

# PLAN DIFFICULTIES: WHY?

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## Direction Of Development Analysed

by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

WITHIN a month of the boastful claim made by Food Minister S. K. Patil regarding the success of his Ministry, the bubble was pricked. And that too by a cabinet colleague of Patil's.

According to a PTI message dated June 28, Planning Minister Nanda expressed the view that "the low increase in the national income in the first year of the Third Five Year Plan was mainly due to the fact that agricultural production did not come up to expectations during that year".



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● The target fixed for the year was an additional three million tons of foodgrains, while the actual output was only one million additional tons. In cotton production there was an actual decline.

A note circulated by the Planning Commission among the members of the Informal Consultative Committee of MPs stated that in view of this "decline in production of cotton and the small increase recorded under foodgrains", the "over-all performance in agriculture in 1961-62 was less than satisfactory".

Although Nandaji made particular mention of agriculture, the performance in other sectors too was "less than satisfactory". According to the above-mentioned note,

● Power shortage is being experienced in several States "notably in the Bihar-Bengal areas, U.P., Madras, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore."

● With regard to industries, substantial increases have been registered in installed capacity in several important industries such as, aluminium, industrial machinery, machine tools, electrical equipment, fertilisers, heavy chemicals and cement. There was an increase in overall industrial production too by about 8 per cent. But full utilisation of installed capacity is prevented because of lack of foreign exchange, transport bottlenecks and coal shortage; had it not been for these difficulties, "higher levels in production could have been achieved." (Emphasis added).

● Particularly serious are the lags in cement and steel. Installed capacity in cement at the end of 1961-62 stood at 9.16 million tons. Actual production, however, was only about 8.1 million tons. As for steel, the target fixed for the year was 3.5 million tons while actual production was only 3 million tons.

● In the sector of railways, "despite the steady increase in capacity, over the past year, difficulties have been experienced in the movement of coal from the Bengal, Bihar coalfields towards the northern, southern and western parts of the country. The railways have experienced difficulties in procuring rails and wagon components to the extent required.

Although the wagon building programme has been stepped up, in 1961-62 the total number of wagons produced in terms of four-wheelers was 19,100 compared to the capacity in the country of 26,000 wagons.

While mentioning these difficulties and bottlenecks in the implementation of the

Plan for the first year of the Third Five Year Plan period, the Planning Minister gave the assurance that there was no cause for alarm. He assured the members of the Consultative Committee that measures were being taken to overcome the difficulties and remove the bottlenecks.

The measures included greater co-ordination between the various sectors, improve-

ment in the methods of project administration, delegation of authority, reduction in construction costs, formation of State Planning Boards, etc.

The question, however, arises: Are such administrative measures, calculated to improve the working of the planning machinery, adequate to meet the problems which have been thrown up during the last eleven years

of planning in our country? After all, this is not the first time that difficulties have had to be faced. During the Second Five Year Plan too, serious problems arose and could not be solved except through a virtual cutting of the size of the plan to what was then called its "core".

A similar situation is now developing as a result of

which, it is widely believed, it may be necessary now to cut the size of the Third Plan.

A second question also arises. It is: Even supposing that these fears are not true, even supposing that the Third Five Year Plan will be implemented to the full, will it enable the country to overcome the lag that exists in its economy and

\* SEE OVERLEAF

## DIVERSE APPROACHES - ONE GOAL

# Broadest Ever Peace Assembly

★ By Cable From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, Wednesday.

Already the first two days of the Plenary sessions of the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace in Moscow showed that at this diverse assembly a real and free discussion of the problems connected with disarmament and the preservation of world peace is taking place.

As one British delegate put it, this Congress is not a Communist front jamboree but a great gathering of the peace forces of the world, where all shades of opinion of the world peace movement are represented. It is not a rally of like-minded people but of those who are worried about the future of the world and human civilisation, who are conscious of all the perils of the day but who have their own ideas as to how to prevent a nuclear conflagration.

### Sincere Sceptics

There were some sceptics from the Western countries — sincere sceptics — who although prepared to do everything for peace feared that a Congress being held in Moscow will necessarily be a Congress which would express the ideas and views of Moscow. Some of these people despite their suspicion decided to come to Moscow to see for themselves, whether all the promises and assurances given them were to be really kept and whether there would be real free speech and publicity available for those who differ from the "Moscow line".

Now these people are really satisfied that they came and they are sorry for those who did not, because by doing so the non-cooperators only lost a wonderful chance of propagating their ideas at such a wide forum, and acquainting themselves with the views of others

just as sincere in their desire for seeking ways and means for the preservation of peace.

### Dialogue, Not Monologue

Putting it in a nutshell, one can say that what happened in the Congress was not a monologue but a dialogue with several sides taking part, not one-sided expression of one point of view but an expression of ideas giving a comprehensive picture of working of the minds of the most diverse people living and struggling for peace in their own manner in widely differing conditions.

There have been speeches criticising certain steps taken by the Soviet Government, particularly the resumption of nuclear tests last year and there has been very sharp criticism of the United States and Western imperialist policies in general. One can say that the right, the left and the centre and all the in-betweens of the world peace movement are reflected here. This is not only revealed in the speeches made but even in the applause which is quite a good indicator of the character of the gathering. At different points different parts of the hall applaud and one speaker gets support for certain remarks from one side and for other remarks from another section of delegates. There are differing views among the delegations too, not everybody applauds the same thing.

Of course, there are things on which everybody agrees and then the applause becomes

all unanimous. And it is this search for the area of agreement which is the main purpose of this great assembly.

The recorded speech of Bertrand Russell which was heard in pindrop silence by the whole hall urged that the scheme of disarmament produced by the neutrals be accepted to overcome suspicions of the two camps and all inspection be placed in the hands of neutrals. He further declared "I should like every negotiator in the West to declare: 'I am firmly convinced that nuclear war would be worse than the world-wide victory of Communism.' And similarly the East must say that they would prefer capitalism in the world rather than nuclear war. He called for a world authority and said that disarmament agreement would be ineffective until every important power became a party to it, including China.

And the problem of Berlin and Germany, he thought could be solved only in the context of general and complete disarmament.

He suggested a "balancing committee" consisting of equal numbers of East, West and neutrals which could put forward compromise solutions of disputes.

### Professor From Chicago

Dale Pontius, a professor from Chicago, who could be classified as representing the Right wing of the peace movement in the United States was fully conscious of the danger which a spiralling arms race of nations posed for the world. He protested against the U.S. test in outer space and said it was difficult for him to speak because of that.

Most of the U.S. delegation, he said were of the opinion that the U.S. was wrong in perpetrating the U-2 flight over the Soviet Union. And the U.S. violated the peace of the world by sponsoring the invasion of Cuba. He condemned the aiding of the slaughter

in South Vietnam and the support to a fascist type of regime there. Pontius spoke in favour of granting the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the U.N.

Pontius said that in the opinion of the majority of U.S. delegation the Soviet Government too had made mistakes when it broke the moratorium on nuclear tests as he put it.

And he said that the People's Government of China was wrong in creating the border incidents with India. Here, there were shouts in the hall but it was not clear from which side. The American speaker asked that the Congress should not put all the blame on one side and attribute all the purity and nobility of motive to the other. He also urged an end to the vilification

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\* SEE EARLIER DISPATCH \*  
\* ON PAGE FIFTEEN \*  
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of the Socialist countries using such epithets as 'iron curtain countries', 'slave nations', etc.

I have given these views in some detail, not because one agrees with them but because they do represent the genuine opinions of lots of people in the West who are prepared to work for peace. They are the border line of the world peace movement and it is beyond this border that the peace movement has to grow in the capitalist world.

The speech of Mao Tun, the Chinese representative at the end of the first day's proceedings although worded in harsh language and highly critical of U.S. administration was a reasonable account. "General disarmament is not an easy task but if all countries and peoples pool their efforts the imperialists can be made to agree to disarm. The forces of the peoples are greater than the forces of reaction and they continue to grow. Peace will

\* ON PAGE 13



# Plan Perspectives And Country's Growth

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

take its place among the developed countries of the world?

Our experience of the implementation of the Plan update is not very encouraging. The figures collected and brought together in the U.N. World Survey for the year 1961 reveal a situation which should cause utmost concern. For, they show that among the 31 under-developed countries referred to in the report, India occupies the 26th place in the matter of annual rate of growth in manufacturing production.

As for gross domestic product (this includes not only manufacturing production but all sectors of production and services), there are only three countries which lag behind India. (See the accompanying table).

## Complacency And Wrong Theory

The facts disclosed in the Survey are so distressing that they have been widely commented upon in our newspapers. A question was put on this to Planning Minister Nanda. The answer he gave is an example of the complacency prevalent among the planning authorities. He said that India is lagging behind other countries in rate of growth because she was initially more advanced than the rest; their rate of growth, therefore, was initially higher.

This is the well-known theory according to which, the more advanced a country, the slower will be its rate of growth. It is not necessary for us to go into a discussion of this question from the theoretical angle. It is enough for us to point out that the accompanying table completely refutes this theory.

Take, for example, Brazil. In 1950-51, 20 per cent of her gross domestic product consisted of manufacturing production. Her annual rate of growth in manufacturing production between 1950-51 and 1958-59 was 11 per cent; for the same period, her annual rate of growth in gross domestic product was 6 per cent.

India, on the other hand, had only 17 per cent of her gross domestic product as traceable to manufacturing production in 1950-51. We were thus 3% behind Brazil at the beginning of the process. But our annual rate of growth both for gross domestic product, as well as for manufacturing production, was 3%.

Or take Israel. 24 per cent of her gross domestic product in 1950-51 was accounted for by manufacturing production. She was thus 7 per cent ahead of us in this respect at the beginning of the period. But her annual rate of growth for the gross domestic product was 9 per cent and for manufacturing production 6 per cent.

Take a few other countries: Greece with 19 per cent of her domestic product contributed by manufacturing production, Mexico with 21

per cent, South Africa with 22 per cent, and Portugal with 34 per cent. All of them had higher annual rates of growth both in gross domestic product as well as in manufacturing production.

## Examples Of Other Countries

On the other hand there are two countries which had an initial lead over us in the proportion of the gross domestic product which could be traced to manufacturing production—Ireland with 27 per cent and Argentina with 23 per cent. But both have lower annual rates of growth than ours, both with regard to gross domestic product as well as manufacturing production.

At the same time, two countries—Cyprus and Indonesia—had an initially lower proportion of the gross domestic product contributed by manufacturing production than ours, but higher annual rates of growth in the gross domestic product, though lower rates of growth in manufacturing production.

This comparison of the actual figures supplied in the UN Economic Survey should be sufficient to prove how baseless is the claim made by Nandaji that we are lagging behind 25 other underdeveloped countries in rates of growth because we had begun with a substantial lead over them.

It is, therefore not only a question of lags having developed between targets and fulfilment in the first year of the Third Plan. Nor it is a question of similar lags having taken place in the previous 10 years as well. The question is far more important, far more vital, than either.

## Direction Of Economic Growth

That question is: Can we accept the claim made by the planning authorities that the main direction in which our economy is developing is correct, that it would take the country forward from a state of backwardness to the position of an advanced industrial economy?

Our Party has taken a clear stand on this question. It stated in the Political Resolution adopted at the Vijayawada Party Congress:

"While noting the advance in our national economy through planning, it should at the same time be borne in mind that the two plans which have been carried out and the Third Plan as formulated now are fundamentally defective.

"Apart from the defects inherent in all plans for capitalist development (due to the conflict between planning and the spontaneous laws of capitalism), the other shortcomings of the plans consist in the refusal to adequately mobilise the resources in possession of the rich propertied classes, to ban the wasteful and luxurious expenditure by

them and, above all, to bring about such institutional changes as nationalisation of the most important foreign concerns, of banking and such other sectors of economy as are necessary, as well as land reform in the interests of the peasantry.

"These defects are responsible for the inability to mobilise adequate internal resources, while the policy of throwing the main burdens on the poor millions and conferring the main benefits on the rich propertied classes has failed to rouse labour-enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the plans.

## Problems Due To Wrong Policies

"Because of these wrong and defective policies, extremely serious problems have arisen in relation to foreign exchange that is required for the import of capital goods, the maintenance of a stable price level, etc. Everyone of these problems has, at some time or other, led to a crisis in the implementation of the plans. All the eminent economists of the country have noted that the solutions that have so far been offered by the planning authorities have not led to the solution of the basic problems of planning.

"It is true that, in spite of the failure to offer solutions to the basic problems of planning, advance has been registered in several respects, particularly in respect of India's industrialisation. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that progress even in that field is far less than what is possible and necessary. In several spheres, for example coal, the estimated targets, themselves moderate, have not been reached. The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting."

It is significant that what were called in the above resolution as "extremely serious problems"—those of foreign exchange, internal resources and price level—have once again become matters of serious concern to the planning authorities.

## Platitudes Of Social Discipline

With regard to foreign exchange, the position is so serious that our Finance Minister has had to go from country to country pleading our case with them. In the statement which he made in Parliament a few days before the Planning Commission's appraisal of the working of the first year of the Third Five Year Plan, Morarji Desai stated that "the social discipline and the solidarity that we need today would be needed in an increasing measure in the years to come if we have to carry forward our plans and development in a steady and confident manner".

With regard to internal resources too, the situation is

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION AND OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT 1950-51 to 1958-59.

Country	Annual rate of growth (Percentage)	Manufacturing production as percentage of gross domestic product.	1950	Change from 1951 to 1958-59
Republic of Korea	19	5	7	6
China (Taiwan)	15	8	17	3
Venezuela	12	8	9	2
Brazil	11	6	20	9
Philippines	11	6	11	5
Jamaica	10	10	13	3
Pakistan	9	3	7	5
Rhodesia & Nyasaland	8	7	8	3
Congo (Leopoldville)	8	6	12	3
Greece	7	6	19	1
El Salvador	7	5	12	2
Honduras	7	3	9	3
Israel	6	9	24	-3
Algeria	6	8	12	-2
Turkey	6	6	10	..
Colombia	6	5	14	2
Peru	6	4	16	2
Thailand	6	4	12	1
Mexico	5	5	21	..
Ecuador	5	5	14	..
South Africa	5	5	22	-1
Panama	5	5	11	..
Portugal	5	4	34	3
Tunisia	4	3	10	1
Morocco	4	2	15	2
India	3	3	17	..
Chile	3	3	15	..
Cyprus	2	5	15	-3
Indonesia	2	4	9	-1
Ireland	2	1	27	2
Argentina	1	2	23	-1

developing in a way which should cause serious concern. We have shown in the columns of the New Age how the efforts of the Central and State Governments to raise resources through additional taxation are meeting with increasing opposition and resistance not only from the political parties that are in opposition but from the ranks of the ruling party itself.

This opposition and resistance is assuming such proportion that certain State Governments and even the Centre have sometimes to reconsider their initial proposals. The Government of Maharashtra, for example, had to give in on a few points and thus to partly meet the opposition to their original proposals. The Centre is also reported to be seriously concerned over the opposition to the Punjab Taxation Bill and has not so far agreed to give the President's assent to it.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the original targets regarding the proportion between developmental and non-developmental (or plan and non-plan) expenditures are not being fulfilled by most of the State Governments. The contribution from general revenues for the plan budgets is thus lagging behind the target set. The State Governments are also finding that their general finances and particularly their ways and means position are deteriorating year after year.

The position regarding internal resources is thus as serious as the position regarding foreign exchange. As for the price level, it is

creating enormous difficulties. The planning authorities and the leaders of the ruling party are themselves reported to be seriously concerned over the inability of the Central and State Governments to 'hold the price line'. The Central Congress Parliamentary Party Executive has decided to go into this question and make proposals to the Government.

It is regrettable under these circumstances that Planning Minister Nanda should try to satisfy himself and satisfy his colleagues of the Informal Consultative Committee on Planning that the lag between targets and fulfilment during the first year of the Third Five Year Plan need not cause us alarm.

## Radical Revision Necessary

The record of one year as brought out in the Planning Commission's note to the members of the Committee should not be seen in isolation. It should be seen in the context of what has happened in the preceding 19 years (as revealed in the UN World Economic Survey) as well as the serious problems of foreign exchange, internal resources and prices which all have assumed serious proportions now.

These problems cannot be tackled through certain administrative measures, as it is proposed by the Planning Commission and explained by Nandaji. It can be done only through a radical revision of the fundamental policies pursued by the Government.

## Sugarcane Growers Will Be Hard Hit

# IMPACT OF NEW PRICE POLICY

\* BY YOGINDRA SHARMA

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture has announced a new price policy regarding sugarcane for the sugar season of 1962-63.

According to this policy, the present price of Rs. 1.62 per maund of cane delivered at the factory gate has been linked with an average sugar recovery of 9.80 per cent to be computed on the basis of the saccharose content obtained during 1961-62.

A discount or premium will be allowed on this price at the rate of 15 nP for every 0.1 per cent fall or rise in the average sugar recovery subject to a minimum price of Rs. 0.10 for a recovery of 9 per cent or less.

In respect of sugarcane delivered at purchasing centres connected by rail the minimum price will be 1.38 nP for the same percentage of recovery.

The introduction of this new price policy based on sugar recovery will hit the majority of cane growers adversely.

According to a calculation made by the State Governments of U.P. and Bihar, the cane growers of these two States will suffer a price-cut of 10 nP per maund, as compared to the prevailing price.

## Low Yield Of Indian Sugarcane

The percentage of sugar recovery of Indian sugarcane is one of the lowest in the world. It is 9.80 only. But in the major cane-growing States of U.P. and Bihar, it is lower than the national average of 9.80.

In both States in 1960-61, the rate of recovery was only 9.50. This year (1961-62) it is expected to be only 9.55 in U.P. and 9.20 in Bihar because the cane crop has been damaged in both these States due to floods and frost.

Thus according to the new price formula the average cane price would work out to about Rs. 1.53 nP per maund.

This price cut will adversely affect the majority of cane growers because U.P. and Bihar together grow about 70 per cent of the total sugarcane and manufacture over 60 per cent of the total sugar in our country.

Besides, cultivation of inferior quality cane in other parts of India will be similarly affected. This new price policy was announced at a time when the sugar magnates were making huge profits and the cane growers were agitating for an increase in the cane price proportionate to the increase in sugar price.

A perusal of the fluctuation in the prices of sugarcane and sugar during the last 12 years will reveal the Government's policy of favouring the sugar manufacturers at the cost of sugarcane growers and consumers.

The price of sugarcane was Rs. 1.75 nP per maund in 1950-51 with the sugar fetching Rs. 27/- per maund. Under the pressure of sugar millowners the cane price was slashed down to Rs. 1.32 nP per maund in 1952-53 while the price of sugar was allowed to rise.

For five years in succession from 1953-58 there was no control on prices, movement and distribution of sugar, leading to a continuous rise in its price. During those years the cane price was Rs. 1.44 nP.

In 1959 the price of sugar was fixed at a high rate of Rs. 36/- per maund. After years of agitation, the cane growers got an increase of 18 nP per maund bringing the cane price to Rs. 1.62 per maund in 1959-60.

For the last three years this has been the ruling price of sugarcane whereas the price of

sugar has gone up to Rs. 40-42 per maund.

Thus we find that during the last 12 years the price of sugar has gone up by about 50 per cent whereas that of sugarcane has gone down by 8 per cent.

In this situation the cane growers were perfectly justified in demanding a higher price for their cane from the millowners. Inside and outside the legislatures they and their representatives belonging to various parties were unitedly demanding and agitating for an increase in cane price.

As a result of the agitation, Vidhan Sabhas of U.P. and Bihar adopted unanimous resolutions recommending to the Union Government fixation of cane price at 1.75 nP per maund.

It is also learnt that the Chief Ministers of U.P. and Bihar had jointly opposed this new price policy when they were asked by

the Union Food and Agriculture Minister for their recommendation last month. It is reported that they had expressed their firm opinion against any reduction in cane price or its fixation on the basis of recovery.

## Cynical Disregard Of Popular Opinion

In cynical disregard of all popular opinion Food Minister Patil rushed through his new price policy bypassing even Parliament and the MPs of his own party.

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times informs that, "Food Minister Patil was to have announced the new sugarcane price policy during the budget session of Parliament. He had to postpone the announcement in view of strong feeling among a section of Congress MPs that the Government had not consulted members acquainted with this problem before taking the decision. No such formal consultations could be held later in view of the adjournment of Parliament and, as far as is known, the price schedule announced today is the same as was intended to be made last month."

It seems the pressure of the sugar magnates was too strong for Patil to let him respect

popular opinion. As a matter of fact they wanted him to proceed with the new policy by defying and bypassing it. This is revealed by the editorial comments of the Statesman which says: "A thorny political problem like rationalising the price of sugarcane in North India can be tackled in comparative safety only after a general election."

There is no doubt that safety in promulgating anti-people policy is sought in its being done in secret and at a distance from the people. This is actually what Patil has done by the way he has decided the new policy on sugarcane price.

The reaction of U.P. to this price policy has been sharp. Hindi Weekly Janyug has editorially opposed it. The Lucknow Correspondent of the Hindustan Times gives the following reaction of U.P.:

"The Union Government's decision to link the price of cane with its sugar content was received here as a big surprise..... The scheme will, for the present, affect the interests of the majority of cane growers in the State..... Irrigation facilities in these areas are poor and without them the chances of growing better quality of cane with higher sugar content are slender."

It has been argued that the policy of fixing the price of cane

on the basis of its quality rather than weight will encourage the cane growers to improve the quality of their cane. This argument is unreal because it assumes that cultivators are not interested in improving the quality of their cane.

This argument is atrocious because it proceeds on the assumption that the reduction of cane price is an incentive to improve the cane quality.

Those who are acquainted with the sugarcane growing areas of U.P. and Bihar know very well that the cultivators get frustrated in their efforts to improve yield and quality of cane because of lack of irrigation facilities and necessary capital.

It is the lack of irrigation facilities, of fertilisers, working capital, guaranteed timely purchase of cane and, above all, of material incentive in the form of adequate cane price which stand in the way of increasing the yield and quality of cane.

Another reason for the low recovery of sugar in U.P. and Bihar is the sugar factories themselves. These factories being old, their plants, machinery and technique are outmoded and that leads to a higher cost of production and lower recovery of sugar. These factories stand in crying need of renovation and modernisation. Unless this is done, no improvement in cane quality will result in any appreciable increase in sugar recovery.

It is for the millowners to do it out of their huge profits that they have amassed during last several decades. If the renovation and

\* SEE PAGE 13

## ECONOMIC NOTES

By ESSEN

# Desai's Mission To West

The Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, is on his annual odyssey to the West, and as in previous years, this time too he is facing heavy weather. In fact, with the US and the Aid India Consortium deciding to withhold their expected contributions, and the UK ready to take the plunge into an "integrated" Europe, his present trip is probably the trickiest he has ever undertaken.

THE press is, no doubt, giving him a big hand, to prove his deftness and negotiating skill, but it too has not been able to hide its marked disappointment at the meagre results which he has achieved so far.

Thus, the Minister's talks with the ECM authorities in Brussels were credited with understanding on a "broad philosophical plane" but the practical implementation of this "understanding" was admitted to be yet a far cry. Similarly, his confabulations with the officials of the European Economic Commission and the Belgian Government were described by the Times of India (July 8) as "comforting", but this "optimism", the newspaper said, was not "supported by outside evidence".

As we write these lines the Minister is yet on tour, but as the portents are, his experience does not bid to be different in centres he is yet to visit.

And yet, the things being what they are, could the Morarji mission fare otherwise? The ECM was not conceived as a joke, as a fitful experiment to embarrass the authorities of the Isle of Britain. It was a part of a well calculated plan of the monopolists, who rule the roost in Western Europe, to mitigate their market problems, and strengthen their

position in relation to the socialist world and the underdeveloped and developing nations.

The successes of the socialist world, specially of the USSR, and the big lag between its rate of growth and that of even the mightiest capitalist state, unnerved the rulers of these Western countries. They had to stem this process, or else they knew their doom was near. Singly they could do little, but collectively, with the US too throwing its lot with them, they could perhaps yet present a formidable front. They could at least overawe the underdeveloped and the developing nations, which had begun to show signs of exercising their newly-won independence.

Countries like India had entered into fruitful economic agreements with the USSR and other socialist countries, and had to some extent curtailed their dependence on the Western capitalist market. They had to be disciplined, and made to realise the futility of their indiscretion in looking to a market, which could not free them altogether from the need to sell their wares in, and buy goods from the West.

The US, which had earlier chosen to be only a back-stage conductor of these designs, perfected and initiated by

West Germany and France, also chose ultimately to come out openly as a champion of this new consolidation of monopolists. Its President, Kennedy, now prides himself in expounding the doctrine of "interdependence" of his country and Europe, as a substitute for the "Declaration of Independence" which his forbears had made from the domination of a power in the very same continent.

What has been the result of this growing "integration" in Western Europe?

With a lowering of tariffs trade among its members has increased. According to the Times of India (July 7), the figures of this trade shot up from 6.8 billion dollars in 1958 to 14 billion dollars in 1961, but the beneficiaries of this increased trade have not been the people, or even the small and middle businessmen. They have been the monopolists.

## Prosperity And Crisis

From 1957 to 1960, 50 of the biggest joint stock companies of West Germany increased their net profits 2.2 times. The value of the total shares of big French companies increased by 60.6 per cent from 1953 to 1961. In Italy the "Fiat" automobile company increased its profits from 19,700 million lire in 1959 to 26,400 million lire in 1961.

And yet, the prosperity of these "giants" resulted in the closure of twenty per cent of small textile enterprises, and thirty per cent of electric companies in France alone. In the capitalist world it is the

big sharks which eat up the smaller ones, and this law works as much in an integrated Western Europe as it did in a divided one. In fact, it works with greater fury, for, now no national barriers stand to prevent small national industries from being swallowed up by big international combines.

The UK chose to stand aloof from the ECM because it aspired to lead another grouping of the "Outer Seven"—the Free Trade Association—as a counterblast to it. However, it soon realised that discretion is the better part of valour, for, with a developing ECM threatening to cut it off the continental trade, it stood to lose heavily by standing apart.

Its obligations to the Commonwealth, which had stood in good stead in the past, no doubt, barred its way, but on balance, the advantages flowing from this time-worn association were too meagre in comparison with those flowing from joining the ECM.

Moreover, when other monopolists were joining their efforts to stem the rot in their system, and prop it up to meet the socialist challenge, how could the British monopolists afford not to join their bandwagon, and give a hand in saving a common race?

Impelled by these considerations Britain has begun negotiations with the "Six" to join the Common Market, and this has sent Morarji Desai running all the way to London and other West European capitals. India has so long been enjoying quota and duty-free entry of most of her goods into the UK market, and preferential treatment for others. With Britain joining the ECM these concessions will be stopped.

In fact, in place of duty-

\* SEE PAGE 14



## CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

### Editorial

ON THE VERY DAY ON which in Moscow was inaugurated the most representative gathering of people devoted to the cause of peace and disarmament, the United States carried out the biggest and most dangerous test explosion in the high altitude, the first in outer space.

Lovers of peace and opponents of armaments and war, gathered in Moscow, will, in the course of the next few days, be considering how to end the stalemate that has taken place in the test ban treaty negotiations at Geneva. Delegates belonging to different schools of thought will be offering their respective suggestions on how the stalemate can be broken. Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov for his part has assured the delegates that he and his colleagues "are willing to see and find mutually acceptable formulas and compromises wherever necessary".

It is in such a context that the United States has decided to foul the atmosphere by conducting test explosions in the high altitude. It has been condemned by no less a person than UN Secretary General, U Thant.

The extent of damage that would follow the present high altitude blast has not yet become known. Scientists are themselves not yet clear on this. Nevertheless, they are sure it is bound to be most serious.

The United States and her allies are seeking to justify this step on the ground that the Soviet Union has not thought it fit to accept inspection and control over the implementation of the nuclear test ban, and that U. S. tests have therefore to be conducted in the interests of national security.

They themselves know that this is far from true. The Soviet leaders have declared, time and again, that they are prepared to accept any system of inspection and control, provided that system is meant to inspect and control the implementation of complete and general disarmament. Prime Minister Khrushchov has once again repeated this in his speech to the Moscow Congress, where he says: "The only thing we are not willing to do is to renounce general and complete disarmament, to emasculate our draft treaty, to strip it of all real disarmament measures".

The question, therefore, is whether the system of inspection and control is part of the whole scheme of bringing about complete and general disarmament, or whether the system is to be utilised by certain powers to get information (otherwise unavailable) regarding the quantity, nature and effectiveness of the weapons and armaments possessed by other powers.

There are two ways open before the United States and her friends if they are really serious about the signing of a test ban treaty and about disarmament: They may straightforwardly sign the test ban treaty on the basis of a system of national inspection and control, as has been agreed to by the Soviet Union. Or they may accept the proposal made by the Soviet Union regarding complete and general disarmament, and then ask the Soviet Union to agree to a system of international inspection and control.

That the former is adequate from a technical point of view to detect test explosions has been acknowledged by eminent scientists throughout the world. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in accepting it. On the other hand, even the system of international inspection and control can be brought about if only they are prepared to join the Soviet Union in working towards complete and general disarmament.

It is just because they are not prepared for either that the test ban talks have reached a stalemate.

The high altitude test conducted by the United States on July 9 shows that a far bigger mobilisation of the lovers of peace is called for if the United States and her allies are to be made to retreat on this question. The Moscow Congress is a good augury in this connection because it brings together a far wider, a far more representative, body of persons from all over the world. We wish and hope that the deliberations of its plenary sessions and commission sittings will lead to fruitful exchanges of views among people who hold different points of view and who come from all parts of the world. We hope that the exchanges among the delegates will help the Congress to arrive at useful, workmanlike solutions for the problems facing humanity.

## NOTES OF THE WEEK

### HALT THIS DANGEROUS DRIFT

THE latest exchange of notes between India and China should cause serious concern to all those who are anxious that the questions in dispute between the two countries should be settled peacefully.

The stand taken by the Government of China with regard to their negotiations with Pakistan for the demarcation of boundary in the Pak-occupied part of Kashmir has naturally created suspicion in the public mind in India. That however is not all. The military position too appears to be deteriorating.

On July 8, the Government of China sent a protest to India, alleging that "fresh serious intrusion by the Indian troops in the Sinkiang region of China" had taken place. On the same day, the People's Daily of Peking editorially wrote on the movement of India troops and warned that, unless the Indian authorities 'rein in' their border guards, the Chinese would have to use their 'right of self-defence'. It said that the responsibility for any such development would be solely and fully India's.

The Chinese note and the People's Daily editorial were taken in our press to mean that India had strengthened herself militarily. The Hong Kong correspondent of the Times of India wrote to that paper: "Outmanoeuvred and cornered in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, the Chinese are openly worried as to how their troops in the Galwan river valley in Ladakh can possibly escape capture by Indian border guards. The Indian army's outflanking manoeuvre has cut off the only escape route of the Chinese."

The Tokyo correspondent of the Hindu too wrote: "Yesterday's note suggests that the Indian forces were successful in forcing a Chinese patrol post to withdraw from its position from the Galwan valley area."

A day later, however, the position was different. A PTI message from New Delhi on July 10 said, "An Indian post in Ladakh has been encircled by Chinese troops. The Government of India has launched an emphatic protest with the Government of China against the encirclement and the threat posed to the Indian post by the Chinese intruders."

In such a situation, clashes may take place any day between the border units of the two countries. That would be a development which is not desired by either. Authoritative spokesmen of both Governments have made it unmistakably clear that they stand for and are working towards a peaceful solution of the India-China dispute.

Our Prime Minister has vigorously opposed those elements in our public life who would like the Government to abandon the policy of talking with China. Although not prepared to have any negotiations at present, he thinks that, some time in the future, negotiations will have to take place between the two countries. He also gave expression to his feeling a few weeks ago

that the Chinese also may be thinking along these lines.

The Government of China, in its turn, asked in its note dated May 31: "Would it not be better to make some earnest efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian

By  
**E.M.S. Namboodiripad**

boundary question, rather than wasting our strength in such fruitless quarrel?"

It will be a calamity if, instead of giving practical shape to this desire for peaceful settlement expressed on both sides, feelings are further embittered by open clashes between the border guards of the two countries.

### SHASTRI FORMULA FOR KERALA

UNION Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, who had gone to Kerala to help his colleagues in that State to solve their problems, told newsmen in Trivandrum that he was returning to Delhi 90% happy.

He has made a series of suggestions, administrative and political, in order to see that the coalition government continues in Kerala "in a manner consistent with good government of the State".

How far these suggestions would be acceptable to the two partners of the coalition will be known only in the next few days. They are of such a type that it is difficult to believe that Chief Minister Thanu Pillai would willingly accept them. For, they include, among other things,

(a) that the Chief Minister should give up two portfolios which he would certainly be unwilling to part with—Education and Planning;

(b) that his Cabinet colleague of the PSP will have to give up the PWD;

(c) that a probe will have to be made into the allegations of corruption which, if it means anything, should mean investigation into the allegations made against the PSP Ministers;

(d) that all important questions of policy and administration will from now on be decided by a Cabinet sub-committee, including three Congress Ministers.

It is also a moot question whether, even supposing the Chief Minister chooses the lesser evil—accepting these terms rather than quitting the office—his Congress colleagues will be able to get on with him for very long. After all, the relations between them have become so strained, and the Chief Minister has such a long record of being unable to work in a team, that, even if they too choose the lesser evil, it will be difficult for them to continue working with him for long.

Far more important than these is the question whether the arrangements that have been worked out by the Home Minister would convince the people of the State that the continuance of the coalition

would be "in a manner consistent with the good government of the State". After all, the Shastri formula does not deal with any of those problems which have led to the prolonged political crisis ever since the coalition came into existence.

It does not reduce the power of the Nair and Christian communal leaders who want to keep the Government under their grip and who are quarrelling among themselves as to who shall have the greater amount of power and influence over the Government.

It does not put an end to the notorious squabbles that are rampant inside the Congress Party and which have given rise to ministerial crisis after ministerial crisis during the last 15 years.

It does not give a guarantee to the people that the Ministers who are notorious for their corruption and misdeeds will be removed from their office.

### MEANING OF U.S. ADVICE

ADLAI Stevenson's advice to the under-developed countries "to depend less on outside capital and more on a re-examination of their own national situation for the development of their economies" appears on the face of it sound.

But the background against which this advice is offered by the representative of the United States will not be lost on the people of the under-developed countries, particularly India. For, he was speaking to the U.N. Economic and Social Council at the very time when many under-developed countries including India are facing foreign exchange difficulties. Our own Finance Minister is abroad going from country to country and carrying on with their statesmen what are called 'delicate negotiations'. As a matter of fact, he spoke to the very UN Economic and Social Council, which was addressed by Stevenson, and explained to the members the difficulties experienced by the under-developed countries.

Parallel to the negotiations being conducted by Morarji Desai in European capitals, the American House of Representatives is discussing the question of aid to be given to India.

The Senate had earlier cut the quantum of aid proposed by President Kennedy; during the Senate discussion on the cut, India's independent foreign policy had come in for serious criticism. It had been made clear that the cut was being made as a matter of 'punishment' which India 'deserved' for refusing to toe the American line.

This decision of the United States Senate is supposed to be contrary to the 'liberal' policy being pursued by President Kennedy and his advisers. The Administration's spokesmen in the Senate pleaded for the full quantum

\* ON PAGE 13

JULY 15, 1962

## Report From W. Bengal

THE Jute mills and engineering works in and around Calcutta are faced with a serious crisis as a result of the proposed 15% cut in the electric power supplied to these industries by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation (CESC).

The proposal has not yet been enforced as it requires the approval of the West Bengal Government. A spokesman of the CESC said on July 6 that the power demand from the Company had recently grown at a terrific pace, outstripping its plant capacity.

The CESC had so far managed to meet the demand by overdrawing from the Damodar Valley Corporation up to 115 and even 120 MW against the allowable limit of 105 MW. But during the past few days, the DVC supply had been cut.

The plant of the CESC also suffered occasionally from supply of bad coal he added. In view of this position, the CESC has proposed a 15% cut and has already resorted to frequent "load-shedding" in respect of domestic consumers.

According to the Indian Jute Mills Association, if the proposed power cut is enforced, production in 100 Jute

Mills will go down considerably. As a result, exports of jute manufactures will decline by 20%.

If this situation continues for a year, the total losses in foreign exchange earnings will amount to Rs. 35 crores.

Moreover, 30,000 out of the 250,000 workers employed in the jute industry will have to be laid off on account of the curtailment of production.

A five per cent increase in the export of finished jute goods for the purpose of earning more foreign exchange has been targeted under the Third Plan. But if the power supply is reduced, there is not only no possibility of achieving this modest target; it will not be even possible to meet the great demand for Indian jute manufactures in the overseas markets, especially in the USA and Argentina.

The Indian jute industry will thus be placed at a very serious disadvantage in the competition with Pakistan, its most formidable rival in the world market.

In the internal market for the commodity, initial symptoms of speculative activities, are already evident. There are therefore, grounds for the apprehension that the prices of jute manufactures will rise, on the one hand, and those of

raw jute will slump, on the other.

The problem is so acute that the jute industry's plight in case the proposed power cut is imposed formed one of the predominant themes in the deliberations of the Board of Trade, which met in Calcutta on July 6.

The consensus in the meeting was that the country could ill-afford the great loss in production which the power cut would cause and, consequently, in the export of jute products. The Board appealing to the Union and West Bengal Governments, the DVC and the State Electricity Board to exempt the jute industry from the proposed cut and hopes that it would not be enforced.

CHOLERA, which was officially declared epidemic on June 26, has tightened its grip over Calcutta. The attacks and deaths during the week ended June 30 sharply rose to 113 and 444 respectively.

The deaths were 18, 42 and

### Madhya Pradesh

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST TAX BURDENS

\* From Our Correspondent

Bhopal, July 7:

A mass movement is in the offing in this state against the taxation proposals of the M.P. Government which are expected to yield over Rs. 5 crores to the state exchequer. The Communist Party is spearheading this struggle against the Government's taxation policy which is based on the principle of "concessions to the rich, and loot the poor".

THIS state-wide movement will be inaugurated on July 16 when the volunteers of the various units of the State party will demonstrate before the Assembly hall. This demonstration will be preceded and followed by such demonstrations and other actions at the district and tehsil headquarters.

The new taxes which were announced by the Finance Minister on the floor of the Assembly while presenting the Budget for the year 1958-63 are meant to cover the total deficit of Rs. 8 crores and 94 lakhs. The new taxes will fetch only Rs. 5 crores thus leaving a gap of Rs. 3 crores.

The new taxes which will generally affect the common man are: (1) Raising the general rate of the tax on sale of goods. The commodities to be affected are oil, vegetable oil, soap used for washing clothes, iron goods etc. This will yield Rs. 1 crore.

(2) Enhancement of stamp duty. It is expected that the yield from this source during the budget year will be Rs. 40 lakhs.

(3) Under this the Government will get more than one and half crores of rupees by rationalising land revenue.

(4) Increase of tax on passenger fare. It will yield Rs. 25 lakhs.

(5) Surcharge on goods traffic—expected to fetch Rs. 1.60 crores.

Participating in the general debate on the Budget Shakti Ali Khan questioned the very right of the Government to impose new taxes. He said the ruling party which was returned to power on 38.5 per cent of votes had no moral authority to tax the already over-taxed common man.

Talking about the increase in taxes he said that the total taxes have risen from Rs. 20.50 crores in 1957 to Rs. 33.79 crores. Out of this non-reve-

## Jute Crisis, Cholera Ravage And Paucity Of College Seats

\* From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

While the epidemic has been raging for over a month, it was only on July 5 that the State Government and the Calcutta Corporation authorities decided a joint conference to take certain measures to combat the epidemic. These include sinking of 300 deep tubewells, quick removal of garbage, spraying of fly breeding areas with insecticides, etc.

But in view of the past records of both the State Government and the Corporation, there is little likelihood of these measures being effectively implemented before the disease has died out in the natural course!

The People's Relief Committee (PRC) is launching, on its own, a mass inoculation drive all over the city. Dr. Amiya Basu, an eminent cardiologist and President of the PRC, said at a press conference on July 5 that it was necessary to enlist the cooperation of the people at all levels in order to fight the epidemic.

The Mayor should immediately convene a conference of social welfare and political organisations, medical practitioners, prominent citizens and workers of the Corporation to draw up a comprehensive anti-epidemic programme, he added.

The deaths were 18, 42 and

89 in the first, second and third weeks of the month against 126, 273 and 353 attacks.

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CONCRETE MEASURES SUGGESTED

Dr. Basu suggested a number of concrete measures for inclusion in the programme. He said that if these measures were taken, especially the cleaning of the filth in bustees and the supply of safe drinking water, it would be possible to bring cholera under control within the next three years.

to the waste of public money, he said that the Nistar Committee was the glaring example of it on which after spending Rs. 1.30 lakhs the Government could not get its report.

He also listed the misappropriation of Rs. 1.20 lakhs by Hindustan Construction Company, proposed construction of M.P. House at the cost of Rs. 1.60 lakhs at Delhi, taking the capital to Fachmarhi in the summer, budget for the repairs of the buildings yet to be completed and privy purses to the princes and allowances to the Jagirdars as examples of the waste of the money raised from the poor citizens of this state.

The main argument of Shakti Ali Khan was that if the State Government sincerely tried to tap already available resources and tried to avoid the waste of money there would not be any necessity for taxing the people who are already taxed to the neck.

The State Communist Party in a press statement announcing the decision to launch the struggle against the taxation policy of the State Government suggested the following ways and means for raising

the money: (1) Ten per cent cut in Government expenditure. (2) Complete nationalisation of the road transport. (3) Taking over of the wholesale trade in the essential commodities. (4) Government should run the mines and forests instead of giving the same to the contractors. (5) Further expansion of the industries in the public sector. (6) Outstanding royalties against various mines should be realised. (7) Strict and drastic realisation of the income tax dues. (8) Revenue dues amounting to Rs. 13 crores should be realised and (9) Payment of privy purses and allowances to ex-rulers and ex-zamindars should be stopped.

The satyagraha carried on by the Communist Party against the enhanced railway fares proved beyond doubt that the people are disgusted with the taxation policy of the Congress Government. The party is confident that the response to the call for the struggle against the State Governments' taxes will get more popular response and will definitely take the form of a very strong mass movement.

Pointing out that the most important of the long-term measure was the provision for an abundant supply of safe drinking water, he said that the failure of the Union and the State Governments in this respect was quite evident. The Corporation did not have the necessary financial resources to undertake this work.

Even after the disease had broken out in epidemic form, the State Government practically did nothing except issuing a face-saving directive to the Corporation authorities, he concluded.

THE gulf between the number of students seeking admission to degree courses and the limited seats available in colleges in Calcutta has been widening every year. The students who pass the Higher Secondary examination in Second and Third divisions have little chance of joining science courses.

The problem of admission has assumed particularly serious proportion this year. This is because while the seats available in seven big colleges in Calcutta are being reduced by 3,500 in pursuance of the directive of the University Grants Commission, the State Government's scheme to open nine new colleges in and around Calcutta is still in cold storage.

To cite a few instances, the number of seats in the pre-University science courses in one college has been reduced by 150 this year. The strength of the Commerce Section also has been brought down by an equal number.

In another college, two sec-

\* SEE CENTRE PAGE



# Flood Control Measures Need Speedy Consideration

SHILLONG

Hardly had the flood water begun receding in Cachar when the Brahmaputra and a number of its tributaries were in high spate. Already at least three districts of the Brahmaputra valley, according to reports reaching here, have been very badly affected.

Of these the district of Lakhimpur is said to be the worst hit. While the North-Lakhimpur subdivision has become cut off from the other areas, Dibrugarh subdivision is also very badly affected.

The other two districts in the grip of the flood are Kamrup and Darrang. Parts of Sibsagar district have also been inundated.

Loss of two human lives has been reported from Dibrugarh. Another 14, according to unofficial sources, have been washed away by the flood water in the district of Darrang. Of these 14, six bodies are said to have been recovered.

According to a statement made in the State Assembly by the Revenue Minister on June 29, eight persons were carried away by the strong current of the river Gabharu in Darrang district, dead bodies of four of whom had been recovered till then.

Reports in the press indicate that an area of about

500 square miles in Tezpur subdivision of Darrang is in the grip of floods. These reports assert again that 14 persons have been drowned in flood waters. Four more are reported to have died in Dhing circle of Darrang; though official confirmation of this report was not available till the time of writing.

According to another report, ten dead bodies were found floating down the Dihong river, but these could not be identified.

Official estimates put the figure at about 70 thousand people as being affected by the current calamitous floods in the Brahmaputra valley; unofficial sources however put the figure of affected people at no fewer than two lakhs.

Communication has been extensively damaged, dislocating train and bus services. Ferry service between Pandu and Amingaon had been suspended for a number of days. Though it is stated to have been resumed, night service

still remains suspended. As a result, supply of essential commodities to the South bank of the Brahmaputra has been affected.

Some people have taken advantage of this situation to raise the prices of certain essential commodities and there does not seem to be any serious attempt on the part of the authorities to restrict the activities of these avaricious traders or to ensure a steady supply of goods at a reasonable price. According to a report received here, rice has been selling at Tezpur, and certain other places at Rs. 94 a maund and even then it is scarce.

Similarly vegetables, fish and manufactured articles for which Assam has to depend on outside supply have been selling at much higher prices than that of a few days ago.

Railway service between Assam and the rest of the country along the ever uncertain slender Assam link has had to be suspended as a result of flood water touching some of the railway bridges.

Apart from sufferings it has caused passengers who were stranded, it has affected supply of essential commodities. Damage to "Ahu" paddy

and jute crop has been extensive, but no near accurate estimate is possible till now. The flood has taken a heavy toll of the cattle population, creating future problem for agriculturists of the affected areas.

In some of the areas, flood water, according to reports available here till the time of writing, has been slowly receding. Large numbers of people who have had to evacuate their homes, however, have not been able to return till now. Some of those who left their homes found shelter in some tea garden areas; others took shelter in nearby school buildings that were spared by flood; still others found shelter in houses of private persons.

Many have been still living on "machans" (high platforms made from bamboos). Quite a large number of people are still marooned. According to a Dibrugarh report, officials complain of dearth of country boats for rescuing them. Relief to the affected people is the first imperative need. Equally imperative and more urgent is the need for rescuing the marooned people who have been living precariously, surrounded by flood waters. The Revenue Minister

informed the State Assembly that instructions had been sent to all district officials to render relief even without waiting for formal sanction from Shillong. Already, according to the Minister, more than Rs. two lakhs have been spent on relief.

On receipt of the news of flood devastation in different areas, members of the State Assembly expressed their desire to go to their respective constituencies. Accordingly, the Assembly has been adjourned.

Workers of different political parties and some other non-official organisations are helping the relief operations. Meanwhile, another report from Karimganj, in Cachar, indicates that some of the rivers in that area have again been in spate, following continuous rainfall there. This report has caused further anxiety here.

Though relief is the most urgent need, one cannot ignore the question of preventing this almost annual recurrence of human suffering. It has now become obvious to all that flood control measures have proved ineffective. A thorough reconsideration of the whole question is called for.

## CPI Calls For Unity Of Left Parties

THERE has been quite a favourable reaction to the Communist Party's move for a programmatic unity among the Left parties in Assam to tackle the pressing problems facing the people of the State.

Early last month a letter was sent on behalf of the Party's State Council to the State units of the PSP, RCPI and the Socialist Party (Lohia group), suggesting a meeting for a discussion among these parties and the Communist Party to try to evolve agreed approach to the urgent problems of the State and to chalk out a programme of action.

The letter of the State Council of CPI drew the attention of these parties to the various problems and said: "Our party thinks that after the general elections, wherein the democratic Opposition has been weakened and the Congress could successfully utilise the division and disruption amongst the masses to win more seats, wherein even some of the rank communal and chauvinist elements—whether on party tickets or independently—could succeed to get the masses behind them, though temporarily, the situation is bound to develop in the way it has started developing at a faster rate".

The Revenue authorities of Satna district also could not take any step despite representations from Patwaris of three circles, namely, Kotar, Awair and Lukhanawah, due to the same reason.

On May 26, 1962, a protest meeting, organised jointly by all the opposition parties was held at Satna and in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the meeting, a black flag demonstration was staged on May 30, when the Deputy Home Minister visited Satna, demanding stoppage of this illegal loot. But till now, no result seems to be forthcoming.

The people of the State are waiting to see for how long the State as well as the Central Government will allow this Birla-cum-Singh coterie to misappropriate state property and cheat the State of its revenue.

"Only the united efforts and a joint struggle of all democratic and progressive forces of the State in the mass field can halt these offensive of the Government against the common man.

"The issue of Pakistani infiltration and various other issues, particularly as a result of the communal approach taken to many issues by the different communal elements, have created a tense communal situation in our State. It has threatened the very unity of the people and the integration of the State.

### Appeal For Common Approach

"In this critical juncture, before it develops into an angry communal carnage, the progressive forces in the State should come together and rouse the masses against all types of communal slogans, on a proper national democratic line.

"The movements in the Hill districts for a separate Hill State, talk of a new movement by the Banga-Bhasa-Bhasi Samiti and such other moves have also posed grave threats to the integration of the State and the possibility of further division of the masses has grown still more.

"We would, therefore, like to request you to ponder over these matters and make it possible to come to a joint discussion on these issues and formulate a common approach, if possible."

The RCPI has already replied to the letter, approving of the suggestion. The Socialist party has not yet replied to the letter, but it is understood that this party also welcomes the suggestion and a formal letter may be sent by them soon. The PSP, however, does not seem much eager for a common front of action with all the other Left Parties. No reply has been received from them by the Communist Party, it is learnt.

# REASONS BEHIND INDIAN EMIGRATION TO ENGLAND

★ By Harkishan Singh Surjeet

The month of June saw a great rush of Indian emigrants to England. Men, women and children thronged the corridors of air companies and offices of travel agents with the one purpose of reaching England before July 1 when the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act came into force.

MANY travel agents made lots of money, air companies had full bookings and even arranged special flights, quite a number of officials filled their pockets. Many went, but hundreds were left behind—though they had their passports, they could not get seats on the planes.

This rush began in April itself when the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act was put on the British Statute Book and it became known that it would come into force on July 1. Friends and relatives who were already in England sent letters of authority and the first rush was for application forms for Passports to England.

Application forms became suddenly scarce and their blackmarket rate reached ten

rupees. There are instances of sub-divisional officers who were to recommend the applications, collecting money in the name of variety shows, etc., without giving any proper receipts.

Travel agents were said to be getting one to three thousand rupees on each passage over and above the fare. Many illiterate peasants had to pay up to Rs. 10,000 each to get to England before July 1. Many had to sell their small plots of land or borrow money at very high rates of interest in order to seek their fortune abroad.

The Government had taken a comparatively liberal attitude in the matter of issuing passports in the last half of June. Thousands flocked to

the capital hoping against hope. And when the last plane that would take immigrants into Britain beating the ban left Delhi at 3 a.m. on June 30, many were left behind disappointed; they had not been able to secure the necessary no-objection certificates from the Reserve Bank.

The liberal policy which the Government adopted in the matter of issuing passports was negated by the restriction that was imposed in the form of the no-objection certificate from the Reserve Bank. From June 8 the prior permission of the Reserve Bank was required to book passages to go abroad even in case where no foreign exchange was involved and applications for the Reserve Bank permission had to be made one month in advance of the journey.

All bookings of passage made after June 8 were cancelled and travel agents were asked to submit lists of bookings made before June 8.

Almost all the emigrants are from the Punjab and that too mainly from the Doaba, the land that lies between the Sutlej and the Beas.

Why do they emigrate in such large numbers?

This emigration is not a new phenomenon. Everywhere in the capitalist world, whether it is the USA or Canada, Panama or Argentina, Australia or New Zealand, countries of Asia or Africa, Punjabis can be seen in large numbers. Ask them from where they are and the answer invariably will be: Jullundur or Hoshiarpur district.

### Background To Emigration

This emigration of Punjabis began in the end of the 19th century, in the days when no passports were required. They went to Hong Kong and from there to the USA and Canada. Later when restrictions were imposed on the entry of Indians into these countries they found their way through some of the Central and South American States and when restrictions were imposed there also, they began entering the U. K.

The reason for this emigration which has gone on for well-nigh a century is simple: the Punjab State was and remains even today an agricultural State and the districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur are among the most backward areas of the State. The average family holding here is below 15 acres. Even after independence the pressure on the land has been increasing with consequent increase in the debt burden and poverty.

Because of the dearth of land, land prices are very high and the peasant who is unable to make out a living from the land sells his small plot and begins the search for a new livelihood.

Sturdy and hard-working as they are, they do not hesitate to go abroad where they find jobs and make a living for themselves and their families. Reports of their good fortune reach back home and neighbours become eager to go out and try their luck. Thus the number of emigrants began

increasing, specially after 1950. By 1960, about one lakh Indians had reached the U. K., not less than 90 per cent of them being Punjabis.

Some years ago, the Government of India had imposed restrictions on the issue of passports. Uneducated persons were flatly refused passports on the plea that they created a bad impression about India abroad. It was a totally false plea, since the uneducated persons who went to the U. K. took to their new lives and the machines they had to work on like ducks to water and in most cases these peasants-turned-technicians earned more as wages than the educated ones.

### Conditions For Racket Royal

The Government of India's restrictions regarding passports did not check emigration to the least extent; all that they created was a flourishing bogus passport racket. This year the price of such a bogus passport and air passage to London went up to Rs. 10,000. Many went to Pakistan to find their way from there, some were arrested and put in Pakistan and Indian jails. They had sold all their property in making the attempt to go out and those who failed, faced ruin. Those who succeeded in getting to England approached the High Commission for renewal of their passports and were refused.

They had spent thousands to reach England, what were they to do? The only course left to them was to apply for British citizenship and get British passports on which they could freely come to India and go back.

Most of the emigrants from the Punjab have become factory workers, some are engaged in some small business. Cities like Coventry, Birmingham, Leamington, Nottingham etc. have Punjabis localities these days.

The peasants have become factory workers and this transformation has changed their entire outlook. These workers earn about Rs. 700 per month in the U. K.; on an average, they spend about Rs. 300 and every year they send about Rs. 5,000 back home to India.

It is difficult to understand why the Government imposed the passport restrictions when the Indian workers were proving their worth in England and were sending good amounts of money to India as their savings. Specially difficult does it become to understand when it is known that such restrictions did not check the emigration but only threw these people into the hands of passport racketeers, that more people went to the U. K. with bogus passports than with legal ones.

It is equally difficult to understand why when they have undergone such hardships at the hands of agents and officials and reached England, their entry was not legalised and they were forced to adopt the course of accepting British citizenship.

Finally, when passports were liberally issued to educated people in the month of June, why was it necessary to impose the Reserve Bank res-

## Systematic Loot Of State Properties In Madhya Pradesh

★ From Our Correspondent

MADHYA Pradesh, in terms of political squabbles, corruption and nepotism, wanton exploitation of people, anti-labour action and above all, in terms of misappropriation of revenue and loot of state property etc., is fast coming on top among the States.

One such example of systematic loot of State property has come to our notice recently. This concerns the House of Birlas, among others, who are looting the State properties at Satna and defrauding Government of its revenue.

According to reports available, it is learnt that laterite, a flux necessary for the manufacture of cement, used in the Satna Cement Works (Managing Agents: Birla Bros.) is mined from a quarry nearby without payment of any royalty to Government. The entire mining is illegal since the organisation responsible for mining has neither prospecting nor mining licence!

This organisation which carries on the mining is Junna Pratap Singh & Co., the proprietor of which is a close relative of Kesho Pratap Singh, Secretary of the District Congress Committee as well as of Govind Narain Singh, Deputy Home Minister, Madhya Pradesh.

Under the aegis of this powerful coterie, exploita-

tion of laterite from the Satna quarry has been going on unabated for the last three years. Even the area from which laterite is mined is not a private area—it is a state property.

Laterite is a costly mineral and with this easy and cheap supply of it Birla Bros. have been quite happy. It is estimated that during the last three years, they have purchased laterite worth of about Rs. two lakhs from Junna Pratap Singh & Co., which was used in the Satna Cement Works in the manufacture of cement. Junna Pratap Singh & Co. did not pay a copper towards royalty on this sale to the State Government although they were bound to pay 5% of the sale value as royalty.

The laterite which is mined in the quarry is supplied to the Cement works through motor trucks. M.P.A. 2546, M.P.A. 2206, M.P.A. 2612 and U.P.A. 1772 are the numbers of four trucks among this fleet. It is learnt that payment on account of purchase of laterite from this Junna Pratap Singh & Co. is made by Birla Bros. by cheques on the Satna Branch of the State Bank of India.

Some of the cheques cashed there were: OC/4530909 for Rs. 4,216.46 nP, dated February 26, 1962; OC/4530933 for Rs. 3997.42

nP dated March 6, 1962; and OC/4539080 for Rs. 4,561.44 nP dated March 29, 1962. These cheques, in order to defeat the possibility of involving Birla Bros. in this illegal transaction are made out in the name of Badri Bishal Singh, father of Junna Pratap Singh.

It is understood that this systematic cheating is going on with the full knowledge of the mining department but they are unable to take any action against the offenders because of the pull they exercise in the Government, particularly through the Deputy Home Minister.

The Revenue authorities of Satna district also could not take any step despite representations from Patwaris of three circles, namely, Kotar, Awair and Lukhanawah, due to the same reason.

On May 26, 1962, a protest meeting, organised jointly by all the opposition parties was held at Satna and in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the meeting, a black flag demonstration was staged on May 30, when the Deputy Home Minister visited Satna, demanding stoppage of this illegal loot. But till now, no result seems to be forthcoming.

The people of the State are waiting to see for how long the State as well as the Central Government will allow this Birla-cum-Singh coterie to misappropriate state property and cheat the State of its revenue.

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# Kerala Memorandum To Home Minister

S. Kumaran MLA, Acting Secretary, Kerala State Council of the Communist Party along with K. Damodaran, (Member, Central Executive Committee, CPD) M. K. Kumaran MP, K. K. Warrior MP and P. T. Punnoose submitted a memorandum to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Home Minister on July 7 and explained to him the views and suggestions of the Communist Party on the present political and economic situation in Kerala.

**F**OLLOWING is the text of the Memorandum:

On behalf of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party, we extend to you our hearty welcome to this state in a very critical situation which defies all solution at the hands of local leadership of the ruling coalition. We earnestly hope that with your guidance and advice a turn will be made for the better. In this respect, you can expect all sincere co-operation from our party both inside and outside the Legislature in the State.

The political instability, resulting from the present inter-caste quarrels and conflicts of interests between and within the parties in the coalition Government, has resulted in a virtual breakdown of administration. Not a single major problem confronting the people such as unemployment, economic development and social uplift has been tackled in these years. While many of the sister states are marching forward and registering great progress, our state alone is facing retrogression.

## Congress Responsible

We are compelled by circumstances and evidences at our hand to bring to your attention that the main responsibility for such a deplorable situation rests with the Congress and the Central Government.

When the reactionary and feudal elements started the most undemocratic and unconstitutional agitation to throw out the constitutionally established Government headed by the Communist Ministry, it was unfortunately approved and condoned by no less a person than Prime Minister.

## COLLEGE SEATS

\* FROM PAGE FIVE

tions in the pre-University classes have been abolished. The number of seats in the Arts and the Commerce sections in another college has been reduced by 250.

Another reason for the excessive pressure on these colleges is the absence of an adequate number of polytechnic institutions.

The gravity of the problem is underlined by the fact that this year even students securing 60 per cent (i.e. First Division) marks in the Higher Secondary and in pre-University examinations will have to face keen competition in the science courses, because their number is out of all proportion to the number of available seats.

It is no doubt true that many students from mofussil areas seek admission in Calcutta colleges. But they come to Calcutta because, in the first place, there is no provision for the Honours course in one or the other subject in the mofussil colleges.

Secondly, apart from the

fact that most of these colleges are understaffed, in many cases there are no professors for months on end to teach subjects like English, economics, physics, chemistry, etc. As a result, students are put to serious handicap in their final university examinations.

Lastly, many students come to the city in the hope of securing private tuitions or part-time jobs to pay for their education and also to send the surplus money, if any at all, to their homes.

When asked by a pressman to comment on the problem of admission, a prominent member of the Calcutta University Senate said: "The university does not come into the picture. It was the duty of the Government to open more colleges."

It is not yet known what the Government proposes to do to meet the situation. The question that is now uppermost in the minds of students, their guardians and the principals of colleges is: what is the future before the large numbers of students who fail to get admission?

did not go a step forward in developmental activities, rather it went backwards.

For instance the agrarian situation is worsening day by day. Instead of sincerely implementing the Agrarian Relations Act, the coalition ministry have been steadily sabotaging it and helping vested landed interests to mount their violent offensive against the peasantry.

We have come to the pass where the land ceiling provisions fixed by the Act are being sought to be amended in the interests of landowners, especially the Nair Service Society headed by Mannath Padmanabhan who has declared "War" on ceilings of holdings, on fair rent fixation, on restrictions on evictions, on inclusion of temple lands in the Act.

In this state the leadership passed from the political parties to communal and vested interests and the life of state was deplorably disrupted. In our view, this is the genesis of the present crisis.

## People Register Disapproval

Our people have realised this situation and had registered their disapproval not only in the mid-term election held in 1950 but also in the general elections held in 1952, for the Lok Sabha. In the former, instead of losing ground the Communist Party and its allies gained 4% more votes from 40 to 44 and in the latter from 44 to 49%.

At the same time one of the ruling parties, the PSP, was not able to get a single seat in Parliament, while the Congress could win only with the support of the Nair Service Society and Catholic Church hierarchy; it also, by its refusal of the offer made by the Communist Party to seek ways and means to defeat candidates of communal parties, gave an additional seat to the Muslim League.

Here we are not much concerned with the petty quarrels and bickerings among those in whose hands unfortunately the reins of government are. Our concern is that our state

## Threat To Peasants

The question of resumption of land is threatening hundred of thousands with eviction and evictions. Landowners are seeking the aid of legal loop-holes to defraud real cultivating tenants of their land. There are not sufficient number of Land Tribunals and the rate at which petitions for rent reduction are decided at present, it may take a few generations if not one or two centuries for the tillers of the soil to get the benefit of rent reduction provisions.

In this context we wish to point out that even those benefits gained by the tenantry through the Malabar Tenancy Act passed by Madras Government are sought to be nullified.

Over and above, vast landed properties belonging to the temples are being leased out to the communal organisations and influential individuals. The Nair Service Society pocketed 30,000 acres of land belonging to the Kottiyoor Devaswom in Malabar area on 99 years lease; thereby depriving of legitimate rights about 3,000 agricultural families.

While in all other states more steps are taken to gradually eliminate the middlemen from the land, here in this State we witness new middlemen being created. Thus an explosive situation has been created in the Agrarian Relations in this state.

## Industrial Backwardness

The situation in the Industrial sector is no more better. Everyone who has some knowledge of our state has expressed the imperative necessity of paying special attention to develop and modernise industries as far as Kerala is concerned.

The Communist Party, at the time of the finalisation of the Third Five-Year Plan, in its Memorandum to the Third Finance Commission and in its Memorandum to the Governor of Kerala as well as through various representations by its representatives in Parliament, has repeatedly stressed the need for a different approach to the economic development in our State, with prime emphasis on rapid growth of modern industries for which greater assistance from the Central Government is a precondition.

Now the same point has been highlighted in the technical economic survey of the State conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research as well as by the report submitted by a delegation of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation.

The survey report of NCAER has suggested that if the goal of achieving a per capita income of Rs. 410 (at 1955-56 prices) by 1970-71—i.e. a level somewhat comparable to the anticipated All India level in 1971—has to be achieved, total investment effort required during the coming decade will be about Rs. 2,000 crores—Rs. 400 crores during the Third Plan period and the balance during the Fourth Plan.

"Investment in the State sector will have to be of the order of Rs. 464 crores. . . . The ability of the State to mobilise enough resources for achieving the above rate of growth will depend very much upon the quantum of Central assistance and investment from private sources."

## Industrial Potential

The AIMO delegation also had the following comment to make:

"Kerala is suitable for starting Heavy and Large scale Industries because of abundant natural resources, cheap electricity, good transport and communication system etc. It is therefore surprising that the Government of India have not allotted enough funds for setting up heavy industries except Ship-building yard, Phyto-Chemicals and Forms Press."

If Central Government and the Planning Commission had accepted the draft proposals of Kerala's Third Plan (unanimously recommended by the State Planning Advisory Board and approved by the Legislative Assembly) which included at least Rs. 100 crores of investment by the Central Government in public sector industries in the State, there would have been some hope that a start would be made to solve the basic economic problems of the State.

But that hope has been belied.

Only the Ship-building yard, the Phyto-Chemical Plant, help for expansion of FACT and a Precision instrument factory, involving all together a capital investment of Rs. 42 crores, will be set up in Kerala, during the Third Plan, in the Central Sector. The State Plan was pruned by Rs. 300 crores to Rs. 175 crores.

## Slow Progress

Even as far as progress of ready approved Central Sector Project is concerned, it is miserably slow. Nothing except land acquisition for the Second Ship-building yard has been done till now. There is no firm guarantee yet for Foreign Exchange or Technical collaboration. At this rate there is every apprehension that the only large Central Sector project in our State may not be completed or even

seriously taken up in the Third Plan period.

The work of the Phyto-Chemical Plant is held up and has lagged very far behind the other three allied projects. In a reply to a question in the Lok Sabha the Central Government representative alleged that the delay was due to also the State Government not acting promptly to acquire land etc. The State Government had denied this allegation. But it is a fact that the work on the project is not progressing.

The work on the Precision Instrument Plant has not gone beyond deciding on the site.

Even the fulfilment of the annual financial targets of the State Plan is criminally unsatisfactory. Even after somehow manipulating to show that the bulk of the budget allotments have been spent during the last three months of the year, there is no cent per cent fulfilment. There was 100 per cent fulfilment in the financial year 1958-59! Then it came down to 91 per cent in 1959-60; there was further fall to 76.3 per cent in the final year of the Second Plan.

The fulfilment in the first year of the Third Plan is somewhere around 90 per cent according to the Chief Minister.

## Centre's Responsibilities

We realise that the economic and social development of our State is closely linked with the political stability and policies and practice of the Central and State Government. But in this connection we want to impress upon you that the responsibility for the present deplorable situation rests mainly with the Central Government. The Centre did not hesitate to advise the former Communist ministry to resign and face the electorate on the plea that it had lost the allegiance of the vast sections of people.

The mid-term elections as pointed out above belied that assertion. Now it is proved beyond doubt as evidenced in the Lok Sabha Elections, that the present ministry has not only forfeited the confidence of the majority of the people but also landed itself as well as this state in utter confusion and chaos.

We are anxiously awaiting to know what steps the Congress High Command and the Central Government propose to take to solve this "stupendous crisis".

In our opinion no hotch potch arrangements will solve the present crisis; it will be disastrous for the state and the people. Drastic and bold steps are necessary. The present Government should be advised to resign, because it has completely failed to handle the burning problems of the State and has forfeited the confidence of the people.

Whatever advice you may give to solve the present Governmental crisis, we wish to impress upon you that the Central Government itself should take immediate steps on the following lines to solve the most pressing and urgent problems of the people in the State.

1. Take prompt and immediate steps to speed up the work of the already approved Central projects so that they are completed during the Third Plan period, and instruct the State Government to give top priority to the measures to be taken by the State Government for speedy progress of these projects.
2. Set up the Fourth Oil Refinery in our State as has been demanded in the Memorandum submitted to the Union Minister for Mines and Fuel by the members of Parliament from Kerala, belonging to all political parties.
3. Direct the State Government to order a judicial enquiry into the serious corruption charges levelled against the Ministers so that peoples confidence in the integrity of the Ministers is restored.
4. Instruct the State Government to implement

the Agrarian Relations Act without any modification in favour of vested landlord interests and in accordance with the recommendations of the Planning Commission, as has been explained in a Memorandum to the Union Minister for Planning by the Communist Members of Parliament from Kerala.

5. Advise the Government to seek the assistance and cooperation of the people, especially of the opposition parties and mass organisations in effective and economical implementation of Plan schemes in a manner beneficial to the people.

6. Instruct the Government to desist from the notorious "police verification" of Government servants, selected by the Public Service Commission and/or temporarily appointed, which is not only naked political discrimination but also has become the screen for large scale corruption and nepotism.

# SCRAMBLE FOR VACANT GADDI IN WEST BENGAL

★ From Jnan Bikash Moitra

(This dispatch was written a day before the election of P. C. Sen as leader of the Congress Party in the West Bengal Assembly.)

With the death of Dr. B. C. Roy, an ugly scramble for power for the vacant gaddi of the Chief Minister was in the offing.

THE two names openly discussed in this connection were those of P. C. Sen, Minister for Agriculture, Food and Supplies and Atulya Ghose, President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

P. C. Sen had been the senior-most member in Dr. Roy's cabinet and also Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party. He used to preside over the meetings of the cabinet and of the Party in Dr. Roy's absence. As such, the Governor appointed him to discharge the functions of the Chief Minister pending the election of a new leader of the Legislature Party.

Atulya Ghose it is, however, who completely controls the Congress organisation, and it would not have been at all difficult for him to get himself elected as the new leader in place of P. C. Sen.

There were adequate reasons for believing that he was an aspirant for the post of the Chief Minister. Even during Dr. Roy's lifetime he had yearned for that position. But he had to baffle his ambition because even inside the Congress organisation he was no match for Dr. Roy's personality. Moreover, he knew that his attempts to elbow out Dr. Roy would have been strongly frowned upon by the Congress High Command.

Dr. Roy's death, however, opened up before him the opportunity he had been waiting for, particularly when it was known that Delhi would not

7. Take steps to convene a conference of all interested parties, organisations and persons to discuss concrete proposals for the industrialisation of Kerala which is the only way to raise the living standard of people to that of All India Level and to relieve unemployment to considerable extent, on the basis of the NCEAR Survey and AIMO delegations' reports and other available reports like the Master Plan for the utilisation of Kerala's water resources.

The Central Government and the Planning Commission have to guarantee prompt and adequate help to implement the Plan so prepared.

8. Take effective steps to control and reduce the prices of essential commodities which are shooting up day by day in our State so that the living standards of workers and middle class employees are not continuously depressed.

We wish you all success in your mission.

Chotanagpur Newsletter

# JOINT CAMPAIGN AGAINST TAXATION MEASURES

★ From Our Correspondent

Jamshedpur, July 6

Two leading political parties in Bihar, CPI and Jharkhand, have made a common cause on the burning problems of excessive taxation and Adibasi welfare.

THIS was made possible with the initiative of the communist leader Sunil Mukherji, whose victory in the last general election by trouncing his redoubtable opponent, the INTUC leader leader V. G. Gopal, the sitting MLA, was significant. On his aide, Gopal Das Munjal, General Secretary of the Jharkhand Party has risen equally to the occasion.

In a series of meetings at Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Dhanbad, the leaders have been running a tearing campaign against the Government in an anti-tax movement with the popular support. Munjal made no secret of his party's intention that any party fighting for the righteous cause of the common man, would have its unstinted support, and he cited CPI as such a party, which had no axe to grind vis-a-vis the affairs of the Adibasis.

Munjal described Morarji's taxation proposals as nefarious forms of favouring the capitalists in the garb of socialistic assertions. Citing another instance of dilated heart of the ruling party towards the rich, Munjal made public and scandalous manly scramble for power in the Congress organisation were being publicly discussed. In this context, his action in unceremoniously pushing out P. C. Sen would have, in his own opinion, "lowered" him in the "estimation" of the people.

Secondly, he could not afford to ignore the sentiments of large sections of the workers and supporters of the Congress. They strongly dislike the idea that a struggle for power should ensue on the morrow of Dr. Roy's death; on the contrary, they think that it is necessary to maintain cohesion and unity at the top.

It is, however, widely believed in knowledgeable circles that Atulya Ghose will make another bid for the Chief Ministership when the climate is more favourable.

## P. C. SEN ELECTED CHIEF MINISTER

Calcutta, July 9

As expected, P. C. Sen, senior-most member in Dr. B. C. Roy's Cabinet and Deputy Leader of the Congress Legislature Party in West Bengal was unanimously elected its leader at its meeting in Calcutta on Sunday afternoon (July 8).

His name was proposed by Atulya Ghose, President of the West Bengal P. C. C., and seconded by the Police Minister, K. P. Mukherjee.

The followers of Atulya Ghose were heard discussing about the "great sacrifice" made by their "magnanimous" boss! Some of them regretfully remarked that P. C. Sen's election as the leader had sealed

(July 7)

\* SEE PAGE 14



# Fundamental Changes In Life Of Nation

JULY 22, 1962, will mark the eighteenth anniversary of the establishment of People's Poland—on this day eighteen years ago the Polish National Liberation Committee proclaimed its historic Manifesto.

From the point of view of history eighteen years is a very short time, yet, these eighteen years have brought fundamental changes in the life of this nation of thirty millions.

Nationalisation of the basic industries, radical agrarian reform, free education at all levels, democratic system of administration based on complete equality of all citizens; the solution of the most difficult problems with neighbouring countries; elimination of unemployment and illiteracy, the raising of the cultural and living conditions of the masses—these are some of the main achievements of Poland during the last eighteen years.

The relatively highly industrialised Poland of today bears no semblance to the pre-war backward agricultural-industrial country it was. According to the latest general census of December 1960, more than 62 per cent of Poland's population were employed in industry and the professions as against only 40 per cent before the war. About half of the country's national income today is derived from industry.

## Industrial Production

In 1961 Poland's industrial production exceeded the pre-war level (1938) 8.5 times.

In the last ten years the rate of growth of industrial production was maintained on a steady high level. The annual average rate of growth of industrial production in Poland during 1957-1960 was 13 per cent, in 1960—11.1 per cent, in

1961—10.5 per cent and in 1962 further growth by at least 10 per cent is anticipated.

Speaking of principal industrial goods, the production of steel rose, in comparison to 1937 from 1.4 million tons to 7.2 million tons, electric power from 3.6 thousand million kwh to 32.2 thousand million kwh, coal from 66.1 million tons to 106.8 million tons, cotton fabrics, from 324.5 million meters to 710 million meters and sugar from 505.9 thousand tons to 1,508 thousand tons.

## New Lines Initiated

Any evaluation of the industrial progress achieved by Poland during the last two decades would be incomplete if no mention were to be made of the new lines of production initiated in the country. New branches of production, previously unknown in Poland have been built up, with a simultaneous technological revolution in all the branches of industry.

To mention only a few: shipbuilding, synthetic chemicals, aircraft industry, radio-technical, heavy electricals, machinery building industry, aluminium foundries, and synthetic fibre industry are among these new branches.

Looking back over the last 18 years it may be stated that Poland's Poland—despite the exceedingly difficult start caused by the tremendous war de-

struction which wiped out 38 per cent of its national wealth—has successfully solved the problem of assuring continuous and rapid economic growth. This leads to the systematic shortening of the gap between Poland and the more highly industrialized countries.

If we take as a basis the average per capita level of industrial production of such highly industrialized European countries as Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, France and Italy then while Poland stood at 20 per cent of that level before the war it has jumped to 65 per cent today.

And it will reach 80 per cent of the present level of these countries by 1965.

The growth of national wealth, the new political conditions and the great social changes have introduced deep-going transformation in all the spheres of life. Thus for example, the doors of the schools have been thrown wide open, free of charges, to the entire youth.

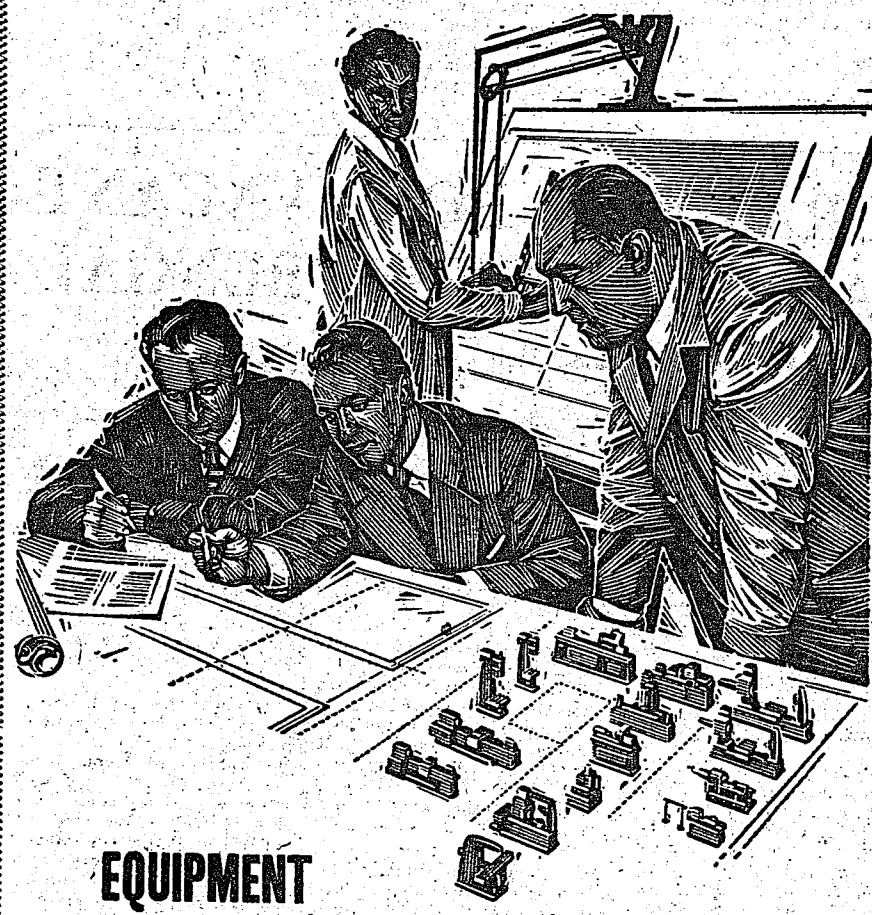
It would suffice to mention that with 35 million inhabitants in the school year of 1937-38, the number of fully employed teachers was 76,000, but in the academic year 1960-61, with 30 million inhabitants the number of teachers reached 1,67,800.

The number of books and magazines published in Poland increases each year. In 1960 the number of books and pamphlets published was 7,305 in 94,347,000 copies, while in 1947 these were 4,602 and 72,905, respectively. A wide network of libraries, theatres and cinemas help the population, even

in remote corners of the country, to raise their cultural level. Particular attention is given to social welfare. Virtually free health system, paid holidays in all the branches of national economy, a special holiday scheme which enables even the lowest paid employees to spend holidays on the seaside or mountain resorts, special privileges for expectant mothers, a wide network of nurseries and kindergartens—these are only a few examples.

The number of qualified physicians trebled as compared to 1938 when they were only 3.7 for every 10,000 persons, while today it is nearly 10 per 10,000 of the population.

Thus, the 18 years since the emergence of People's Poland have brought vast changes in its economic and social life. The whole course of its economic development thus far indicates that Poland faces the prospect of still greater progress in economic and social development in the coming years.



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## Campaign Against Increased Taxes & Fares

The Railway stations were under heavy police guard on July 1. Strong police force armed with 'lathis' had surrounded the railway stations of Kurla and Dadar on the Central railway line and of Andheri and Dadar on the Western railway line.

UNMINDFUL of this show of might on the part of the Government a large number of people belonging to all walks of life in Bombay demonstrated against the increase in the railway fares and freight charges.

Flying high the flags of Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Congress (MRTUC), the Communist Party of India and other trade unions and displaying placards, demonstrations were held separately at the four railway stations throughout the day.

Shouting slogans against the "callous increase in railway fares" the demonstrators demanded immediate withdrawal of the additional surcharge in the fares.

The demonstrations, organised by the Action Committee set up by the Anti-Tax and Anti-Price Increase Conference, were in sharp contrast to the similar "demonstrations" of the Swatantra Party here. A handful of office-bearers of the Swatantra Party including Piloos Mody, Dandewate who rarely travel by trains held "demonstrations outside Victoria Terminus and Churehgate Railway station"; their posh cars parked nearby. They hardly attracted the common man's notice.

## One Of The Series

The mass demonstrations organised by the Action Committee, on the other hand, were one of the series of "agitations" decided upon by the multi-party Anti-tax Increase and Anti-Price Increase Conference held here in the second week of June.

The Conference inaugurated by the leader of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti group in the State Assembly, was attended by a large number of trade unions, women organisations, youth and students. All the constituents of the Samiti including the CPI participated in the conference which was called to draw the attention of the people to the unbearable taxation measures by the State and Central Governments, while the prices of essential commodities were rising continuously.

The Conference adopted a resolution condemning the taxation policy of the Government, both Central and State. It also condemned their inability to hold the price-line.

An Action Committee consisting of S.S. Mirajkar, R. D. Bhandare, S.K. Dhulap, K. K. Desai, Smt. Ahilya Rangnekar, Karahade, B.S. Dhume and others was formed to carry forward the agitation for better life for the people.

The number of qualified physicians trebled as compared to 1938 when they were only 3.7 for every 10,000 persons, while today it is nearly 10 per 10,000 of the population.

Thus, the 18 years since the emergence of People's Poland have brought vast changes in its economic and social life. The whole course of its economic development thus far indicates that Poland faces the prospect of still greater progress in economic and social development in the coming years.

## People's Response

Convener of the Action Committee, B. S. Dhume, who is also the General Secretary of the MRTUC expressed satisfaction at the people's response to the Committee's call as seen in the last mass rally and other demonstrations.

To Dhume the mass participation in the "morcha" taken out to the State Assembly on June 20 was "a pointer" in this regard.

Nearly five thousand workers, students, women, and others took part in the morcha. Though it was stopped from going near the Council Hall, a deputation led by S. K. Dhulap represented the people's grievances to the Chief Minister.

"The deputation impressed upon the Chief Minister Chavan and State Finance Minister Barve, their total opposition to the latest tax measures by the Government", Dhume said.

## First Victory

During their one hour long discussions with the Ministers, the deputations expressed their strong disapproval of "the new imposts under the Sales Tax on such items as on gur, bidis, the increase in petrol duties and the imposition of Education cess".

"As a result of the mass rally", Dhume stated, "the State Finance Minister later withdrew taxes on fur and bidis to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs."

"It was our first victory—partial though" Dhume added. Outlining further action decided upon by the Committee, Dhume referred to the meet-

## Mass Movement Compels Maharashtra Government Withdraw Tax By Rs. 75 Lakhs

★ From Our Correspondent

ing of Action Committee held on June 27.

"There we took the decision to continue the agitation not merely to seek relief from this or that tax, which is only one of our objectives".

"The main objective", Dhume added, "of the agitation is to seek reversal of the policies of the Government leading to increased tax burden on the people on the one hand and the continued raising of the cost of living, on the other".

"Very good", was his remark when asked about the mass demonstrations held at the railway stations here on July 1.

"The movement is to be developed further leading to squatting on the railway lines", Dhume declared.

"Was there any special problem included in the agitation?", he was asked.

"The fee-increase in the colleges and schools," Dhume replied, "was one of the issues being taken up."

In this connection, Dhume

who also heads the opposition group in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, referred to the resolution protesting against the anti-people Government policies moved recently in the Corporation.

Though the Congress opposed it, the resolution received unqualified support from all sections of the opposition, he said.

Asked about the reaction of the other opposition parties like the PSP and the SP in Bombay to the agitation, Dhume said every effort was being made "to coordinate the activities of the various forces in the city for the common aim".

Approaches were being made to various trade unions belonging to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, he added.

Dhume was optimistic about "the possibilities of a one-day token General strike on this issue of general tax and price increase in Maharashtra".

Among the other steps being taken, Dhume disclosed, was the printing of a pamphlet in various languages "showing the impact of tax-measures on the city, particularly of the Education cess."

Was there any difference between the agitation now being carried on vigorously by the Action Committee of the Anti-Tax Increase and Anti-Price Increase Conference and the "agitation" by the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh?

Dhume explained that there was considerable difference between the two agitations.

"We consider the Swatantra Party and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh essentially parties of right reaction. Their criticism of the policies of the Congress Government is most opportunistic."

"The platform of Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh is more reactionary than that of the Government itself. We can't have any truck with them", he concluded.

## RECONSIDER TAX PROPOSALS

—Urges Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Sabha

The Working Committee of the Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Sabha at a recent meeting adopted the following resolution on temporary taxation measures brought forward by the State Government.

The Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Sabha has always welcomed whatever good measures the Congress Government has ever undertaken for the welfare of Harijans and other backward classes. It has however pointed out their inadequacy and urged more effective steps for the purpose.

At the same time, the Sabha has opposed all Government measures which hit the interests of these down-trodden people such as eviction of tenants, auction of evacuee lands under their occupation, the Compulsory Service Act and such taxes, direct and indirect which impinge on their livelihood.

It further urged for grant of free house-sites, grants for house construction, implementation of minimum wages, relief in indebtedness and allocation of at least Rs. 5 crores for welfare schemes in the state sector.

The above suggestions made by the Sabha, however, have not been fully accepted. Only Rs. 2.22 crores have been allocated for welfare schemes in the state sector for the entire Third Plan and of this amount only Rs. 39 lacs are being spent this year.

The working committee demands that allocation for welfare schemes be considerably raised.

While putting forth the demand for increased allocation, the Working Committee does not approve of the manner in which the State Government has increased some taxes allegedly in the name of Harijan Welfare. These taxes hit

Harijan and non-Harijan labouring classes alike. The mass organisations like all trade unions and the Kisan Sabhas have expressed resentment against these tax proposals.

The Working Committee considers Harijan welfare to be a national task of utmost importance. All parties should join in a common endeavour in discharge of this noble task. It is utterly wrong to make it a plaything of party politics. Such an effort will mar the united national effort for Harijan welfare.

The Committee appeals to all political parties not to draw the sacred work of Harijan welfare into the controversial arena of party politics.

The Working Committee therefore urges the State Government to allocate increased funds for welfare of Harijan and other backward classes out of the common pool of development funds.

In the alternative, it urges the Government to recast the task proposals in such a manner that the poor labouring classes are not hit.

The Working Committee urges the State Government to call a conference of all political parties and others interested in Harijan welfare to devise effective steps for a joint national effort in the matter and to consider measures to find resources for the purpose. The current controversy over tax measures for Harijan welfare should be brought to an end as soon as possible, or else the cause of Harijan welfare will suffer irreparable damage.



Picture shows two scenes of picketing at Ernakulam Railway Station on July 1.



# Travelling Standing Still

★ By Oakley C. Johnson

Travel is broadening in the Soviet Union, even if you spend your time in a sanatorium or a hospital. I stayed a few weeks with my wife at the sanatorium at Pushkino, and we just settled down to rest and vegetate. I for one needed rest, and I expected nothing else.

NOT that it wasn't pleasant. We had a lovely room on the third floor, with a private bath, clothes closets, and a balcony on which we could sit and sun ourselves. The approach to the place was beautiful, with a fountain in the grand manner, and thousands and thousands of flowers all around—roses, peonies, violets, irises, and whatnot—and in the rear entrancing walks around a lake and through the forest of pines and birches.

AND three square meals a day with oranges and apples, vegetables (including fresh garlic if you wished), and honey and several kinds of mineral water. Our beds were made for us, our room was cleaned daily. Yes, we could manage to get along, if we had to, without anything exciting.

## Patients From All Over World

But there are people at these sanatoriums and what people! I don't mean the nine doctors and the twenty-three nurses and the dozens of kind and obliging workers in every department, though I should write about them too. I mean the 210 patients from all over the world who find rest and treatment here in the course of a single month. And each one can tell a story!

Let me give a few thumbnail sketches (just a few):  
The first day I met Paul De

Groot, Communist Party leader of Holland, an extraordinary man. He was here for treatment of a disturbing eye condition, but daily he read not only his own press but Humanite from Paris the Daily Worker from London, newspapers from Berlin, and Pravda and Izvestia from Moscow. He read and spoke these languages.

## Communist Leader From Holland

He told me about the German occupation of Holland, and how the Dutch workers, led by the Dutch Communist Party, went on strike against the Hitlerites and not a wheel turned for twentyfour hours, despite the terror. That was in February, 1941, some months before the Soviet Union was involved in World War II, "So," he smiled, "they couldn't say we were taking orders from Moscow!"

Then there was Ts. Lookhuuz, scholarly-looking head of a state farm in the Mongolian People's Republic, who was here with his young and charming wife, accompanied by two other couples from that distant land.

"Last year," he told me, "our country celebrated forty years of socialist progress. Remember, we were the second country in the world to set up socialist power and

follow the Lenin road. Czechoslovakia, Poland, China, Cuba—they all came after us. And just last year we were admitted to the United Nations and our representative sits in the halls of that body in New York."

In a few words, eagerly and proudly, he explained that his country, with only a million population now had an industry, with factories of many kinds, and also an Academy of Science with distinguished members, and a literature, some of which was translated into Russian, and a historical heritage which they were studying and preserving. (Some of this, fortunately, I knew already from reading the National Geographic article last year by Justice William O. Douglas, who had travelled there.)

## Equal Rights For Women

And women? They have equal rights, he said, there's a woman in the national government, a woman is president of the Union of

Writers, and 70 per cent of doctors are women. I tear myself away to speak of others, notably the renowned anthropologist, Prof. Michael A. Gremiatsky of Moscow University, who with his wife roomed across the hall from us. He is the man who discovered the first Neanderthal skull in the Soviet Union, and who, for this and other outstanding work, received the Order of Lenin.

I must mention the young Armenian athlete, Aspurak Artashesovitch Belbutyan, who insisted—on learning that I would visit Yerevan, his home city—that I be his guest there!

## My Other Friends

And Henri Martel, veteran president of the French miners' union, who pinned a union badge on my coat; and Dora Cox, of England, who knew V. J. Jerome, my friend in the United States; also the former wife of Hans Eisler, Louise, now living in Vienna, who knew Joe North and Mike Gold other friends of mine; also Bhajraj Kulkarni, veteran railway union leader of Bombay, India, who tells me he will return home via Tashkent in Uzbekistan; and T. D. Sebam, of Buryat-Mongolia, who told me his people were nomads before the Revolution,

organized tribally, but that now their 800,000 people have homes and industries, an alphabet and several newspapers in their own language, industrial plants making glass, railway cars, and so on—AND they are working to lay the foundation for Communism in twenty years!

As I write, I know that Henry Winston of the United States and Gerhart Eisler of East Germany are resting in nearby Barykha Sanatorium.

Earlier I had a chance to visit several sanatoriums in Sochi, including Novy Sochi, and those for Old Bolsheviks, for agricultural workers, for metallurgical workers, and others. New ones are steadily being built.

## Thousands Of Sanatoria

There are thousands of such sanatoriums and rest homes, regular palaces, all over the Soviet Union, though mostly centered either in the Caucasus, the Crimea, the Black Sea area, or in the vicinity of Moscow. Most of them are run by one or another trade union. No non-socialist country has anything even remotely resembling these delightful places available to all the population.

# Bonus & Recognition Of Union For Petroleum Workers

★ From AJOY DAS GUPTA

Calcutta:

On July 3 the Burma-Shell Company and the Caltex Company have entered into agreements with the Petroleum Workers' Union, Calcutta regarding bonus for the workmen of the Eastern Region.

SEPARATE agreements have been signed for workmen in Assam, Orissa, Bihar, part of Madhya Pradesh, Calcutta industrial area and places other than Calcutta industrial area in West Bengal.

The quantum of Bonus as agreed upon for the clerks is @ 7/24th Annual basic pay for all areas, and that of Labour, service, Transport and security staff is @ 9/24th of Annual basic pay for Calcutta industrial area and 1/3rd of annual basic pay for all other areas.

The quantum of bonus in general, is not being considered to be high in the context of the profits of this industry, particularly after the Supreme Court judgment last year in the Stanvac Refinery case.

But what is significant in these agreements is that for the first time the AITUC-affiliated Petroleum Workers' Union is being recognised as representative organisation of the Labour/Service/Transport and security workmen in the Eastern Region.

It may be recalled here that for the Calcutta industrial area, the four foreign petroleum companies—viz., Burma-Shell, Esso, Standard (Stanvac), Caltex and IIP, hitherto recognised only the INTUC-affiliated Bengal Oil and Petroleum Workers' Union,

recognise this union as representative of the workers. For Calcutta industrial region the companies recognised the INTUC-affiliated unions, while for other places they recognised no union.

With the recognition of the representative AITUC union, the struggle of the oil and petroleum workers enters a new stage. With the advent and development of national oil and petroleum industry and distribution network, these foreign monopoly companies are manoeuvring in different directions.

The workers while fighting for the betterment of their emoluments and working conditions and recognition of their trade union rights must be vigilant and active to protect the national interests.

Those unions later formed a federation to effect greater co-ordination in leadership to the workers. Nearly 90 per cent of the workers wrote to the companies intimating facts of their resignation from the INTUC union and joining the new unions and asked for the recognition of these unions as their representatives.

But the managements refused to recognise these unions as representatives of workers.

Ever since then the workers pressed for recognition of their unions and the Petroleum Workers' Federation. In 1953, the Petroleum Workers' Union, Calcutta was formed by merger of the company-wise unions and the clerks and workers of these companies, having joined this union, which now has on its membership roll 90 per cent of the staff of these companies. Still these companies refused to

# Bank Tribunal Award Under Study

THE long-awaited award of the National Industrial Tribunal for Banking industry has at last been made public. In an extraordinary issue of Government of India Gazette of June 30, consisting of 333 pages the award has decided the 22 terms of reference.

The important decisions of the tribunal are mainly in regard to: categorisation of banks and areas, scales of pay, dearness allowance; hours of work and overtime; special allowance etc.

The award has changed the categorisation of banks and areas from four to three, recast the grades with substantial merger of dearness allowance and granted respectively cent per cent and 75 per cent neutralisation of dearness for subordinate and non-subordinate staff. It did not consider the need-based wage formula of the 15th Indian Labour Conference on the ground that it had no reliable data before it for such calculations.

It has also increased the limit of overtime work from 90 hours to 150 hours without option of the employees and made small changes in the payment of special allowance. It covers about 90,000 employees employed in 68 banks throughout the country.

The reaction of the employees to this award, at present is one of disappointment but the All-India Bank Employees Association and other unions are currently studying the award in all its implications before finally giving their opinion on it. The Central Committee of the AIBEA will meet on July 27, when it is expected, they would give their considered opinion on the award.

## AIBEA General Secretary

Prabhat Kar, M.P., General Secretary of AIBEA speaking in Calcutta on July 9, described the award as 'unsatisfactory'. He said that the increase in emoluments was inadequate compared to what was given in comparable concerns. It also did not reflect the present prosperity in the industry.

According to reports available, it has caused dissatisfaction among the bank employees in West Bengal, where, according to them, nearly two-third of the 12,000

employees working in 200 branches of 32 banks would receive very little from the award.

It has been pointed out that there will be only nominal increase of about three per cent in the monthly emoluments of the clerks who are working for a period between 6 and 18 years. There is apprehension even that certain categories of employees will now get less emolument than before.

A statement by the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees Association said that the tribunal appeared more concerned about imaginary difficulties of the banking industry than the real needs of the employees. It described the award as a whole as being far from satisfactory though admittedly there will be some increase in the pay of menial staff. Even the tribunal, it has been stated, has not kept its assurance that the award will be implemented with retrospective effect from its institution.

## State Bank Staff Association

The Secretary of the All-India State Bank Staff Association has said that the award was likely to cause false notions among the bank employees and people who may be misled. He has stated that in the matter of fixing scales the State Bank has unfortunately been classified with other banks though the former controls 45 per cent of the total volume of credit issued.

He has added that the tribunal by merging a big slice of the dearness allowance has given an artificially inflated sum as pay of the employees. According to him, the rise of emolument will be Rs. 10 per month in the maximum for an employee working for 6 years, while the increase in pay of the clerks in four metropolitan cities will only be two per cent.

In certain areas, after deduction on provident fund account, the employees will get only a few naye paise extra, he added.

K. K. Mundul, President, Maharashtra State Bank Employ-

ees Federation in a statement declared the award as one of recasting of the Sastry Award as modified, in the main. He has stated that where the tribunal had opportunity and occasion to apply its mind on particular items of reference which were to some extent exclusive in character, it has simply glossed over them with cryptic remarks and made no directions.

He added that the total rise in emoluments would not go beyond 10% under any condition while the average was certainly not above 6%. He also said that the fixation of wages was devoid all the principles of earlier tribunals without providing any new ones. It was a lumping up of the borrowed basis of Sastry tribunal and structure of the Pay Commission, he remarked.

He has also pointed out that on two major items i.e., redress of grievances and maintenance of seniority lists, the Tribunal did not give any direction, which would give rise to unrest in the banking industry.

The tribunal has afforded relief to seven banks in C class and to all the banks which have branches in the present class IV area. These reliefs are spread over 5 years although in law the life of the award is much less, he stated.

Another criticism which he made was in respect of provisions for provident fund for the employees of the State subsidiary banks and the State Bank of India, in respect of which, it was stated, the tribunal has refused to give directions.

The Bengali daily JUGANTAR has editorially commented that whether all the bank employees would be benefited under this award or not was a matter of doubt. Otherwise, the editorial stated, the employees would not have been allowed to opt for the existing grades and other amenities instead of awarded benefits, in case they were more beneficial.

It has also stated that in the amount of house rent granted, the employees, far from getting a house, may not even get a room with a thatched roof.

It has also termed as "difficult to understand" the logic of equating the State Bank of India with other banks and argued that there was no justification in grouping together the scales of wages of employees of State Bank and banks having one-fourth of State Bank's working capital.

It was further argued that if that criterion could be the basis for fixing wage scales of employees, then there was no justification in paying fat salaries to high officials of State Bank as compared to banks in similar category.

# Notes Of The Week

★ FROM PAGE FOUR

of aid proposed by the President.

The same drama is now being enacted in the House of Representatives, where Secretary of State Dean Rusk is reported to have been "applying strong but quiet pressure", so that maximum aid may be given to India.

Going through the speeches of the spokesmen of the Administration as well as those who are opposed to it, it is clear that the question in dispute between them is how best to make India toe the American line. Those who demand the cut do so on the ground that such a "punishment" will teach the Indians the lesson of their lives.

Spokesmen of the Administration feel that this would, on the other hand, embitter the relations between India and the United States and might, therefore, further strengthen the bonds of friendship between India and the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

★ Both the Administration and the opposition agree

that it is presumptuous on India's part to purchase the MIG fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union and to have them manufactured here.

★ Both agree that it was ungrateful on India's part to have rejected the 'solution' offered by the United States for the problem of Kashmir.

★ Both agree that India deserves to be denounced for her "aggression" in Goa.

★ Both agree that the "free world" cannot get on with Defence Minister Krishna Menon and those who think like him.

They differ only on how to force India to resile from the position which she has taken on these questions. Therefore, both are using their respective techniques—the Administration that of giving maximum aid; the opposition of cutting aid to the minimum—as an instrument of putting pressure on India to abandon her independent policy.

Stevenson's advice on doing without foreign assistance too is one form of exerting the same pressure.

# SUGARCANE PRICE POLICY

★ FROM PAGE 3

modernisation of sugar factories have to be done at the cost of cane cultivators and sugar consumers then they only show the utter bankruptcy of their private ownership and justify the demand of the U.P. Kisan Sabha that they should be nationalised.

The Union Food Minister should realise that the path of building socialist society cannot be paved with the sacrifice of the growers and consumers at the altar of the insatiable greed for profit of the sugar magnates.

Nor can he be allowed to blow the trumpet of democracy by trampling under his feet all popular opinion. Secrecy and distance from popular opinion might assure "safety" in the announcement of the new policy on sugarcane but it is certainly very unsafe to defend and implement it. The voice of the cane-

growers, sugar consumers, Kisan Sabha, Vidhan Sabhas and the MPs of U.P. and Bihar will grow in unity and militancy to compel him to reconsider his policy in the interest of growers and consumers. This voice demands:

● Postpone the implementation of recovery formula till adequate irrigation and other facilities are created to increase the yield and quality of the sugarcane.

● Postpone the implementation of recovery formula till nodded sugar plants are renovated and modernised to increase the sugar recovery.

● No reduction of sugarcane price till the general tendency of rising prices is reversed.

● Implement the recommendation of U.P. and Bihar Vidhan Sabhas for fixing Rs. 1.75 nP as price per maund of sugarcane.

# PEACE ASSEMBLY . . .

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

defeat war", declared the leader of the Chinese delegation.

John Collins, Canon of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, and Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament who more or less expressed views similar to those of Russell and Pontius quoted above, told me that he was very much satisfied that he came because the Congress provided full freedom for all and people of more diverse views who do not agree with Communism but agree with peace ought to have come. He was happy that the Soviet press was giving publicity to views critical of Soviet policies.

Canon Collins told me that he had asked Khrushchov whether the Soviet Premier would agree to making West Berlin the headquarters of the U.N. and Khrush-

chov had expressed his approval of this idea along with the proposal that forces under U.N. flag should be stationed in Berlin.

The Soviet Prime Minister received a tumultuous ovation when he addressed the Peace Congress on Tuesday. He made a detailed and well-argued statement of Soviet policies which must be studied by all peace lovers in detail as a document of far-reaching importance. He made the proposal that troops of Norway and Denmark or Belgium and Holland along with those of Poland and Czechoslovakia be stationed in West Berlin. Replying to Lord Russell's point Khrushchov declared that the Socialist world had never said that they would ever launch a nuclear war for the sake of Communist victory throughout the world.

"We declare to the whole world that the policy of whole-

ing a war in order that the Communist ideology should win out is alien to us".

Khrushchov also rejected the U.S. statements that the balance of forces had now shifted in its favour. He called upon the peoples of the world to make still greater efforts for the preservation of peace and gave a comprehensive picture of the Soviet view on disarmament and the history of its negotiations.

Later messages from Heads of Governments were read out in reply to the request of the Chairman of World Peace Committee asking them to state their views on disarmament. This included a message from India's Prime Minister which was very well received by the Congress.

The Indian delegation is playing a very important role in the proceedings of the Congress. It is in the limelight all the time, occupies the centre of the hall and its contributions have been appreciated by a majority of the delegates.



President Radhakrishnan received the credentials of Manuel Stolyk, Ambassador of Cuba, on July 6.



# Background To Drive Against Pak Infiltration

\* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**AGARTALA:** The news of mass drive against the Pakistani Muslims in Tripura during the first and last weeks of June, and the sudden intervention of Prime Minister Nehru in favour of slowing down this drive has been received with mixed feelings here as well as in other parts of the country. It was bound to be so, mainly because most of the people did not know the background of this drive.

The infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into Tripura is not a new feature. For the last 15 years infiltration has been going on, often with the connivance of the local Administration. Driven mostly by hunger for land and jobs, Pakistani Muslims entered Tripura, raised estates on Khas Government lands and bribed the corrupt officials in order to get permission to stay on permanently in Tripura.

But this infiltration by Pak Muslims could no longer be ignored because of the present deterioration of relations between India and Pakistan, particularly on the issue of Kashmir, and also because of the frequent border incidents followed by heavy concentration of Pak forces in the regions bordering on Tripura. These developments were rightly viewed with alarm and anxiety by the people of this territory.

And when, in this background, the Administration revealed that the percentage of Muslim population in Tripura had doubled during the last ten years (between 1951 and 1961) and the infiltration of Pak Muslims was still no less than hundred a month, a spontaneous cry was raised to stop this infiltration and to drive out the Pak Muslims who had infiltrated during the last 15 years.

Both the political as well as the economic situation in Tripura justified adoption of a bold policy by the Administration in this direction. Therefore when Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Union Home Minister,

## Campaign Against Tax Measures

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

imposing additional taxes before controlling the price spiral of the consumer goods, the Finance Minister once again exposed his hydra-headedness in putting the cart before the horse.

By way of information, Sunil Mukherji pointed out that an individual in Chotanagpur with an income of Rs. 175 a month has now to pay a tax of Rs. 36 per annum which during the pre-independence days was Rs. 3 rising subsequently in 1956 to Rs. 20, thus creating a situation of bleeding the taxable elements in Chotanagpur white.

Out of this Rs. 71 crores of new taxation, the major part would be realised, he said, from the common men by indirect methods while, strangely enough, the expenditure tax was abolished in favour of the rich, not to speak of the Government's unimpressive efforts against the tax-dodgers involving about Rs. 250 crores.

PAGE FOURTEEN

clude the bona fide Indian nationals, belonging to the Muslim community, as a result of which no less than a hundred Indian nationals were bundled out together with the Pakistanis.

Biren Dutta, MP, Secretary of the Tripura Council of the Communist Party of India, made an on-the-spot enquiry, submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister and met the Chief Secretary of the Tripura Administration in order to demand an enquiry into the whole thing so that this might not recur. Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha, K. K. Warrior and Dasarath Deb, members of the Lok Sabha, made similar appeals on the floor of the House.

But instead of taking any note of this public criticism, the Tripura Administration made a bigger raid in a number of villages around the town of Amarpur on the June 25. No less than 2,788 Muslims were bodily repatriated under the Foreigners Act.

## ECONOMIC NOTES

# Face Of West's Interest

\* FROM PAGE THREE

free entry a tariff barrier ranging from 5 to 15 per cent on semi-processed products, such as textiles, jute goods, hand-knit woollen carpets etc., and of 50 per cent or more on items like unmanufactured tobacco would come into force. Further, reverse preferences, working against India, would be created in favour of member states and their "associated" territories.

These new barriers, according to India's Memorandum to the EEC, would affect over 90 per cent of India's sales to the UK, or as much as a quarter of her total overseas sales. "As compared with the present position," the memorandum says, "the new import duties would, when the factor of reverse preference is taken into account, inflict on Indian exporters a price disadvantage which may, in some cases, be as high as 30 to 40 per cent."

## New Barriers

"Even if duties on imports from India are stepped up gradually, it will be well-nigh impossible for Indian producers and exporters to adjust their cost/export prices so as to be able to overcome so large a disadvantage."

The cumulative adverse effect of these changes on India's exports has been variously computed between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 million.

To negotiate a way out of this situation which may reduce India's disadvantage to the minimum, is the formidable task facing the Finance Minister.

And this task he has to accomplish in face of almost a

total let-down by Britain.

The British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Duncan Sandys, visited India last month but his visit, it seems, provided no solace to Desai. In fact, judging from press reports the utmost he did was to advise the latter to take steps to face the inevitable. Morarji Desai, too, seems to have given up the battle before it was joined, for, in London he has not questioned Britain's right to join the ECM and ditch India.

## No Safeguard For India

His "sweet reasonableness" in this regard is said to have impressed Britain, but not to the extent, it seems, of impelling Britain to even put in a word to the ECM to safeguard India's interests. In fact, not long before Desai's visit, the British Minister of Labour, Hare, chided India and other Commonwealth countries for behaving like "children" who would not let the "mother" (UK) do as she willed. Later, of course, he apologised for this indiscretion, but the insult implied in it has stuck.

Morarji Desai has taken with him a brief for India—a brief which only mildly questions ECM's right to take the restrictive steps which it has already taken or proposes to take. All it demands is certain safeguards. It accepts "the need for the achievement of a common commercial policy by the enlarged community," but hopes that "the avoidance of injury to Indian exports and the expansion of facilities for India's trade would be an essential ingredient of this policy."

It is to facilitate the ushering in of such a world that the Soviet Union, and other

An on-the-spot enquiry revealed that in a good number of cases, no notice was served, no enquiry made, even the professed criteria to determine Pakistanis were totally ignored. In certain cases, with the help of corrupt officials, big jotedars of the place got rid of their Muslim Korfa tenants (under-ryots) who were there for 40 or 50 years.

These raids had two serious repercussions. People belonging to the Muslim minority who were bona fide Indian nationals got extremely panicky, started preparing for the day when such indiscriminate raids would force many of them to go away to Pakistan.

Taking advantage of this widespread panic, as well as of the serious situation created in East Pakistan in respect of life and properties of Hindu minority, the communal elements among the Hindus in Tripura came on the top. They started putting all sorts of pressure on Muslims so that they might leave Tripura—"voluntarily". A section of the press helped these communal elements, holding all Muslims to be Pakistanis.

It was a difficult job for the Communists to stand in defence of the Muslim minority. But thanks to the glorious traditions of Tripura and due to bold and timely intervention of the Communists,

no communal disturbances could break out. Big rallies, attended by thousands of people were held in the cities of Agartala, Sonamura, Khawai, Udaipur, etc., where the Communists demanded protection for the minorities and appealed for strengthening of national integration.

The attitude of the local Congress leaders was queer. The State Congress Secretary unequivocally supported these repatriation drives. Sachindra Lal Singh, the Chairman of the Tripura Territorial Council did not admit any resolution on this issue to be discussed in the Council. The Congress press completely lined up with the communal press.

But being pressed by its Muslim members, the State Congress Committee did set up an investigation committee which visited Amarpur, but failed to make any public statement on what they found there.

When the Communists were fighting almost single-handed against the communal forces, the decision of the Prime Minister not to bundle out the Pak Muslims in a hurry came as a great relief. The Pak Muslims must be repatriated. But great caution has to be observed so that people belonging to the Muslim minority who are bona fide Indian nationals could be demarcated from Pakistanis.

(July 8)

socialist countries suggested the convening of a world-trade conference which could lay down certain norms in this respect. The objectives behind this suggestion being the same as India's, there is no reason why she should not take it up and rally the non-aligned nations behind it.

Morarji Desai's mission is also directed at seeking aid for the Third Plan, rather to cajole the reluctant West European Governments into making a matching contribution to unblock the promised US aid. Various so-called "irritants"—each more ridiculous than the other—are cited as reasons for the reluctance of these countries to give aid.

In other words, the strings which had hitherto to be exposed with effort are now being paraded for all to see. The Finance Minister, however, has thought it fit not to see these strings, else he should not have been wasting his labour in canvassing assistance which the "donors" are loathe to give except on their own terms.

## Menacing Policy Of West

The new hardened aid policy of the Western countries is but a part of their overall policy to deny equitable trade opportunities to the developing countries. Both are economic manifestations of a renewed imperialist drive by a new "integrated" Europe of Trusts against the socialist world and countries like ours. The fact that the United States has blessed this drive—in fact directly participating in it—makes it all the more menacing.

To defeat this drive through an international effort is a task which devolves on us as on all other peoples. Will it not be worthwhile for Morarji Desai to help in this task rather than be staging his wild goose chase across Western Europe?

It is to facilitate the ushering in of such a world that the Soviet Union, and other

(July 10)

JULY 15, 1962

# Moscow Congress Discusses

\* By Cable From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, July 10

More than two thousand delegates from all over the world gathered in Moscow's Kremlin palace on Monday July 9 to deliberate and discuss and to seek the way out for humanity from the stark danger of war.

FROM more than a hundred lands they arrived—these determined men and women of all races and all beliefs to plan out common and unprecedented worldwide action, never undertaken in human history, to save mankind from total disaster and human civilisation from total destruction in the hellfire of atomic war. Such dangers have never confronted man since he raised his head to walk erect upon this fair earth and today he must realise that everything has to be thrown into the struggle for the survival of all, that has been created by the talent and grandeur of human genius.

## Echo Of Defiance

These men and women represented the conscience of mankind today—writers, intellectuals, philosophers and scientists and just ordinary honest human beings—they have gathered in this Congress to represent all that is best in the society of men, all that is good and noble in the human heart and spirit.

And just as they start their proceedings the other world of base perfidy and dark devilish forces of devastation, ruin and annihilation send their message too and make their voice heard by exploding their infernal machine up above in the calm expanses of outer universe.

The tremors of this awful defiance to contaminate the depths of creation reach this noble assembly of men as a profound shock and as a resounding thundering challenge to be met with all their might and main.

There rises Judith Cook of USA to protest against this barbaric deed of her own Government and speaking as a mother, fearful for her children she wondered what effect these tests would have on the young and the ones yet unborn.

"I ask the Congress to condemn all tests everywhere below ground or above ground, under water or up in outer space. We have no mandate to destroy and main future generations," she says.

Diwan Chaman Lal of India then took the floor and speaking with great passion said, "I am quite sure each one of you has been shocked. Just the day this Congress started its work the Americans took this step". At this point there were cries of "Shame from the hall and Chaman Lal retorted, "I don't want you to call just shame. I want you to take action". This remark was drowned in applause and shouts of approval.

And the Indian delegate continued, "We wonder what all this is about". When the U.S. started these tests 240 Indian MPs sent a long tele-

gram of protest to Kennedy and in his reply the reason given was that the United States must keep an effective deterrent in hand.

"If one country is going to start tests to keep an edge on the other where is it all going to end? This fatal dose of radiation given to humanity, what is it for? We know what previous wars were for but now war destroys everybody and what is the good of such a deterrent", he asked.

"Each one of us has to take a solemn pledge that some action will have to be taken by all of us when we go back to our people so that we end this madness and lunacy", said the Indian delegate ending his short but forceful intervention which voiced the feelings of all.

After this, all the speakers who followed spoke in words

and before the bombs begin to fall

The Picasso dove with the olive branch in her beak sitting on a rubble of discarded arms painted on a huge white back cloth symbolically showed the way.

This is a new type of Congress and it is not possible that representatives of all delegations make speeches at the plenary session. It has been decided to hold fewer big sessions and do more work in commissions which are the following:

1) Disarmament, its political and technical problems, 2) Disarmament and its economic aspects; 3) Disarmament and national independence; 4) Disarmament its moral, cultural, medical and legal aspects.

The Commissions are not small not of the seminar type; they have 400 to 800 members and each could be called a full-fledged Congress on its own subject.

They are autonomous bodies deciding on their own rules and will break into sub-commissions or smaller groups to finalise things and go into details. And speeches at the Congress will be not so much on the delegation re-

presentation principle but on problems.

All documents on the problem and negotiations of disarmament have been made available, the US and USSR proposals, uncommitted nations' proposals, round table conference reports, contribution from Jules Moch comparing the two, American and Soviet, proposals at Geneva etc. Everything relevant to the full study of the problem of disarmament is there for all to study for full and all-sided discussion.

Bernal speaking to introduce the subject mentioned the grave dangers facing humanity. "More and more people," he said "are doing everything to reverse the trend of war in all countries. The Congress is meeting at a time when the Geneva negotiations have reached a crucial phase and are not making much progress, although agreement has been reached on the main aims." Differences on control and inspection remain. Pressure had to be brought on Governments to assure the success of the disarmament talks, he said.

## Meeting Of Great Value

"The Congress meeting at this time could be of the greatest value, we understand far better today the nature of the problem and there will be full opportunity for serious discussion and exchange of information to reach understanding which could later become a base for action." He referred with satisfaction to the large representation from the United States at the Congress amid cheers.

## Disarmament Only Solution

"The only real solution was disarmament. The vicious circle that we cannot stop tests until there is disarmament and cannot disarm until the tests are stopped has to be broken. Arms race was a source of income for capitalist countries and even workers were told they would lose jobs if it stopped. In socialist countries this problem did not exist.

"Armaments and bases were bringing underdeveloped countries into the sphere of cold war and disarmament was linked with the ending of colonialism.

"The age-old feeling for peace had reached a new dimension in the era of nuclear weapons. War will know neither the enemies nor neutrals. The fear of nuclear war made itself felt in many psychological ways. Some say it will never happen, others say it is inevitable and there are those who say it is avoidable.

"The last group is represented at the Congress.

"We are at the beginning of great work and all the goodwill brought to the

"There were still some who believed that peace could be preserved by means of mutual terror. There were mutual suspicions and disagreements even among those who work for peace and even cold war crept in there but the task was to hammer out a policy.

"It has been agreed that at each stage of disarmament there should be no disadvantage to any side. Here military squabbles could prevent progress and this had to be prevented. If disarmament were too slow the threat of nuclear weapons would remain till the end." Bernal mentioned the French proposal to destroy the means of delivery of nuclear weapons first which was resisted by the United States.

## Avoid Chain Of Tests

"We are not diplomats, we demand a compromise be found and quickly otherwise after the U.S. tests, the Soviet Union might resume such experiments, then little hope would remain that they could be discontinued. This was a prepara-

tion to poison and burn people in millions and had to be stopped.

"Agreement was in sight three years ago but the West used the excuse of difficulties of the detection of underground tests to prevent agreement. Rocket sites have increased the importance of the most elementary espionage. But control is possible from outside and this is the most effective way of ending the tests.

Through disarmament could be found the way for a rapid development of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The supply of arms to Asia by Western powers forced the non-aligned countries also to divert resources for defence; thus disarmament was vital for our progress.

The Indian statement supported the idea of nuclear free zones in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. Indian delegation called for the end of all colonialism, old and new and declared that after the abolition of military pacts and foreign bases the movement for independence would gain new impetus.

## No Disarmament Without Control

There could be no disarmament without control but India opposed plans of controlled armament. There could be no inspection and control in the absence of disarmament. There should be an immediate agreement on the ending of nuclear tests, the Indian delegation demanded.

The doctrines of the great deterrent and the first blow must be opposed by all right-thinking people. There was no winner in the nuclear race and devastation will not choose its victims.

If disarmament was not achieved the common millions will non-cooperate in the preparations of war, declared Rameshwari Nehru amid thunderous applause.

Congress should be turned into real action for peace. Such Congresses should also be held in Washington and in the West in general", Bernal said.

The Indian delegation to the Congress is one of the most representative that ever attended an international event; it includes people of great prestige standing and scholarship and from all walks of life and trends. The honour of opening the discussion was given to India and Rameshwari Nehru read out the declaration on behalf of the 130 strong Indian delegation.

"The delegation speaks with one voice the voice of peace-loving India", she said. "It is our belief that the questions of general disarmament and peace are so vital, so urgent for the future of the entire human race, that differences pale into insignificance". The Indian delegation had before it the vision of a vast great popular front against nuclear war embracing all peoples in all continents.

"Today the peace policy of Prime Minister Nehru and the Government of India reflects the dearest aspira-

NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

JULY 15, 1962



# Algeria's Quest For Unity Against Neo-Colonialism

★ By Zia-ul Haq

*The whole of the Afro-Asian world and all progressive humanity has been watching the developments inside the Algerian nationalist camp with the deepest anxiety.*

IT is a matter of some gratification that negotiations are currently on in Rabat between emissaries of the Ben Khedda Government and Ben Bella, the martyr-hero of the Algerian Revolution, as he has been described. There are signs of hope, nevertheless the unity of the Algerian fighters for freedom is not out of the woods yet.

The facts as far as they have become known are—

● That the General Staff of the Algerian National Liberation Army (ALN) had taken strong exception to the Ben Khedda Government's coming to an understanding with the OAS, in face of the latter's campaign of terror and wholesale destruction in Algeria. It was revealed towards the end of June that the Transitional Executive, the mixed French-Algerian organ actually exercising authority, obviously with the sanction of Ben Khedda, had concluded an agreement with the OAS promising an amnesty to the killers to halt sabotage.

The Army General Staff opposing this wanted the terrorism of the French ultra-colonialists to be squarely met and defeated, rather than compromised with, because they believed that even if the OAS called off its campaign of terror it would be merely a tactical manoeuvre. They (the OAS) would continue to remain the strongest arm of French neo-colonialism which seeks to impose itself on Algeria through the various safeguards provided in the agreement of Evian-les-Bains.

● The Algerian Nationalist Parliament—the National Council of the Algerian Revolution (CNRA)—at its last meeting held in Tripoli from May 27 to June 7 gave a vote of confidence to the Army General Staff. Ben Khedda found himself there in a hopeless minority and chose to leave the meeting without allowing a decision to be taken. The CNRA elected an executive of seven to take over after proclamation of independence. It nevertheless allowed Ben Khedda at the moment to continue to head the Provisional Government (GPRA), feeling perhaps that any public manifestation of differences on the eve of the referendum for independence would gravely imperil the national cause.

● Literally on the eve of the referendum—that is on June 30 night, while the referendum was to take place on July 1—the Ben Khedda Government "dismissed" the entire General Staff of the ALN consisting of three, Col. Boumediene (chief) and Majors Mendjili and Slimane.

## Serious Blow

This was a serious blow to national unity and seemed to be timed so that the people, concerned to display national solidarity in the referendum, would not be able to react. The arguments advanced to justify this step were on the lines of those advanced to justify Ben Khedda's abrupt departure from Tripoli in the midst of the CNRA session. He had said then that his life was threatened; now he said that the army was planning a take-over and subversion

of civilian authority. In considering this talk of threatened subversion of civilian authority in a situation like that of Algeria one must keep in mind the fact that here it is not a professional army, instrument of the old order, but a revolutionary army, the architect of national independence, that is involved.

This step of Ben Khedda against the Army of National Liberation, circumstances indicate, had been planned in collusion and collaboration with the French neo-colonialists.

Despite all talk of French forces and authorities in Algeria being neutral, the fact was given away in an unguarded dispatch by *New York Times*, Dated Paris, July 2, that is inside 48 hours of the dismissal of the General Staff, this dispatch said:

"French officials are supporting Premier Benyousssef Ben Khedda and his Government and hoping that they will be able to gain control of the situation quickly."

The same dispatch also gave away inadvertently what the neo-colonialists are working for in Algeria now. It said:

"It seemed here (in Paris) that even after the vote yesterday, there was no prospect for being able to let the Algerians worry about their country by themselves."

## Colonialists Rejoicing

This rejoicing on the part of the French colonialists and their friends proved somewhat premature. Deputy Premier Mohammed Ben Bella's immediate dissociation from and denunciation of the "dismissal" of the General Staff snowballed and gathered support. The ALN, particularly its Western Command, rallied round them. Former Premier of the GPRA, Ferhat Abbas, charged the Ben Khedda Government with beginning "a neo-fascist adventure." Mohammed Khider, another Minister who broke away from the Ben Khedda Government, called the ministers in Algiers "rebels." The very continuance of the Ben Khedda group as the Government was challenged and described as illegal.

The OAS revealed its hand by reviving its destructive and killing campaign in Oran, centre of support for the Army General Staff and Ben Bella, while it cooperated with Ben Kheddists in Algiers.

Arab and Afro-Asian opinion, perturbed over the split and urging unity, nevertheless made its sympathy clear for Ben Bella and his stand, and its opposition to the disruptive and provocative steps of the Government headed by Ben Khedda.

It was in this background of gathering support for Ben Bella's stand, that the Ben Khedda side agreed to open negotiations. It is now the outcome of these negotiations in Rabat that is being awaited anxiously by all friends of Algeria.

What has come out in this dispute is two differing views inside the Algerian nationalist camp in regard to the perspectives of the Algerian revolution. The ceasefire, the massive vote of July 1

for independence and the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly, fixed for August 12 should all be steps forward to genuine and complete independence, broadening and going forward from the Evian agreements and its provisions that seek to restrict and curb Algerian sovereignty. This obviously is the view of the more advanced nationalist wing headed by Ben Bella.

The so-called "moderates" of the Ben Kheddists do not seem to agree with this view. They seem to aim at establishing "cooperation" with France which

would not only retain the restrictive provisions of the Evian agreement but would actually strengthen them, reducing Algeria to an appendage of France and the ECM, a perfect and willing victim of the deadly devices of neo-colonialism.

The attitude adopted towards Algeria at this turning point by the United States is significant. After de Gaulle proclaimed Algeria independent on July 3, Kennedy promptly extended recognition to her as "an independent nation", but stopped short of offering diplomatic relations. For

the U.S. "Independent Algeria" exists still as something abstract and not concrete and real.

According to *New York Times*, "Recognition of a specific Algerian Government and the formal exchange of Ambassadors, officials said, will be delayed until the Algerian nationalists have designed a permanent executive and demonstrated its effective control over the country."

This is obvious pressure tactics, adopted in coordination with the French, to make Algeria "behave" before it can earn diplomatic relations with the USA. It has been treated as what it is—an insult to new independent Algeria. The Provisional Government retaliated by boycotting the July 4 (U.S. Independence Day) celebrations.

Unity and vigilance against neo-colonialism, resistance to it at every step, is the need of the hour. Ben Bella who holds that "Economic colonialism must go with political colonialism," has rightly become the symbol of Algeria's quest for national unity and resistance to neo-colonialist manoeuvres.

# Pakistan Masses Astir

★ IPA Service

RAWALPINDI:

With the political atmosphere in East Pakistan for long surcharged with the demand for a "new democratic constitution" and the situation in West Pakistan becoming equally, if not more, explosive after the detention of the Frontier leader Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, a fresh wave of nation-wide agitation against the proposed restrictions sought to be imposed through the official Bill relating to the revival and regulation of the political parties is widely anticipated.

THE official Bill, which is being rushed through in the present session of the National Assembly to forestall non-official moves for unconditional revival of parties, is facing tough opposition in the Assembly. The Select Committee, to which the Bill was referred on July 4, was not unanimous in its recommendations. A note of dissent has been submitted by Sardar Bahadur Khan and Choudhuri Salahuddin, who walked out of the committee meeting as a protest against the retention of the restrictive clause relating to EBDOD leaders.

Another committee member, Ramizuddin, is reported to have opposed the entire restrictive clause relating to membership of the parties and all other clauses of the Bill.

The Bill is being taken up by the National Assembly soon. But reaction to it is easy to guess from what happened, when an abortive attempt was made to force a discussion on the arrest of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. As the Speaker ruled out the plea for admission of the adjournment motion on the issue, a majority of the members walked out of the House.

The official Bill on political parties, it is pointed out here, was referred to the Select Committee on July 4 after a compromise with the movers of the non-official Bills.

But, even at the stage of introduction of the Bill a number of members rose on a point of order challenging the constitutional validity of Clause 5 of the Bill which seeks to impose restrictions on membership of political parties, laying down six conditions under which a person can be disqualified from being a member of any party.

Besides the six restrictions

on membership, there is a two-point clause (Clause 3) prohibiting totally some parties. They are: "No political party shall be formed with the object of propagating any opinion or acting in any manner prejudicial to the integrity or security of Pakistan"; and "No person shall form, organise, set up or convene a foreign-aided party or in any way be associated with any such party".

The Select Committee has suggested that instead of first dissolving a political party on the charges of being foreign-aided and a threat to the security of Pakistan, and then referring the matter to the Supreme Court (as provided in another clause) the whole case should first be referred to the Supreme Court and the action should be based on the findings of the Court.

According to observers here, this clause is aimed not only against the revival of the Communist Party, but also the Red Shirt movement and the movement of the Baluchi tribals whose valiant fight against the military regime has only recently been so dramatically told in the National Assembly by Sardar Ataulah Khan.

ADDRESSING a mass meeting recently in Karachi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan observed that if the official Bill on the political parties was passed in the present form, only lifeless parties would come into existence. It left little room for all those who had been active workers of any living organisation to take part in the country's affairs.

He said that all leaders of

the erstwhile political parties, in such an emergency, would form a joint front with the support of the entire population.

The meeting in a resolution demanded the unconditional withdrawal of ban on all political parties, release of political prisoners and justiciability of the fundamental rights. The meeting also demanded that Karachi be restored the status of Pakistan's capital.

In East Pakistan, Maulana Abdul Rashid Tarkabagish, the former President of the Provincial Awami League, in a statement on June 28 called upon all like-minded persons of all parties in both the wings to meet in a special convention to decide the course of action for the realisation of a democratic constitution for Pakistan, as demanded by nine prominent leaders of East Pakistan in a joint statement on June 24.

To begin with, he suggested the following platform for the proposed convention: restoration of civil liberties; release of all political prisoners, including H. S. Suhrawardy; unconditional withdrawal of ban on political parties; cancellation of the orders of conviction imposed by military courts on charges of activities of a political nature; repealing of the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO).

The nine leaders belonging to different political parties and including three former Chief Ministers and a former Central Minister, in their statement demanded that immediate "steps" be taken to have a special body elected as soon as possible to give the country a constitution which would be "unquestionably acceptable to the people".

"Experience of barely three weeks' working (of the Ayub constitution) has already demonstrated that the present scheme is unworkable unless it is radically remodelled and changed," the statement emphasised.

The very nature and tone of these speeches and statements are significant. But more noteworthy is the fact that there was spontaneous support to the 9-leaders' stand from different quarters.