be done? All were agreed on the top were agreed on the topmosp priority being assigned to re-habilitation and restoring a sense of security to the mino-rities. Some Central Minister would have to be assigned for the job, apart from Central financial assistance.

It was over the question of a comprehensive enquiry that was sconsiderable controversy. Nehru wobbled quite a lot on this point. On the first day, he was categorical that a comprehensive enquiry "which will go on for many months would immediately halt the various processes... the processes of healing, etc." He was not averse to local enquiries and stated that he had reached "identical conclusions" as the A. P. Jain re-

to revive in various parts of the country. He agreed that prayaschit was the need of the hour. But solution, following the hopeless performance of A. P. Jain, who came out for some of police enquiry and sort of police enquiry and was heckled from all sides of the House, he said, "the speech of my colleague Sri A. P. Jain has not clearly stated our position obviously. mestion was much more than a police matter." He added that there would

be a number of regional enquiries of a judicial character as soon as possible to track down the culprits. Later there would be an enquiry into the larger issues of the causes of the Assam riots and the re-

the Assam Flots and medies. His arguments against the holding of an enquiry were more than countered by a number of speakers, notably Acharya Kripalani, Renuka Ray and the Communist M.P.s — Hiren Mukerjee, Renu Chakravarty and a Vasudevan Nair. They Vasudevan Nair. They stressed that such an enquiry had to be conduct-ed soon, or else the eviden-ce would be destroyed.

ce would be destroyed. Above all, only such an enquiry would strike fear into the malefactors and curb them as well as give the victims an assurance that their wrongs would be re-dressed. The enquiry would itself be the best healing process and help the forces of democracy in Assam to know and rout their enemies.

The Opposition M.P.s re inforced the eloquence of their speeches with the vigour of a united resolution on the question of holding an imme-diate comprehensive judicial enquiry, which had been tabled by Acharya Kripalani. Even the acceptance by the Even the acceptance by the Government of Atulya Ghose's resolution calling for a comnrehensive enquiry at an appropriate time, represented partial victory for the advo-

cates of such an enquiry. The democratic forces, above all in West Bengal. had wrested certain conces-sions but the Central Government had still not seen full sense. The reasoned and vigorous speeches from different parties had put the Central Congress leadership on the defensive and compelled a partial retreat, but narrow obstinacy still remained. The Lok Sabha discussio

revealed what the failure of Congress policies and the yet insufficient democratic awakening meant-India, her ening meant—India, her very shape and soul, was in danger. At the same time it wed that the day of reckclearly oning and redressal beckoned. It had been a great debate.

IRAQ : FUTURE OF THE REVOLUTION

THE Iraqi Republic, offspring of the July 14 Revolution, is now wel-coming the third year of its inception and completion of the second.

That a patriotic and independent republic can, now-adays come into existence and survive without the imperialists being able to invade and liquidate it, is a characteristic feature of our present era. Gone are the days when the armies and fleets of the imperialists could do that and go unpunished or confronted by any deterrent.

Conspicuous Feature

A conspicuous feature of ur times is the fact that the imperialists are no longer omnipotent; the anti-imperialist camp is so much stronger that not only can it check the imperialists in a country nearby, but also in another which is thousands of /kilometres away. A living example of this is Cuba which is defying the imperialists despite being under their very mose. As a result a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America succeeded not only in achieving liberation from the imperialists, but also in maintaining national independence. Nowadays, any country losing its indepen-dence has only itself to

In addition to losing its military might, imperialism has also lost its economic strength, which it formerly used to strangle the people in the grip of starvation, bloc-kade or economic boycott. Cuba, which as a result of decades of imperialist domination continued to rely on only one commodity, that is, sugar, is now defying the blockade imposed by the im-perialists only to be welcomed in the world Socialist market Any one country can, there-fore, if it so desires, consolidate its national sovereignty develop its economy and escape being at the mercy of the imperialists or subject to their wrath and revenge Ever since the Second World War, the trend of develop-ment has been towards a rapid disentegration of imperialism and an unfore growth of the Socialist and independent countries at one and the same time.

It was in such conditions that the Iraqi Republic was established and during the first year of its incention only did it resist and survive imperialist forces and threats, but also managed to carry out a number of historical achie. nents in the way of liberation from imperialist tutelage.

During that year, Irac withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and other unequal treaties with Britain as well as from the Agreement of Mutual Security with the United States. Iraq also withdrew from the Sterling Area, restored and develop-ed relations with the USSR and established new and

equal relations with the So-cialist countries, particular-ly the Agreement of Econo-mic Cooperation with the USSR. The Republic also scored many internal victo-ries against feudalism and reaction: passed the Agrarian Reform Law, repealed the Tribal Code and licen-sed trade unions and peasant associations.

The mainstay of such achievements lay in the cooperation betwen the Government, on the one hand; and ment, on the one hand, and, on the other, the broad mass-es of the people and all patriotic forces keen on pre-serving the Republic not only from the imperialist danger, but also from that of the coverous. The anthucism of covetous. The enthusiasm of the people and their keennes to preserve the Republic and its independence was made clear in the very first few davs.

We should always be mind-ful of this important fact; there were individuals behind the borders who wielded great popularity because of their once honourable anti-imperialist stand. Very soon, these lost their influence on our people as soon as it became clear that their objective was to subdue our Re public and liquidate its independence. One must also remember how the unarmed masses of the people in Mosul

sided with the soldiers and pro-Republic officers in order to crush the Shawaff Mutiny in the matter of a few hours.

In their efforts aimed, first, at obstructing the march forward of the Republic and secondly, bringing about its downfall and liquidation, the imperialists did not have any choice other than sowing dissension among those forces keen on preserving the Republic, and spoiling the good relations between the people and the Government.

Enemy Activities

The enemies of the Republic and independence resorted to villifications, slanders and arousing the misgivings of the middle forces. They did not, needless to say, hesitate to have recourse to the utilist to have recourse to the ugliest and vilest tricks, including racial alienation and massa-cres as they did in Kirkuk a year ago.

That was a bad omen for the second year of the re-publican regime: ever since then the march of the Rethen the march of the Re-public was slackened at a time when Iraq was still suffering from the hang-over of imperialism, feuda-lism and reaction—when the very independence of the Republic was at stake. Nevertheless, certain repre-

bogy of "extremist . Their n with the fictitious danger reache uch a state that mere talk of the real sidered by danger was considered by them as conducive to dis quiet and "a narrow party

News from brother parties

Their lethargy continued up till October 7, 1959, when a gang, hired by the covetous behind the border, tried to assassinate the very leader of the national Government. However, even this incident was not enough; the split re-mained among, the ranks of the forces keen on preserving the Republic, and democracy continued to suffer to such an extent, that this became the main feature of the second year of the republican regime. Peasants' associations were rigged and peasants themsel-ves persecuted. Many feudal, ists returned to their sphere influence after one year's absence. A free rein was given to such forces of evil as are not satisfied with anything short of destroying the Re-public and national independence.

After the peasants came the workers: trade unions were faisified and several hundreds of workers were tried by martial courts. The acts of aggresison and assasi-nation against the most stable

sentatives of the middle supporter of the Republic in-forces ceased to think of creased and assumed the form any danger save the un-founded one, that is, the number of "closed areas" increased proportionately.

> The middle forces, neverthe minute forces, never-theless, did not manage to gain what they had hoped to gain from their policy of "balancing" and playing off the Left against the Bight. It was only natural that the middle forces should not gain anything from this erroneous polloy which is bound to boomerang against its initiators in the long run.

There are signs which portend that certain representa-tives of the middle forces have begun to realise the dan-gers implicit in this policy of "balancing" not only to de-mocracy, but also to national independence as well. The loss of certain democratic gains to those forces which are vocal in their enmity to the Republic and its inde dence is bound to impair the mobilisation of the people in the face of hostile designs and dangers emanating from the imperialists and covetous Nor is this all.

This policy of "balancing" and playing off the Left aga-inst the Right instead of pursuing the policy of a united national front has also resulted in many vacillating inconsistent elements going over to reaction and the ene mies of the Republic. This en-larged social base had enabled them to organise themselves better.

A simple comparison be-tween the outcome of the first and second years of the re-publican regime is sufficient publican regime is sufficient to convince any person keen on preserving the Republic and its independence that the policy of 'balancing' and play-ing off the Left against the Right entails great danger to the Republic the Republic

March Forward

However, the Revolution is still capable of resuming its march forward, and at a faster tempo than the first. year. Such a possibility springs from Iraq and not from behind the border. The Revolution is all forces keen on preserving the Re-public. Unity of their ranks anew, and restoration of all the democratic rights of the people are the prerequisites not only for the progress of the Revolution, but also for the maintenance of the Republic and national independence as well.

The enemies of the Republic and independen and independence inside Iraq are now stronger than ever fore since the advent of the July 14 Revolution. Those who are not yet alive to this fact will repent when it is already too late. As for the masses of the people, they are duly aware of this serious danger and are, therefore, under-standably worried about the fate of the Republic and national independence. This worry, however, will never benumb their vigilance and keenness to preserve the Re-public whatever the cost may

BENGALI THEATRE

There was a widely believed myth until a few months ago-and it is still believed in certain quarters-that the Bengali theatre is a quarter-century ahead of that of the rest of India. Those who have bothered to go out and see for themselves are not so sure now. Only the chauvinist and the ignorant will claim, after seeing some of the decadent themes and their amateurish presentation by the non-commer-cial groups in Calcutta, that these represent the height of the Indian theatre.

imnortance.

The productions that have

and equally crusading defen-ce, are Biswaroopa's "Setu", the Minerva's "Angar", and Bohurupee's "Muktadhara".

Most of the attacks are

concentrated on the sup-posed excesses of technical manipulation, and on the alleged stiffing of the great

alleged stifling of the great art of acting, and finally on the annihilation of the playwright's intentions. It is also strange that these attacks do not come from actors or playwrights. If the alleged annihilation were threatened, would not the actor and the playwright size in immediate revolt?

rise in immediate revolt?

this report into a forum and

commit the mistake that de-fenders of mechanical appli-ance invariably make. We

shall not discuss form at all;

we shall leave it to the judge-ment of the people, who seem to be patronising all three

in the guise of reviewer try to pinpoint the crisis of con-tent in the Bengali theatre.

The other evening we had the pleasure of siting through a performance of "Putul Khela" by Bohurupee.

Strictly speaking this is not Bengali drama at all; it is an adaptation by Direc-tor-Actor, Sambhu Mitra of

Thean's "Doll's House". But

we do not belong to the squeamish purist group that

rejects everything foreign in a theatre whose entire

structure and equipment are borrowed from the West. I am tempting con-

troversy when I assert Sam-bhu Mitra steals the play.

nder criticism of the plays than the purists will ever be able to do. We shall instead

offering

productions and

We shall not, however, turn

in for heaviest attack,

THE most hotly debated anything. She fails to sug-subject at the moment in gest; she makes obvious. Her the Calcutta theatre world is performance is a study in the question of form, the style and technique. It lacks e question of form, the testion of how far the re-sseur should use the mechathe depth of the unsaid. But what a profound Torvald Sambhu Mitra made—an ice-berg, more underwater than nical devices at his command. This in itself indicates the present state of stagnation, above. The rest of the cast just

because, to discuss form without reference to content, to treat of form as a separate, fails. They are carbon copies of the two, original sheets. (What a Dr. Rank, emphasisiependent subject is to pave way to formalism and the way to formalism and escape. It is almost a consing with a rose the tradition-al queerness of the British actor! A Christine, who cious attempt to divert attenn from the vital question should not even walk on!) of content, and to clutter it up with details of secondary An inexplicable set represented hedroom sitting room

and dressing-room all at once. Why these have to be teles-coped, and the uncomfortable feeling that Torvald may start to undress now for the sake of realism has to be roused in the audience, is best left to conjecture.

This is not to detract from the brilliance of the from the brillance of the performance. Without mu-sic, without ostentatious display of lighting, the play captivates, draws one into the squalid Helmer home.

Where Bohurupee reaches the very height is the ques-tion of content. It may be questioned whether an Indian Nora has the right to leave

her husband, when most omen in her country cannot even convince their husbands that a child every year is bad for health. Judged by Indian standards, Nora is a very happy woman: At least she is not beaten every night! The call of "Putul Khela" may be considered too advanced for our country. (Didn't Ibsen himself rewrite the end for the play's German premiere, or is my memory playing false with me?)

est cliche of the Bengali theatre-ushers in the crisis All the same, "Putul Khela" shocks the complacent petty-bourgeoisie with a violence as as of the play. necessary as that of the surnecessary as that of the sur-geon. A certain scandalisation is required to wake him up, and no one can leave a per-formance of "Putul Khela" Weakness The positive role of the union is almost totally eclip-sed, and Binu becomes the pivot of resistance—because "he was momentarily mad with rage"! The workers are inspired to fight back by this momentary lunatic. Can without a certain shame, a sense of secret guilt, because no home is perfect—almost nowhere has husband and wife reached a state of true partnership. The unforgett-able symbolism of the danc-ing doll on the table—it will momentary lunatic. Can "Angar" then still claim that haunt all husbands in the audience. (On the other hand the infantile symbolism of the changing design on curtains should not have passed the usual procession of eccentric director's evel) The Little Theatre Gorup,

remained in a state of splen-did isolation from the people. Its production up to the end

The current rage of the theatre is Tripti Mitra; but, the most accomplished actis, she is an actress who, in can they replace living my opinion, falls to keep back drama? Living people create

SEPTEMBER 11, 1960

Adaptation

Of Ibsen

Italy : Bucharest Communique Endorsed

and the Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party, having heard the report on recent relations and contacts, established with Workers' and Communist Parties and with the democratic national liberation movements of many countries, express their satisfaction with the increasingly close bonds of cooperation, unit-Party to the forces struggling throughout the world, for peace, national indelence, democracy and penden Socialis

Having examined the issued in Communique issued in Bucharest by the Commu-nist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries, the Central Committee and the Central Control Com-mission fully endorse its contents, and in particular the reference, to the full validity of the Peace De-claration and Appeal issued in Moscow in November 1957.

The growing successes of

and social emancipation in many capitalist countries, all these are evidence of the soundness of the line laid down in those documents.

Recent world events, whilst confirming the aggressive nature of important of of rialism and particularly of American imperialism, bear witness to the strength of the Socialist camp and to its capacity to reject the provocations of the impe-rialist camp, to give deci-sive support to the more-ment for the emancipation of peoples, and to struggle effectively with all peace forces for peaceful coexist-ence and disarmament.

The declaration contain-ed in the Peace Appeal, en in the Frace Appear, whereby war in the present situation is no longer ine-vitable, is right and cor-responds fully to the pre-sent developments. The 1957 Moscow Decla-

ration thesis on the possi-bility of a peaceful passage to Socialism, stressed again in the Declaration of the

NEW AGE

T HE Central Committee the peace policy of the 17 Communist Parties of soviet Union and of the Capitalist Europe in Nov-trol Commission of the Italian Communist Party, meeting in the third week of July, adopted the fol-lowing resolution: The Central Committee peace, demogratic liberties firmation, that the devendent and soviel approximation in committee and eventioned southanding struggles for the the sector of the devendent for the Communication the such and soviel approximation in the such a-next of the Communication the such and soviel approximation in the such a-next of the Communication the such and soviel approximation in the such a-next of the control committee peace, demogratic liberties firmation, that the devendence in the control communication in the such and soviel approximation in the such and so lopments and experience of the international work ing class movement in these years had given it. Today more than ever, the Italian Communist Party draws inspiration from this thesis for its action for the democratic renewal Italy, for its advance to wards Socialism. - The Central Committee

and the Central Control Commission, in the face of the frenzied efforts made by the imperialists to weaken and split the forces struggling for peace and progress, approve the appeal issued by the Com-munist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries to strengthen t unity of the internation the unist movement. The Central Committee and the Central Control Con sion pledge themselves t contribute with all th Party's strength to this action, rallying round the banner of proletarian in-ternationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

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the other hand, has long

contemporary drama; such drama alone can give real expression to a people's dreams and aspirations

Revolutionary Theme

Organisationally, the Group achieved success and even captured a theatre as its perat manent residence. But first we saw it founder hopelessly on the rock with a high-brow production of Gorky in Bengali. The resubtleties of Gorky pressing were not in keeping with the people's needs. They were reduced, without popular support, into mere jugglery with

Currently, the Group is running the present au-thor's "Angar"--a play that, apparently, introduces a re. volutionay theme with the working class as its hero. Mind you, even its preten-sions have served as a de-

••• hu •••••• NTPAL DUTT

parture from the usual mid-dle class sob-stuff in which the theatre movement is bogged. But let us briefly examine the content of "Angar" and see if it can really claim to have intro-duced real sound content. The hero of "Angar" is a boy called Binu. He resists oppression and the violence of the security guards, but ex-pressive declares he is not a the theatre movement is pressly declares he is not a member of the union. He and his friends declde to act as blacklegs, because Bir i's blacklegs, because Bir u's mother weeps at the terrible mother weeps at the terrible poverty of the strike period. Back we swing to the petty sentimentality of usual plays! The motivation of the all-important strike-breaking relies entirely on a mother's tears. The deeper economic forces are obscured, and the usual formula - mother-son misunderstanding-the cheap

neighbour, pretty girl next door, and spoilt sister!! If the worker-types are a bit more novel, they are mostly abnordid isolation from the people. mal, negative, psychopathic Its production up to the end of last year were mostly nine-teenth century comedies, or translations of foreign class-ics. Both are necessary, but can they replace living drama? Living people create mal negative, psychopathic

tales; they have no relation whatever to truth. Requiescat in pace!

Another powerful group is the Theatre Unit. A brilliantly produced "Char Deyal", adopted by Sekhar Chatterjee from Katayev's "Squaring the Circle," gave us intimate glimpses into the housing problem, and the need for the right to divorce. But, of course, this is a translation and the talent of this group, especially that of its brilliant director, Chatterjee, should be devoted to indigenous themes also. The young group's other productions to date are an adaptation of Maugham's "Sheppey"-a theme devoid of content—and a classic, Mrichchhakatika'

Mrichchhakatika". Bijon Bhattacharjee, the best of the Old Guard, sprung a magnificent "Go-trantar" on us—his group, the Calcutta Theatre; being perhaps the best-trained gone to sleep. While "Gotrantar" too suffers from the usual howling and sobbing

Do we-solemnly sound the last post and whistle a few bars from the Funeral March? Or do we demand why leading members, professing faith in the theatre movement, desert their col-leagues for thirty pieces of silver? The commercial theatres buy them off, they are so easily on sale. Where, for example, is the powerful Uttar Sarathi, who gave us "Natun Ihudi"? A production "Down Train" has been bou-ght off, lock stock and barrel, by a commercial tycoon.

A glorious contrast is the IPTA whose production of "Sankranti" by Biru Mukheriee draw the commercials like so many sharks. But the group held out against all baits and is, therefore, going ahead to-wards newer landmarks in the theatre movement.

The Group Theatre sudden-ly came back to life with Gita Banerji's "Noy Chhoy". All praise for the new young playwright—but she should alise a chain of slapsticks

does not make comedy. • Colossal work is being done by Souvonik in finding an by Souvonik in inding an open-air theatre. But what about its productions? Grant-ed tickets are cheap at its festival. But does that justify the gross murder of Gorky and Shudrak?

An interesting play from Pavlov Institute -"Ma- o ruihania", dealing with vast problems of world neace, military dictatorship and democracy. But atrocious production rendered it unintelligible. and I am, therefore, unable to say whether "Marujhanja" bodes ill or good. Calcutta has a theatre

group in almost every street corner. But, search as one may, new bold plays with sound content are not coming forth, and it is not too much to say, the Bengali theatre is facing a crisis in content.

but thematically it is the only really bold play in a few years. But the Calcutta Theatre seems to have gone to sleep. Was Gotran-tar" a flash in the pan? Which reminds me. So.

but thematically it is the

many groups, promising, earnest, have gone into silent liquidation with not so much as a whimper. There was the lamented Anusushilan—with a most commendable production of Umanath Bhattacharjee's "Shesh Sangbad". There was the Mukhosh with several plays of Dhananjoy. Bairagi on its repertoire. There were several others, but like the snows of yester year, they have vanished.

Tripura's Plan____

* FROM PAGE 6

the unemployed rural youth. According to Government figures, there are no less than 40,000 outmoded looms in tri-bal families; a similar number of looms are there in the houses of the displaced per-sons. If suitable schemes are adopted to help these artisans, it may meet a large part of the clothing require ments of the territory. In-dustrial units may be set up in divisional towns for the production of agricultural im-plements and implements for tea garden labour and for labour employed in construction of roads and buildings. Piecemeal planning can never take all these schemes into consideration. A democratic set up-can no

It is not enough to have only big sums of money. If the money is to be best utili-

such a set-up exist today in Tripura?

No. A Territorial Council has been set up under an Act of Parliament. But the powers and functions of the Council have been drastically curtailed by the Central Government thro-ugh enforcement of different 'exceptions and conditions'. The Congress Party which managed to have a majority through nomination of two members has reduced the Council into a department of the Adminis tration. Though the Bal-wanta Rai Mehta Committee considered it necessary to hand over all develor mental work to elected local bodies, in Tripura, one finds determined resistance on the part of the Administration to do so. Panchayats have not come into exist-ence and the municipality remains suspended years. Unless this resistance is

broken, there is no prospect for the development and progress of Tripura.

PAGE ELEVEN

ROUSES MALABAR'S ANGER

T HE Kerala State Coun-cil of the Communist Party expresses grave concern at the sense of neglect that is growing among the people of Malabar, which is people now taking an organised form in the recently-formed League of Justice to Mala-

The Council regretfully notes that, instead of adopting a sober and balanced attitude of a examining the specific grievances formulated by the people's representatives of Malabar and redressing them in relation to those points where they are genuine, the Chief Minister and other leaders of the Government are brushing aside all these grievances on the plea that they indicate an atti-tude of "narrow localism."

Emotional Unitu

To this basically incorrect policy in relation to grievan-ces, the Chief Minister has added some very tactless re-marks which have rightly roused the indignation of the and their representatives in the Malabar area.

The Council earnestly ap-peals to the Chief Minister and other leaders of the Go-vernment to soberly ponder over this situation and try to give maximum possible satisfaction to the people of

Malabar without giving room for any legitimate apprehen-sion among the people of the rest of Kerala that partiality is being shown to Malabar. This alone would help the emergence of that emotional unity of Kerala which it should be the duty of all the well-wishers of Kerala to generate. The Comm

generate. The Communist Party has always held the view that national development should take due account of regional differences and try to overcome regional disparities. Just as it is necessary for the Central Government to consciously adopt policies that economi-cally backward States like Kerala, educationally and cul-turally backward States like turally backward States like Assam and regions inhabited by the tribal people, are given special consideration to overcome their backwardness, so should the State of Kerala take due note of the backwardness of Malabar, in the matter, of inications, ineducation, con dustrialisation etc. Special dustrialisation, etc. Special problems of thickly-populated but economically least-developed coastal regions also should be fully taken into con-sideration when the Government of Kerala plans its econo-

mic develop The peo levelopment. e people of the border The people of the builder areas of Kasargode and the Deviculom belt which have special problems (since they are inhabited by linguistic minorities and have very little of economic development and social services) should also be

enabled to solve their special problems. Only by adopting a conscious policy of overcom-ing the difficulties of these cial regions can the emo-al and other integration of special reg tional and Kerala be brought is the height of folly to dismiss the legitimate espirations of the people of these regions as "narrow localism."

Regional Disparities

It is against this background that the grievances of the peo-ple of Malabar should be con-sidered. It is not merely a question of the share which Malabar should get out of the Malabar should get out of the appointments being made in the State as a whole. It is, on the other hand, part of the general problem of overcom-ing regional disparities, which may take some specific form in some region and another form in another region. It may also happen that certain particular local areas of either Malabar or Travancore-Cochin are less developed than the rest of the region itself. It is, rest of the region itself. It berefore, the legitimate right of all the regions in the State to have an adequate share of to have an adequate share of the entire State's development and appointments in Govern-ment services.

This was the attitude adopted by the previous Communist-led Governmen of Kerala which, despite cer-tain "administration" mont

LAND BILL CAMPAIGN

* FROM PAGE 5

tenants holding land under such landholders as are not the poorest and most deserving. It is significant, in this con-nection, that the Plantation Tax Bill, introduced in the

Legislature by the State Go-vernment, did not base itself on the provisions made in the President's recommendations with regard to smallholders As a matter of fact, when the Communist Opposition plead-ed for lower rates of taxation for the holders of land be-tween five and fifteen acres, the Revenue Minister charac-terised that demand as a plea for big planters. That very Revenue Minister now comes round and says that those whom he then characterised as "big planters" should be included in the category of allholders.

It would appear from this strange logic of the spokes-men of the Kerala Government that the category owners whom the State Go-vernment is not prepared to accommodiate in the matter of reduced rates of Plantatio Tax should be allowed to collect more rent from the pea-The sants or to evict them munist Party can never agree to such a policy of the Government extracting more from a class which is allowed to extract still more from the peasants

As for the solicitude ostensibly shown in the President's recommendations to the relirious charitable and educa-

PAGE TWELVE

These institutions would, in the singular statution words, get 16 times the fair rent as compensation. This, it would be compensation. abandoned the principle of associating people's represen-tatives and suggested instead ther words, get is times the winn regimentation. fair rent as compensation. This, it would be conceded by all fair-minded persons, is a reasonable guarantee that the made by the President are an made by the president are an all rair-minded persons, is a that the recommendational reasonable guarantee that the made by the President are an genuine requirements of all attack on the rights confer-such institutions will be ade-quately met. It is only those ppukars and the landless who want to invoke the name poor. The Council, therefore such institutions will be ade-quately met. It is only those who want to invoke the name of those institutions to con-fer more powers on landlords that would demand more than 100 per cent compensation as the landless poor. The Council, therefore, decided to oppose the Presi-dent's recommendations and to fight for the preservation of all the rights conferred on that would demain matching as of all the rights contained and the basis of fair the rural poor by the pr sions of the original Bill.

The Council noted that cided to call upon all Party units, sympathisers of the Party and friends of the peathe President's recommen-dation went against the specific proposal of the Land Reform Panel of the that on a powerful mass campaign against the anti-peasant re-commendations made by the transfers made after the publication of the Bill should be invalidated. The Planning Con figures quoted by the Revewarn the people in general and the peasantry in particu-lar against the powerful moves made by the represennue Minister show that over ten lakhs of such transfers have been made since De-cember 18, 1957, which goes to show that they were mala fide transfers made with a view to defeating the provisions of the Bill. President in an amending

the provisions of the Bill. President in an amending Bill, but also to go beyond The Council further noted these recommendations and that, with regard to the ma- to make further encroach-chinery for the implementa- ments on the rights of ten-tion of the legislation, the ants and kudikidappukars President's message had conferred by the Bill.

NEW AGE

provi-

The Council, therefore, de-

sant movement, belonging to

all political parties, to carry

President. It also decided to

tatives of the landlords not

only to incorporate the re-commendations made by the

difficulties" that were pointed out to it, tried to do justice to all the rried to do justice to all the regions in the State. It was also the consciously adopted policy of that Government to enable all the backward nities and regions to of apget a fair proportion ointments in Governm services,

It was from this point, of view that the Government then decided to have all the lower grade appointments made through District Appointment Boards. It was again from this point of view that the then toe for Government fixed que districts in the matter of addistricts in the matter of ad-missions to professional and technical colleges. The Govern-ment also took some conscious measures to see that a fair proportion of higher and subordinate officers from the Malabar area were posted in the offices of heads of depart-

Correct Steps

It was with a view to doing justice to the Malabar area that the then Government selected two persons—a senior Government officer and a well-known non-official — as memknown non-ometal — as men-bers of the Public Service Commission. The Government and the Communist Party then and the Community farty even now knew, and the Party even now knows, that these were only the first steps in the right direction; these first steps ould not overcome all the Baulties faced by the peop of Malabar. Nevertheless, they were steps in the right direction and would have helped us and a solution in reas time, if they were pursued.

However, reports available low indicate that, far from gonow indicate that, far from go-ing further along' these lines, the present Government pro-poses even to go back on the steps taken by the previous Government. Abandonment of the method of selection thro-ueb District Appointment ugh District Appointment Boards is reported to be under consideration of the Govern-ment. As for the "adminis-trative and constitutional difficulties", which are alleged to stand in the way of doing re-gional justice, the Government is not only not anxious to exae them with a view to solving them but are even giving political justification for the neglect of certain regions by uncing the demand for regional justice itself as "narrow The issue that brought these

blems to the forefront now is service integration and the way in which it is being dealt with by the present Govern-ment. Here again, the previous Government Communist-led Government did its best to solve the diffi-culties inherent in the problem to the maximum satisfaction of Government employees belong-ing to both the Travancore-Cochin and allotted branches. The then Government appointed a Committee of Service Associations (in which were represented the associations of ernment employees belongto both the Travancore-Cochin and allotted branches) to examine the principles on which equation of posts is to be car- fore, of opinion that the major ried out. This Committee of Service

nonlected as State was neglected as regards its development. On October 1, 1956, when Kerala was form Malabar was the ba back. ward district of a backward State. The Com-Ministry nist_led munis which assumed office soon after, took some steps to end this disparity and raise Malabar to the level of the rest of the State. But the Congress-PSP coalition which ules the State now ha reverted to the old policy of neglecting Mala and so shamelessly that members of the ruling parties themselves have protested against it. Here we print the resolution on this subject adopted by the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party at its recent ses-

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sion from August 29 to

Associations was presided over Associations was presided over by an officer of the Central Government. After this Com-mittee of Service Associations completed its work, the Gonent saw to it that the vernment saw to it that the preparation of integration lists were handled by a staff con-sisting of officers belonging to both the branches. After principle of integration and the integration lists were thus ared, the Govern to it that the Appeal Com which was to examine the individual and collective appeals preferred by the officers concerned consisted of an offiment, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission (who is familiar with the problems of the Twith the cer from the Central Govern-Cochin service-personnel) and another senior officer from the allotted branch.

Every step taken by the then Government in relation to the work of integration was thus taken in association with officers who would be expected to look at the prob-lems from the point of sterr lems from the point of view of personnel of both bran-

Change In Policu.

The present Government, The present Government, however, upset all these ar-rangements when it took the inwise step of removing the officer of the allotted branch from the Committee of Appeal. This was naturally viewed by officers of the allotted branch as action taken with a view to favouring the Travancore-Cochin branch; it was this that prought the discontent to the oiling point.

It is true that, when a hue ind cry was raised against this action of the Government, it was decided to appoint a senior officer was decided to appoint a senior officer from outside the State, an officer who was for some time the Collector of some time the Collector of Malabar, and who, therefore, would be expected to be familiar with the problems of the allotted branch. But the harm had already been done. Furthermore, the original step of the Government had so encouraged the unreasonable instincts of the officers of the Travancore-Cochin b they even objected to this decision of the Government. The State Council is, there-

* SEE PAGE 14

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KHRUSHCHOV TO

THE U.N.

THE annual of the United Nations General Assembly are always important. But this n, due to open from September 20, promises to momentous. The reason Khrushchov's bold decision to head the Soviet

delegation. A month ago, the Soviet Union had proposed that Heads of Government should take part in the General As-sembly deliberations and, sembly deliberations and, thus, bring nearer a solution disarmament problem. Now Khrushchov has again taken the initiative and placed the imperialist leaders in a quandary. All the more so a quandary. All the indication in this time since he has followed up his own decision with a series of letters to leading statesmen, including Prime Minister Soviet proposals. Naturally, netures to heating Prime Minister Nehru, stressing the import-ance of the coming U.N. meet and the desirability of their presence there. Eisenhower's official re-action is not yet known. Earlier he had stated that he

might invite Khrushchov to Washington should the Soviet leader actually come to the United Nations. Now there is talk that Eisenhower will pre sent a valedictory address to the General Assembly. At the same time the Times of India Washington Correspon dent reports that influential circles and personages in Washington are upset at the prospect of another Summit meeting and that, too, in the public arena of the United Nations.

Masterly Mane

But a big obstable to a blank refusal to talk to the Soviet leader is the fact that U.S. spokesmen had always U.S. Spokesmen had always claimed that they preferred megotiations through the United Nations to the more "spectacular" Big Power meetings. Now in a masterly move the Soviet Premier has made possible a Summit meeting at and through the meeting at and through the United Nations. The U.S. leaders will find it difficult

to wriggle out. Reports from Britain indi-cate that Premier Macmillan has yet to make up his mind, though the first official fe-actions were negative. But a newspaper. as rabidly con-servative as the Delhi Express and the liberal News Chroand the inberal News of the mass tabloid Daily Mirror, urge that Macmillan respond to Khrushchov's gesture. Paris reactions are still awaited.

The reason for Western hesitation is the knowledge that the main topic of the U.N. debate will be disarma-U.N. debate will be disarma-ment. This topic was tabled by the Soviet Union for discussion at this year's Assembly meeting as soon as -nation disarmament

talks in Geneva broke down in June, thanks to Western stalling. year's Assembly un-Last called for agree-

animously called for agree-ment "in the shortest possible ment "in the shortest possible time" on measures for com-plete and general disarma-ment under effective inter-national control. It sent to the Geneva Conference,

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a policy of non-alignment and neutrality. Khrushchov paid a visit to Finland last week to join the celebrations of President Kekkonen's 60th birthday. While he was there he out lined the Soviet approach

"A guarantee of this (Soviet and Finnish peoples living side by side in peace and friendship) lies in the Soviet Government's policy of respect for the indepensighted policy of steady promotion of Finland's promotion of Finland's good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union which is being carried out under the leadership of your President, Urho Kek-konen."

He had high praise for the "Paasikivi-Kekkonen line of neutrality and economic cooperation" as an factor for peace in Northern Europe. He expressed appre-ciation in this context of Sweden's similar policy of

Relations With Turkey

non-alignment.

Somewhat earlier on Sept 1 the Soviet Press published the letters that had been exchanged betwen Khrushchov and the Turkish Premier Gursel. In his letter the Soviet leader noted that the most sincere relations would deve-lop between the two States if



sessions which started work on March 15, all disarmament plans tabled in the United Nations.

> This included the four-year plan for complete disarma-ment tabled by Khrushchov at the start of last year's General Assembly. The Soviet plan has since been con-siderably modified to meet the criticism of the Western Powers, without any recipro-cal steps on their part.

This new Soviet plan has been welcomed not only by the broad public but by such State leaders as Nehru, Nasser, Soekarno, Nkrumah and Tito. It is more than likely that with new African the Western leaders would not

like to be in the uneviable

A big role devolves on India and our Prime Minister. Important as his many engagements are, his pre-sence at the United Nations this time could prove crucial for peace. It is already announced that Soekarno and Nkrumah would be going. Other Afro-Asian leaders might well follow suit.

The interests of all these countries, striving for inde-pendent development, are bound up with disarmament. Their joint action, combined initia_ with Khrushchov's tive, might compel the begin-ning of settlement on the im-perialists. It could end the present deterioration in the international situation and impel the detente. world towards

bluntly states that all the against the majority. billing out latin American countries are within the U.S. sphere of influence. They cannot establish whatever relations they wish with "extra-continental Powers." It calls upon all American States to submit "to the discipline of the inter-American system.".

> Eisenhower followed up this infamous declaration with a statement at his latest Press Conference that while he preferred "collective action" gainst Cuba, this would not inhibit any unilateral U.S. intervention "when the chips are finally down." When they are down is, of course, a matter for the sole discretion of the U. S. Government.

naturally enough, hit out at Meet The Cuban leaders have the San Jose declaration of war against the independ-ence of Cuba. Addressing a mammoth meeting Raul-Castro called upon the Cubans to step up their mobilisation Two Approaches Two Approaches To Step up their mobilisation and vigilance. He added that the Cubans had good friends all over the world and this included the first military Power in the world—the Soviet Union. The Cuban

> Nor have the other Latin American States relished their role of satellites. The London Economist of Sept. 3 exposes the crude diktat of the U.S. masters: "Only after scarcely disguised hints both in Wash-ington and San Jose about the availability-or not-of. the next Latin American aid programme did the delegates take the point."

Thus, while the area goodwill extends around the Soviet Union, the U.S. thrusts tension on its neighbours in tension on its neighbours in order to keep them in thraldom

NEW DANGER IN CONGO

T HE reported dismissal of Premier Lumumba by President Kasabuvu is a danger signal for Congo and its people. It will be recalled that the imperialists, especially the U.S. and Belgium, have tried one nanoeuvre after another to re-establish their hold on the Congo, failing which to dismember her.

First, direct Belgian aggression was attempted. came collective imperialist action under the U.N. flag. Hammarskjold openly clashed with Lumumba and openly encouraged the disruptionist tactics of puppet Tshombe in Katanga. Simultaneously fur-ther division was attempted in Kasai province.

Kasahuvu Shows His Hand

Thanks to protests from all over the world, and energetic action by the energetic action by Soviet Union, the U.N. was prevented from fully com- Sept. 6.

plying with the nefarious desires of the Western im-perialists. It seems as if they have now decided to play another pawn-Kasa-buvu. It is significant that he has combined dismissal of the Prime Minister with a call to the U.N. to take over .Congo.

It will be remembered that Kasabuvu and Lumumba had clashed in the very first days of Congo's independence. Everybody had noticed that while the Prime Minister had lashed out against the Bel gians, the President had made a remarkably mild and conciliatory speech, almost bless ing the erstwhile rulers

African

Right through the period of crisis Kasabuvu had kept generally quiet. At one stage it was reported that he had form to the variable to the stage flown to the Kasai car talks with the rebel leader there. Following these talks he came out with a plan for a so-called confederation of Congo-a slight variant of a so-called confe the imperialist "Operation Soviet Union. The Cuban Government has replied to the U.S. attempt at intimida-tion by recognising the Peo-ple's Republic of China. the Union. The Cuban Dismember." Judging from preliminary reports the Pre-sident has now shown his hand and Congolese independence faces a new menace.

Against this background the Leopoldville Conference of Independent African States (which ended on August 31) acquires new significance Lumumba was the hero of the day and the Conference received warm greetings from a number of non-African Sta-tes, including the Soviet Union and China.

It unanimously supported the independence and sovereignty of Congo and pledged to do its utmost to safeguard territorial integrity. It announced that a new stage had opened in Africa with the fraternal armed help rendered to the Congolese freedo movement—this would co tinue as long as necessary. freedom con

It demanded that the bases of Kamina and Kitona be handed over to the Congo Government as soon as the Belgians had withdrawn. It expressed the hope that the cooperation between the Congo and the United Nations would deve-lop normally and that "pre-vious incidents would not recur."

Finally, it called for an African Summit Conference to discuss the problems of the continent and international affairs in general.

Africa Will Win

Thus, while there is reaso vigilance and concern at latest turn of events in the Congo, the Leopoldville Conference demonstrates that Africa resurgent is not going to bow down to the imperialists or be tricked by them, no matter what tactics they adopt. African unity and all the progressive world's sym-pathy with it will save Congo and free the entire continent.

PAGE THIRTEEN

 $\mathbf{T}_{\mathrm{HE}}^{\mathrm{HE}}$ world had the chance T HE world had the chance in recent days to see the contrasting attitudes of the Soviet Union and the United States to countries in their neighbourhood which follow

To Neutrality

tions," reiterating, at the same time, that friendship with the U.S. was no bar to good relations with the USSR.

He urged a return by Gursel to the policies of the founder of the modern Turkish State, Kemal Attaturk.

Gursel in his reply of July 8 noted with satisfaction the desire for better relations expressed in Khrushchov's letter and said, "I wish to assure you sincerely that I fully share this desire ... am happy to learn that Moscow received favourably the establishment of a new regime in Turkey. I can confirm to you that in the sphere or respect for the indepen-dence and sovereignty of well my Government will be Finland and of non_inter-guided by the principles of ference in her internal Attaturk." affairs as well as in the far-

And The U.S. Stand

Here were two neighbours of the Soviet Union, thousands of miles apart, very different in political and social composition and quite a dist away from Socialism. Yet the point of unity was their desire point of unity was their desire to pursue an independent, neutral foreign policy. And it was precisely this that the Soviet Union welcomed and reciprocated and made no other demand. Here was coexistence in action.

Quite the opposite was the stand taken by the United States towards its neighbour Cuba which, too, had declared its intention to pursue its own path in international rela-tions. For precisely this reason it has earned the wrath of the U.S. imperialists.

At the San Jose meeting of the Organisation of American States (OAS), which ended last week, it forced through a resolution against Cuba, with only Mexico voting against. The Cuban delegates walked out in protest. This resolution

ORISSA TRAGEDY THE Two Million People Affected

• FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

It requires more than ordinary strength to be in Orissa just now. Even nerves of steel will break down at the harrowing sight that meets the eye everywhere. It is not the same men and women you met before the waters in the flood devestated areas of It is not the same men and women you met before whom you meet now in the flood-devastated areas of the State, they are wrecks of their former selves, some-thing inside them has died. They continue to live but despair is writ large on their faces. They sit there staring at the vast sheet of water which has taken staring at the vast sheet of water which has taken everything away from them. And when you can get that vacant expression off their faces, they tell you the story of the days when the flood water brought tragedy to their lives.

duri Das, the sole known survivor from Krishnapara village in Dharmasala. Towards the end of the night, he said, the flood waters came. God knows where all the villagers went. God knows how many escaped the deluge.

In the village itself, there are four dead bodies-those of a father and mother and their two children. Kanduri Dag had seen this family struggling with the onrush-ing water, their last desperate hid to cling to life. And, however, much he tries to ward it off, the pic-ture is always before himof the mother going to the rescue of the children, the fath drowning children, the father, in turn, going to her rescue, and all our meeting a watery grave Three young men climbed back into the water, Rama up a tree to save themselves. Behera who died while trying wo of them were on a to save his bullock in Binj-

Congress daily Samaj report-ed on August 19 that in Gopalpur in Cuttack District fifteen families had been MET one of them Kan, branch about five feet above swept away. An officer of the the water level and the third another six to seven feet above. A huge serpent came floating on the water, fren-Dharmasala police station said there had been ten deaths in the area beyond ziedly trying to get a hold to save itself. It struck the tree, held on to it and climb-With more such reports comed up. It bit both the men on ing in a hundred deaths will the lower branch. It was pushed back into the water but not before it had done its deadly work. The two men, poison rapidly flowing through their system, fell unconscious into the water. The third man lived to tell

the tragic story. The mother and new-born baby who were swallowed up by the waters which flowed over their roof in Paikarapur, the twelve-year-old ailing girl of Budha Diha whom ailing her mother could not save. the boy who was climbing up the tree in Haripur but fell

KERALA RESOLUTION

FROM PAGE 12

responsibility for the present state of affairs should be fully borne by the present Govern-ment. The fact that some leading members of the ruling party from the Malabar area are raising their voice against this does not, in the slightest detract from the resway. of their own Goponsibility in this respect vernment

What the people of Malabar and the people of 1 entire State demand of of the ruling parties is not that they divide themselves into the partisans of Travar Cochin and Malabar; our people demand of the Ministers and other members of the ruling parties is that they should reverse the polimirsued by the Govern-

Far from doing this, the Council notes, the Congress, PSP, and Muslim League MLAs from the Malabar area are even bracketing the preus Communist-led Governth the present Government v Riding roughshod over ment. all the facts which go unmistakably to prove that the Com-munist-led Government had taken some steps to do justice not to Malabar alone but to all the districts of Kerala (even though these measures had not fully met all the requirements of the situation), these cham-pions of "Justice to Malabar" are slandering the Communist Party. The Council is confident that the people will not e deceived by this. The State Council, therefore,

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appeals to all sections of the ruling parties (whether they are from Travancore-Cochin or from Malabar, whether they are in the Ministry or outside the Ministry) to see that the Government takes the following measures:

1. Accept the principle that every district in the State should approximately receive that much of share in Govern ment services as it is entitled to on the basis of population. the 2 Further accept that the 2. above general principle should be subjected to other considerations which may have to be taken into account when selections are made for speci-fic jobs requiring a high deg-ree of education or skill;

3. Having accepted the above **J.** principles, an examination should be made as to how they have to be applied in actual practice in the various departments and grades of service. Since this would require de-tailed and close examination of various aspects of the prob-lem of appointments, qualifica-tions and promotions, a Committee should be appointed to go into these problems. This Committee should be presided over by the Chairman of th Public Service Commission and include officers belonging to the Travancore-Cochin and allotted branches, as well as representatives of all political arties in the State.

4 Take steps to enable the economically and educa-tionally backward regions of the State to overcome their hackwardness

NEW AGE

PUNJAB FLOODS

S we go to press, re-ports from Punjab say Rohtak looks a doomed town--half of it water-water-water while officials have Rohtak looks a doomed town-half of it waterlogged, half surrou floodwaters. For days the hattle to save the town has gone on, but now there is no more talk of saving it. "We are only trying to minimise the trouble," said

an Army Officer to the Correspondent of a Delhi daily. Details are not vet in hand about the extent of devastation in Punjab but available information

who were killed when the mud walls of their house

collapsed....I heard many, many similar stories from the

The floods have taken at

least a hundred human lives

Gopalpur. A relief officer in

hadrak said there were fifty

certainly be no overestimate.

What about the living?

Many of them now think it would have been better to be carried away by the flood

waters than to exist in their

There were over seven-thousand people of the area on top of the hills of Katoni,

Baula, Amanta, Balrampur and Madhupur. It was almost

impossible to go there, and the attempt had to be given

up twice or thrice before I could make it and reach some of these people marcon-ed on the hills.

-they had taken shelter on

August 16th and the first lot

of Government relief reached them on the 25th.

By a rough estimate there

thousand such people living on hillocks and tree-tops of

the one lakh or so who had

riginally taken shelter from

Even on the 26th, hundreds

of villages had not been con-tacted. There were not even enough boats to save the lives of the people and to re-move them to safe spots. The

Press had made caustic comments on "this reported shortage of boats capable

of navigating in turbulent

For full six days, the Gov-

ernment did almost nothing. The excuse was there was no

rail or telegraphic communi-

On the 21st, the Chief

Minister called a meeting of high officials of the State to chalk out plans for re-

lief work. But what has

been done so far in the

still fifteen to twenty

their homes.

the water.

waters."

cation

present misery.

kn

survivors.

deaths to

and Sangrur Districts, Panipat tehsil of Karnal, Hansi in Hissar and parts of Jullundur and Bhatinda Districts are the worst sufferers. The Financial Commis-

sioner admitted on August 31 that the damage was very extensive. Even the very much under-estimates of the officials show that 55 persons have lost their lives, 296 cattle have peri-shed, at least 4,000 villages, areas.

seer of rice per head in all these days since the 16th.

Many of them had no homes to go back to-but the Government was promising them army tents by Septem-ber 7-full three weeks after their homes had been washed

They told me that these hundreds of men, women and children had spent ten days and nights without any food The partisan politics and the resultant antics in relief work would have made one laugh but for the tragedy that has enveloped Orissa.

While Chief Minister Maha Neither had they any shel-er all these days when the launch distributing Govern-ains were pouring down and ment relief, his rival in the ter all these days when the rains were pouring down and animals and snakes, some of them alive, came swirling with the mad waters. Congress Bijoyananad , Pat naik, who is also a pilot, is flying over the flood areas in a plane dropping relief pac-

Their villages are still under water, and even when kets to the people. Mahatab came back to Cuttack and said 90 per cent the water recedes they will have nowhere to go—the floods have left not a trace of of the air-dropped relief had fallen into the water, while Patnaik claimed that 90 per cent had reached the people.

> While the President of the Pradesh Congress Com-mittee has appealed for funds on behalf of the nonofficial relief committee formed at the instance of the Chief Minister but eluding Communists, Bija-yanand Patnaik has got another committee formed, the Utkal Congress Relief Committee, which has also called for funds to be sent

And all this when the damage done by the floods is the worst in over a hundred

years in Orissa. The Government itself has admitted that the total losses would be about Rs. 80 crores, unofficial sources have put it at over Rs. 100 crores. an unt much higher than what has been spent on deve-lopment work in the last two Five-Year Plans in Orlssa. A single flood has wiped away the benefits of two Plans.

way of relief is to make a mockery of people's suffer-ings. To take just one inst-Hundreds of villages have ance, while the Govern-been washed away or seri-ment itself has estimated ously damaged, lakhs of that about 20 lakh people have been affected, all that in a state of collapse, nearly

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assessed the damage at about Rs. 18 crores, un-official estimates put the losses at more than Rs. 50 crores.

Immediate demands put hefore the Governmen are: **O** Correct assessment of

crop damage and libe-ral remission of land re-venue, ablana and other taxes.

shows that along with Rohtak District, Patiala Postponement of tac-cavi till people are in a nosition to repay.

Gratuitous relief for food, house repair and rebuilding, fodder, medicines, clothes, seeds and fertilisers, for rabi sowing, purchase of cattle and imnlements.

Immediate health mea sures to prevent out-break of epidemics.

has been distributed so far is only 20,000 maunds of rice—that is two-fifths of a yield no crops. Thousands of cattle have

been swept away, millions of people have been affected.

According to Government reports there have been about 500 breaches, major and minor, in road com-munications, in 166 places canal and river embank-ments have been damaged, over a hundred miles of railway track have been affected by major or minor

It is when tragedy of such a magnitude has struck Orissa that Congress factions are playing poli-tics with relief work.

Such a callous attitude is perhaps not so surprising considering that floods are nothing new to Orissa and vet Government neither in State nor at the Centre the has taken it as a problem of priority to draw up and implement a comprehensive plan for saving Orissa from

That is why the people of the State are angry and they were angrier still when they heard that Prime Minister Nehru had said floods could not be stopped and gave the advice that in and gave the advice that in every village there should be a strong building for school or panchayat ghar in a comparatively raised part of the village where people in times of floods could remove their belong-ings and take shelter.

The Communist Party in Orissa has put forward two sets of demands—one for the immediate rehabilitation of those affected by the floods immediate rehabilitatio and the other to find a permanent solution to the prob-

CONGRESS MOBALS

C.B

A LOT of talk is heard these days of national unity and national tradi-tions. It is even assumed that the Congress, or its big-wigs, is the sole guarantee and repository of these noble ideals. But take a look at what went in Andhra over the to the Pradesh Election Committee.

The anti-Ministerial group, which was really led by Sanjeeva Reddy, formed Timita Front and came into frontal clash with the Ministerialists, led by A.S. Raju. On the one side we have the ent Congress President and on the other the ex-General Secretary of the Congress. Big-wigs and true-blue Congressmen, no doubt.

What were the methods they used in this pleasant little family rumpus? The facts below are culled from stan Times of September 3:

 "Kidnappings and ab-ductions, besides threats and pressures of all kinds, became the order of

the day. Even women were inducted into this terror mnaign " • "A revealing incident as the virtual abduc-

tion of a tribal delegate from Bhadrachalam__at Hyderabad. A woman MLA belonging to the official group swooped on a hotel at group swooped on a hotel at dead of night with a gang of about a dozen persons to force the delegate to join

Manother instance of alleged gangsterism was the interception by the official group's agents of about a dozen supporters of the Unity Front. They were taken out of the train at Warangal and driven to one the camps at Hyderabad. The enormous expenditure incurred in the running of the camps by the official group gave rise to justifiable

Lesser evils of doling out permits, mining licences, leases of forest lands and of promising Ministerships were freely indulged in.

seats in a Committee. If this is not corrupting the fibre of the nation and stroying its soul, what ? Yet Congress leaders will go on accusing others of "stabbing India."

STRANGE SOCIALISM

W E had written last week of the "research and survey" of Rajasthan by the National Council Applied Economic Research. It had recommend_ ed handing over all the lucrative mining and industrial activity in the State to the private sector.

Their recommendations were meant for the Third Plan but it seems the Con-Ministers of Rajasgress Ministers of real-than have decided to im-plement them rightaway.

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Assembly. He snapped back that his (B.K.) Nehru was sure to be there and so why send anoth -ONLOOKER

ese recurring floods.

Members and sympathisers of the Party are in the thick of the relief work collecting whatever meagre sums they can get and distributing it to the affected. But the crying need of the hour is more funds, those who have been rendered destitute in Orissa expect it from their brethern in the rest of the country.

vodaya youth movem

and thinning audier

nd thinning audience. The sum and substance All this for a few paltry. The sum and substance acts in a Committee. If of his speech was that the first step to bring into being true Swadeshi democracy was to organise volunteers to fight the Chinese. And it was no use being squeamish about non-violence, arms might also have to be used.

It may be a trifle un-kind to say so but, per-haps, J.P. wants armed youth squads not to fight the Chinese but to give him that "partyless" power which the Nazi thugs provided Hitler. All is fair for a pseudo-saint.



There was talk for some time of setting up a ferti-liser factory in the State. materials were available and a huge market was avidly waiting. An obvious choice for a

The raw

tycoons.

An obvious choice for a public sector venture. But what troubled the Ministers, especially Sukha-dia, was whether such a gold mine should be given to the Birlas or the Khataus or Santi Prasad Jain. At last the Chief Minister decided to

give a helping hand to Morarji's pet — S.P. Jain could be useful some time. Not content with this the Government has announc-ed that lignite will be supplied to S. P. Jain's fact at concessional rates also electric power. And, most probably, the State will buy a good amount of the fertilisers, thus guaran.

teeing a market. It was rather odd read-ing about all this when Nehru in Parliament was talking eloquently of the Socialism that the Congress was building in India. Of course, it was not "rigid". nor "doctrinaire" — and nor "doctrinaire" — and mighty profitable for the

PARTY-LESS J. P.

P OOR J.P. is preaching away his absurdities about partyless democracy but hardly anybody stops to listen. Upset by the chill reception the Sarvodaya boss wondered how party-less democracy can be attained without a party. He has hit upon an admir-

able compromise. He is going to build his own faction in the Sarvodaya movement and use it to capture India for his pristine utopia He has made a start in Bihar through the organisation of Shanti Senas and the Sartion of

He managed to knock together a Pradesh Sarvo. daya Youth Conference in the State. The other Sarvo dava leaders protested but to no avail. While they marched off to tell Vino-baji about J.P's faction-alism, this great man was husy haranguing a thin

Lobby circles say that Morarjibhai was annoyed when asked if Nehru was going to the U.N. General

West Bengal Reiterates Judicial Enquiry Demand

Assembly Debates Assam Situation

From J. B. MOITHA

The wounded feelings of West Bengal over the and assumption by the Cenrecent disturbances in Assam and its strong resent-ment against the Centre's inaction during the holocaust and refusal to institute a judicial enquiry now were powerfully voiced in the State Assembly on were powerfully voiced in the State Assembly on September 2 when it unanimously adopted a resolu-tion demanding, among other things, a judicial probe, deputation of a Central Minister generally to super-vise all measures to restore normalcy, speedy and proper rehabilitation of the riot refugees, etc.

I resolution was passed The crucial issue was the amidst thunderous acclama-tion, it was telegraphically States. rensmitted to the Lok Sabha and to the Prime Minister.

Although the session was convened at only two days' convened at only two days notice, it was very well attended. The visitors' galleries also were packed. The House discussed the resolu-tion for nearly two hours, but did not indulge in levity even for a moment. Every member took the issue very seriously.

The dominant mood in all sections of the House was one of strong resentment over the Prime Minister's speech on Assam in the Lok Sabha on the previous day.

The speech, therefore, came n for withering criticism rom the Opposition. But in fo from the Opposition. E there were no interruption not even a murmur of dis-approval when Opposition speakers castigated the Prime Minister for his sermon on the unity of India and his attempt to cover up the hein-ous guilt of his party and Government in Assam.

Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, who was the only speaker from the Government noved the resolution. He said that adoption of the re-solution by the Assembly was necessary for feelings in West Bengal to be understood at the Centre and in Parliament.

Nehru's Speech Inder Hire

Referring to the Prime Minister's statement that enquirles might be held at some laces, Dr. Roy said that he was not bothered about piecemeal enquiries. He was concerned about creating a sense of security. But if certain conditions continued to exist, security could not be re-established.

Leaders of all Opposition parties and two Independents, who spoke in support of the resolution, mounted a powerful offensive against the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha. They also strongly criticised the majority reof the Parliamentary port of the Parliamentary Delegation, particularly its recommendation for muzzling the Press.

Some of them pointed out that the Assam events had shaken the very foundation of India's unity and solidaor india's unity and soluca-rity, and hence strong mea-sures were called for. But the Prime Minister was trying to cover up the guilt "of those who had engineered these vents.

Almost all Opposition spea-kers emphasised that what was at stake was not merely

NEW AGE

MMEDIATELY after the the fate of Bengalis in Assam.

Speaking on behalf of the Communist Party, Jyoti Başu said that the Prime Minister's speech was as-tounding. He had tried to gloss over realities and to shield the offenders and the Centre and the Assam Government. His speech would no doubt help to cover up the guilt of the leaders of the anti-Bengali riots, but it would not restore confidence among the Bengali minorities

He agreed with Dr. Roy that piecemeal enquiries would not do. A thorough enquiry must be held to find out who were the leaders and organisers of the disturbances and to haul them up before the bar of public opinion.

He said that West Bengal had expressed its feelings and registered its protest through peaceful hartal and processions and non-celebration of August 15. While carrying on its powerful protest ment. West Bengal had remained true to its great democratic traditions and had maintained the unity of the peoples speaking different

The Mayor of Calcutta has sent a telegram to the Prime Minister on September 2, about the corporation's de-mand for a judicial enquiry into the Assam disturbances

tre of the responsibility for law and order in that State.

Earlier in the day, these demands were reiterated in a resolution which was unresolution which was un-animously passed at the Corseveral members strongly cri-ticised Nehru's statement on Assam in the Lok Sabha.

The Women's Relief Com-mittee set up by the West Bengal Committee of the Bengal Committee of the National Federation of Indian Women has submitted a me. morandum the Prime to Minister and M.P.s, detailed list of at giving detailed list of atrocities against women and children during the disturbances in and stressing that these gruesome events call for a thorough judicial enquiry into the happenings in State.

The memorandum, ex-cluding details of the atro-cities committed against women and children, was released to the Press in Calcutta on September 1. It was explained that the details had been withheld from publication since it was felt that the proper course would be to place them before a judicial encommission

A representative Youth Convention on Assam held in Calcutta on September 3, adopted a resolution, demanding immediate judicial enquiry into the disturbances Assam and punishment of the Assam and punishment of the guilty, proper rehabilitation of the refugees and security for the minorities all over the country.

By another resolution the Convention appealed to the youth of Assam to devote themselves actively to the task of restoring a sense of security in the minorities there

C. E. C. RESOLUTION FROM PAGE 3

struggle against the monopo

lists, landlords and imperial-ists. Further, only conquest of political power by the masses led by the working class and nationalisation of the basic means of production can lay the foundation for Socialism

These fundamental postulates of Marxism-Leninism retain full validity. They have to be emphasised again and again and deviations from them, whether in words or deeds, needs be combated. At the same time, it is necessary to stress that the transition to Socialism need not, in to-day's condition and in all countries, be accompanied by violence and civil war. In a number of countries, possibi-lities exist for peaceful transition to Socialism and every effort should be made by Communists to translate these possibilities into reality, while nists to translate these keeping in mind the possibility of the ruling classes forcing violence on the people.

The Communist Party of mankind in the India, in the Preamble to its peace, freedom, Constitution stated: and Socialism.

"The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and Socialism by peaceful means. It conders-that by developing a powerful mass movement, winning a majority in Parliament and backing it by mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in social and State structure."

This understanding has guided the work of the Communist Party of India and our Party restates its adherour Party restates its adher ence to this understanding. its adher-

The Communist Party of India expresses confidence that each Communist Party and the world Communist movement as a whole, guided movement as a whole, guided by the universal truths of Maryism-Leninism and applying them creatively to the living situation will get more and more unified and lead battle. for

PAGE FIFTEEN











LEFT (TOP): A village under water. ABOVE: After it has been completely washed away. LEFT: All that could be saved from the entire village.



Not for a hundred years has Orissa had such devastating floods. The Government itself has estimated the losses at Rs. 80 crores—unofficial sources put it at over a hundred crores. About a hundred persons have died, hundreds of villages have been washed away or seriously damaged, lakhs of houses have collapsed or been made unsafe, nearly 30 lakh acres of land lie submerged under water. Thousands of cattle have been swept away, fifteen to twenty thousand people are still living on hillocks and tree-tops, millions of people have been affected. No photograph can truly present this devastation in all its horror. Still we give here a few pictures of the heart-rending tragedy that struck Orissa along with the flood waters from the three rivers of the State.

LEFT: The poor woman sits with her hand on her head —everything she owned has been swept away by the raging waters.

RIGHT: This was a high-way canal. The flood waters have rushed in and washed it away.

*

BELOW: A view of the Brahmani in floods.



