

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY VOL. VI NO. 13 SUNDAY, DEC. 28, 1958

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KERALA IN HIS

OWN IMAGE

A PAGE FROM SAURASHTRA HISTORY

The Congress President, Sri Uchhrangrai Navalshanker Dhebar, talks a lot about Kerala. Everything-that the Communist-led Government does there is a matter for criticism as far as the Congress President is concerned. It does not matter to him whether what the Government does is for the good of the people. The chief of our biggest political party has rarely, if at all, made any political criticism of the Kerala Govat all, made any political criticism of the herala Gov-ernment's policies and actions: his usual charges are discrimination, favouritism, terror, etc., etc. Perhaps he is seeing Kerala in his own mage—that is exactly what used to happen in Saurashtra when Sri Dhebar was the State's Chief Minister before his elevation to Congress Presidentship.

L ET us have a quick glance at this page from Saurashtra's history.

The State was formed on April 15, 1948. The first finan-cial assistance to the tune of Rs. 50 lakhs was secured from a leading industrialist to run the State apparatus. That is how Dhebar and Co. entered the scene.

The next phase began when a number of small States were taken over. In every tiny State, an Administrator was appointed to take over from the retiring rulers and in al-most every case the adminis-trator was either a Congress-man or a person overnight turned Congressman.

And when Saurashtra took the when Salrashtra took its final shape, a number of high official posts were rapidly filled with Congressmen who had no past administrative experience.

SAAR-PER

One Congress worker was One Congress worker was appointed Secretary to one of the Ministries (later he got promoted to become a Minister in the Central Gov-ernment); another Congress worker suddenly became the Collector of Gohilwad Re-gion; a third, a teacher in a school was appointed as gion; a third, a teacher in a school was appointed as Director of Industries and Supply; yet another began as Secretary to the Revenue Tribunal and became a Collector; a clerk in the rationing department -he v

the son-in-law of a Con-gress Minister in a neigh-bouring State—rose to be-come the Collector of Zala-wad District; the headmaswan District; the headmas-ter of a school in a small town, father-in-law of a Central Minister; became Assistant Director of Edu-cation; an ordinary pleader just because he was a Congress worker became the Advocate-General; a clerk in the Congress Office was In the Congress Onnee was straightaway appointed as Deputy Director of Food Supplies and Assistant Se-cretary to the Food Department

Administrative arrangements were very carefully worked out. The Public Ser-vice Commission was rarely consulted before appoint-ments, and in cases where the Commission refused sanction, the recommendations ignored,

When one examines the administrative arrangement that was worked out in Saurashtra, under Sri Dhebar's Chief Ministership, the broad pattern that emerges is the following:

Most of the posts of De-puty Collectors were filled 0

by CHIMAN MEHTA

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with fresh hands, mostly Consmen;

At a lower ievel, posts of Circle Inspectors of Police were also filled with Congressmen;

⊕ At the level of District Collectors, though in the beginning they were slow, they moved quite fast later.

Yet another device was also evolved. Seniority of officials was not fixed for three long years and the Government employees had to be on the right side of the Ministers if right side of the Ministers if their case was to be considered favourably. The rules of ad-ministration did not matter, what mattered was the bosses pleasure. Even transfers of petty officials were controlled by the Ministry.

Thus non-fixation of seniority, transfers control-led by Ministers, Congress-men entering key posts of administration, etc., kept the whole administrative set-up not above party but turned it mainly into a party affair. affair.

Now for the Judiciary and the way it functioned under Sri Dhebar's regime.

Out of the three High Court Judges who were first ap-pointed, two were Congressfirst apmen.

One of them was signatory to an open statement on the eve of the municipal elections on February 17, 1949, calling for support to Congress candidates.

The statement said: "....There is no other organi-sation yet in the country which can compete with a party like the Congress. The Congress is the only party that can efficiently serve the city through the municipality.... Bearing this fact we request you to vote for three Congresssponsored candidates in our Ward...."

The other one resigned and at a farewell party arranged for him, he openly criticised the administration for its attempts to interfere with the judiciary.

Everyone knew that¹ the reference was to a letter asking that a landlord from * SEE PAGE 13

AITUC PROPOSAL ON AUTOMATIC LOOMS TO AVOID



to replace the existing looms is to allow the massacre of employed workers, to add to unemployment and retrenchment and to create unrest, says S. A. Dange, General Se-cretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in a note to Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister for Labour and Employment, for circu-lation in the Conference for consultation on automatic looms held on December 22.

The Note makes certain proposals and if these are not found a c c p t a b l e, "the AITUC should be taken as not having agreed to the introduction of automatic looms as envisaged by the Govern-ment and the employers."

The text of the Note reads: A section of the textile millowners in India have been presowners in India have been pres-sing for a long time for Government help in the import and installation of automatic looms on a large scale. The grim results in relation to labour of large-scale introduction of automatic looms came out, when the Kanungo Committee discussed the proposal.

During all these years, the extile millowners have been textile

carrying rationalisation out sometimes with the consent of unions who would agree to it, but mostly without such con-sent. The subject became very hot two years ago and had to be discussed in the 15th Indian Labour Conference which wheld in Delhi in June 1957.

once again, the specific proposal for installing automatic looms has been brought foras being an urgent na ward tional necessity.

The Government of India endorses and patronises the proposal on the ground that export of cloth has to be in-creased to earn foreign ex-change and that such export can be stimulated only if cloth on automatic looms is produced in India.

The millowners seem to have convinced the Government of India on this score. The agree-ment between the Government of India and the millowners was very much visible during the debate in Parliament on December 3 and 4, 1958, on the question of exports .

and a company of the contraction of the

AITUC has The made its standpoint clear during the de-bate and before. We do not ob-ject to technical improvements as such. But when these would mean retrenchment, unemployment and increase in workload. the AITUC cannot endorse them just on theground that they are necessary for other reasons.

It is pointed out to us that the effects of the introduction of automatic looms on the workers can be discussed and controlled in terms of the Delhi Conven-tion on rationalisation, agreed to by all.

In this connection, the AITUC as to point out that rationalisation has been carried out by the millowners without reference to the AITUC in many centres and hence it is not responsible for

Secondly, the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Gov-ernment of India, has informed the AITUC that the Delhi agreement is not an agreement but only a recommendationthereby meaning that any em-ployer is at liberty to go his

ment and unemployment result-ing from rationalisation. In view of this, the Delhi Convention has not become an instrument of protection to the workers as was expected. Unless the Delhi Convention takes the form of a mational agreement, valid as between all employers and unions, whether recognised or not, it will not prove useful.

As regards the present pro-posal, the AITUC submits the following for the consideration of the Government and the Conference.

The Government is endorsing the textile milolwners' demand for automatic looms only for exports and for foreign ex-change. They put it forward as a national necessity.

So we propose that Gov-ernment itself undertake to instal units of automatic looms and organise produc-tion and export in the State Sector, so as to earn foreign exchange directly on its own account. The Government has enough agencies the whom this can be done. through Government is already directly involved in the Ambar Charkha and handloom pro-* SEE PAGE 13

editorial

DEFEAT THIS ATTACK !

L AST week Pandit Nehru delivered two speeches in New Delhi in which he replied to the reactionary op-ponents of the public sector and advocates of a smaller planning effort.

These represent the reactionary Big Business circles aided and reinforced by the imperialists and monopolists from abroad. They have been carrying on a cold war against India's planning efforts and utilising every excuse and difficulty to run it down.

They have developed a two-pronged attack on planning. They attack the Second Plan as too ambitious, point to Government's inability to raise adequate resources and demand that the Third Plan should be more "realistic" i.e. smaller in scope. Secondly, they direct their fire against the public sector. They utilise every shortcoming, every in-efficiency and scandal in the state sector to run it down and demand that Government should restrict its scope to industrial overheads-to transport, hydro-electric power, etc., and leave the entire industrial field to private enterprise.

India's heavy industry is being developed mainly in the state sector. It is obvious that the private sector will not be able to do it. The attack against the public sector is thus an attack against heavy industry without which the country cannot industrialise itself nor develop an economy free from dependence on imperialism. This is the selfish and anti-national character of the at-

tack against the State sector. This is also the line of the foreign monopolists and imperialists who do not like the prospect of India ending her economic dependence on them. This line was clearly seen in the course of the recent session of the World Bank and International Monetary session of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund held in India. Above all, it was clearly expressed in the World Bank Mission's report on India. It demanded that the State should confine its activity to transport, etc., and give up investing in industry, give up heavy industry, it demanded a slowing down of the economic effort in the minimum terms to prime to prime foreign capital it demanded a slowing down of the economic effort in the Third Plan and wide concessions to private foreign capital. It attacked the Government for taking the new oil industry under the public sector-angered by the fact that the Government had declined to turn it to American oil monopolies. This attack against heavy industry, the State sector and

a wider planning effort has been intensified since India secured a few loans from the World Bank.

It is, therefore, good to find Pandit Nehru uttering a few home truths for the edification of this gentry though he failed to expose and unmask their real character before the people. He has been still more charitable to the imperialists whom he has hardly mentioned.

Exposing their claims to talk in the name of demo-cracy, Nehru correctly points out that the argument that democracy must necessarily be freedom for what was calldemocracy must necessarily be freedom for what was call-ed private enterprise with the public enterprise function-ing within stated limits, meant that the millionaire should remain a millionaire and the poor must become poorer. To those who demand slowing down, Nehru rightly

says: "We should keep the tempo of our development work more and more and have bigger plans. Our Third Plan will be a bigger one." Too shy to refer to direct imperialist pressure, Nehru admonished foreign journals imperialist pressure, ivenu admonished foreign journals who suggest that we should slow down our planning acti-vity. Nehru need not have gone abroad; the World Bank representatives to India rried sufficient pressure to make us toe their line.

toe their line. The assurance that the Third Plan will be big; the reply to the attack of the private sector—are good indeed. The point is: how much are they worth? In the first place, it is obvious that Sri Nehru's Government has done its best to discredit the public sector by its mis-management and corruption and supplied ammunition to the reactionary advocates of the private sector.

Under the dispensation of the Nehru Government, the public sector has become the bureaucrat's paradise-a bureaucratic sector. The public comes in only to find the capital tesources. Its representatives are kept out of man-agement. In the name of promoting efficiency the Nehru Government sets up autonomous corporations in the State sector free from parliamentary control over management

These bureaucrats excel in their anti-working class outlook and are the last persons to work for the cooperation of workers in the public sector. The Government is chary of accepting for itself the labour legislation it apchary of accepting for itself the labour legislation it ap-proves for the private sector. The worker becomes an ob-ject for the attention of the Intelligence Department and the least sign of independence on his part is met with dis-missal and victimisation. And above all, episodes like the Mundhra affair chill people's faith in honest functioning of the public sector.

So long as Pandit Nehru does nothing to meet this genuine and legitimate criticism of the public sector, so long as there is no radical change in its practice, the ad-

SCRAP - BOOK

NAGPUR STAGE

HAVE been looking forward to going to Nagpur attend the coming session of the Congress: So, natu-rally, I have been reading all the material I can get hold of about the Cong Thus it was that I came

across an ignominious piece of advertisement issued by the Directorate of Sm Savings of Bombay State.

As is the usual custom, there will be a cultural pro gramme during the Con-gress session. This time cine artistes will grace the occa-sion. And, the Small Savings Director has hit upon bright plan : "If you wish to attend

the programme, please go to the nearest post office and purchase National Savings Certificate or Trea-sury Certificate or 15-Year Annuity Certificate of the value of Rs. ten to Rs. 25,000, for purchasing cer-tificates of lesser value does not qualify for admission. So, when you purchase one of these certificates, the post office will give you an "authority card" and you will have to exchange this authority card for admis-sion tickets to the cultural programme : "You will be given admission tickets of seats according to the value of the certificates you have

purchased." What a marvellous idea tee of the Commu to step up the sale of Small Savings Certificates: tamasha plus capital formation, plus gathering a in Delhi,

vocates of the private sector will have enough material to

vocates of the private sector will have enough material to confuse the people and discredit it. Honest people in India want the State sector to build our heavy industries. They welcome it further because it will facilitate a quick transition to Socialism under a really

democratic Government. But the Nehru Government's

functioning is doing everything to smash their faith in its

superiority over the private sector. Sri Nehru's assurance that India will continue to have

a bigger planning effort is also subject to the same limita-tions. Is it possible for India to have a bigger development-al endeavour if she continues to rely heavily on loans from

America and other Western imperialist countries? Already

America and other Western Imperatist countries. America they are demanding a scaling down of our industrial plan. Unless the Government has the courage to take big help from friendly Socialist countries, a big planning effort is

not possible. The Western imperialists are opposed to the development of an independent Indian economy. To say no

development of an independent Indian economy. To say no thing about this, to take no steps to meet their growing pressure, and at the same time to assure that we will have

a big planning effort is to mislead the people. What about the internal resources for a big plan? Here also no change is to be introduced. Without radical

and reforms it is not possible to raise our resources quick-

land reforms it is not possible to raise our resources quick-ly. This is precisely what is not being done. Other steps like taking over of foreign profits and nationalisation of foreign trade are also not to be taken. On the contrary,

under capitalist pressure, the Government has sanctioned introduction of automatic looms in the textile industry in

that this attack be defeated and routed. They must see that the Government does not yield to pressure and demand a break with the reactionary policies hitherto pursued. Above

all, they must see that the public sector functions with the cooperation of the workers and the people and ceases to become the hunting ground of wooden bureaucrats.

Sri Pant h

NEW AGE

crowd for the Congress show! The Small Savings Director makes no bones about it: "You have seen them on screen; now them on Nagpur stage by investing in small saving And so far as Congress is concerned, it will of

provide its own star attrac tion : "Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India will inaugurate the programme." Will he be talking on

small savings or Congress culture? I shall let you know from Nagpur.

RIRIA GUITS

HEN we hear of Birlaji going abroad, we look out for some big catch of some dollar king to invest in our poor country and we feel so grateful to the power of the Birlas. But how many of us

know, how many amongst Indians also Birlaji has bagged during his trips abroad

Some time ago, Birlaji's

C. E. C. MEETING POSTPONED

Since the fraternal delegation to the 21st Congress of the CPSU has to leave for Moscow on January 22, the meeting of the Central Executive Commitfixed for January 20 to 24 has been postponed to February 20 to 25. The meeting will be held sensational attack on Sri Krishna Menon, mentioning him by name. I was im-pressed by the boldness of hist and felt that the colu the man must have guts to write so openly against a Minister. The columnis only put his initials at the end of the article, "S.M." Thanks to Karaka and his Current, it has been given out that "SM." is S. Multhe editor of Hinnstan Times. I pondered and pondered

Hindustan Times made a

Where did S.M. pick up his guts? A friend made some commonplace research and discovered that S.M. was the Special Correspondent York of Dalmiaji's

Times of India. Now, when Birlaji went on his dollar-earning mis-sion to the United States last year, S.M., I am told, worked almost like his P.R.O. Birlail never forgets to reward the deserving, and soon after, S.M. becarue the editor of Birlaji's own

paper. I wish S.M. well in his Big Leap Forward—not the Chinese "totalitarian leap" but Birla's Free Enterprise Leap—though I hear that in his office, he has at times to take orders from one who has been grazing in the Birla pastures for years—our old friend Eric DaCosta, who runs the Eastern Economist

- DIARIST

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MAO TSE-TUNG TO GIVE UP CHAIRMANSHIP OF REPUBLIC

Congress.

DECISION approving Comrade Mao Tse-tung's suggestion that he will not stand as candidate for Chairman of the Peo-ple's Republic of China for the next term of office was adouted by the Eighth adopted by the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its Sixth Plenary Session The text on December 10. of the decision follows:

In the past few years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has more than once expressed to the Central Committee of the Party the hope that he should not continue to hold the post of Chairmanship of the People's Repub-lic of China. After full and all-round consideration, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee has decided to approve this sug-Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and not to nominate him again as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Second National People's The Plenary Session of the Central Committee deems this to be a completely positive propo because, relinquishing his duties as Chairman of the State and working solely as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung will be enabled all the better to concentrate his energies on dealing with questions of the direction, policy and line of the Party and the State: he may also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theo-retical work, without affecting his continued leading role in the work of the State. This will be in the better

interests of the whole Party and of all the people of the country. Comrade Mao Tsetung is the sincerely beloved and long tested leader of the people of various na-tionalities of the whole country. He will remain the leader of the entire people

THE Prime Minister one hundred per cent similar in their thinking", it cannot by any means lead to that unity of purpose which is needed today to has often deprecated lately what he calls the private sector's "regular campaign of running down the public sector".

He has also been cau-

tioning the people aga-

inst falling a prey to its "cry of democracy in

In sounding the tocsin

against the nefarious cam-

against the netarious cam-paign of the private sector, Nehru has no doubt been reflecting the senti-ments of all lovers of So-

cialism in the country. The trouble with him, however,

Government, of which he is the leader, seldom reflect

the leader, seriousness in the same seriousness in curbing the activities of the

very people against whom he has been directing his

Even his colleagues often

convey the impression of not seeing eye to eye with

him on this question. A case

nim on this question. A case in point is that of the De-fence Ministry's contracts with a foreign firm to pro-

duce military vehicles in the country. While the De-

is that the actions

invectives.

peril".

tractors of Socialism. Take their latest bro-Socialism. chure on The Progress of Indusries in the Private Sector, for example. How can a Government whose Ministers enabled the lea-ders of trade and industry to get special treatment in the allotment of import quotas, and thus achieve significant progress, now turn back and say that its own sector could have done better? Certainly not when its own deviation far-from-perfect Kaldoria tax pattern handed over

private sector on a platter. Even in the award of contracts for some of the public enterprises—e.g., Rour-kela—it is the private firms, foreign and indigenwhich, on the testious, mony of so respectable an official as the Auditor-General, benefited the most

paver.

BENEWED DEMANDS

the Tyagi Con

puty Defence Minister and also Pandit Nehrn all had o Pandit Nehru all but also Fallul Atomrade Dan-ge's criticism that the pri-vate manufacturers were holding the Ministry "to ransom," the Minister for Industries, Sri Manubhai Shah, held the Government responsible for "the delay in enabling the automobile producers to obtain enough foreign exchange to buy necessary tools and step up diger s manufacture .0 sential components".

While this divergence between the head of the Government and one of his important juniors might be a good example of the "democratic" functioning of Panditji's Cabinet, where tot all the members were

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teeth of opposition from the AITUC. And simultaneously ern or opposition from the AILUC. And simultaneously i Pant has threatened to bring back T. T. Krishnamachari Mundhra fame back to public life. Are these things going to develop faith in the public ctor or lead to mobilisation of further resources? Emboldened by all this proteinance used interest Turgenev : MUMU Emboldened by all this, reactionary vested interests have launched their offensive against the public sector and developmental efforts. It is in the interest of the people

of various nationalities even when he no longer holds the post of Chairmanship of the State. If some special situation arises in the future which should re-quire him to take up this work again, he can still be nominated again to assume the duties of the Chairman of the State in compliance with the opinion of the people and the decision of the Party.

Party committees at all levels should in accordance with these reasons, give full explanations to the cadres and masses both inside and outside the Party at appropriate meetings of the Party, sessions of the Peothe ple's Congresses of various evels, meetings of workers industrial and mining enterprises, and meetings in people's communes, ofin people's communes, or-fices, schools and armed units, so that the reasons in this matter may be un-derstood by all and that there may be no misunder-



The Private Sector

defeat the game of the de-

from a

quite a few millions of rupees to the leaders of -e.g., Rourat the expense of the tax-

Thus while the Government's solicitude for the private sector and the bunglings of its bureaucrats in financial as well as admi-nistrative spheres continue to inhibit the fullest growth of public enterprises, the private industrialists have renewed their demand for further incentives. Ba its case on the so-called inhibitory effects of the present tax system on their propensity to "save and accumulate", their premier organisation, the Federa-tion of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has represented to mittee, in-

vestigating into the issues of administration of direct taxes, that "unless more is left in the hands of the people (as represented by the FICCI), the problem of capital accumulation will continue to thwart the efforts of private enter-prise to fulfil itself."

THEIR PROFITS

In what does this "fulfil-ment" precisely consist, one wonders? For, reading the contents of the brochure on the Progress of Industries achievements of the private sector have already attained spectacular proportions. In fact that seems to be the running theme of the hro-chure which has been written in manifestly se latory a style. Only its findings do not seem to square with the supposed "air of uncertainty" which its authors so much shout about. How could a private sector, hidebound by a sector, hidebound by a series of taxes, highly dis incentive in their effect, as the brochure says, manage to have its joint stock com-panies increase their paidup capital by more than 100 per cent in ten years? The effect of high taxation, one would think, should have been otherwise.

Similarly in the case of profits, we witness the strange phenomenon — strange if the FICCI's version is to be believed—of their index soaring up even as the restrictive effects of the new taxes get intens fied Even according to official figures this index for all industries (with 1950 as 100) rose from 114.4 in 1951 to 149.1 in 1956-with certain industries recording even higher levels. To name a few, the index in engiindustries stood at neering industries stood at 368.2 in 1956 compared with 106.6 in 1951; in shipping it

NEW AGE



hands of

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

ECONOMY

is thus basically weak, it

the latter has not been

very effective either. It has

been so not only becaus

rebuttal at the

good many of the Prime Minister's colleagues do not view the inter-relationship between the two sectors, as he does, but also because even he has not cared to lay down the line beyond which the private sector may not seek the area of its "fulfilment".

NOTES

-ESSEN



BY PROF. MIREN MUKERJEE, M.P. Some opinions about the book :

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN (Vice-President of India) :--"Shri Hiren Mukerjee has written a very valuable book on Gandhiji. In some passages, there is, however, a slight slant, but it is written with great insight and

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :

"(His) book will do a great deal of good to the intel-lectuals of present-day India, most of whom have learnt to admire without study....."

HINDUSTHAN STANDARD :

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THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA :

"....a dialectical understanding of the great man in relation to the spirit of the times is the raison d'etre of the volume under review." PRICE : RS. 5.50

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WHY DANDAKARANYA, WHEN

There's Enough Land In W. Bengal

The latest available information regarding classification of land in West Bengal is shown in the September 1958 issue of the Agricultural Situation India published by the Ministry of Food and Agricul-ture, Government of India. The figures refer to the year 1955-56 and include changes due to States re-organisation (cf. Table 23), which are as follows:

	•		Acres
Total geographical area			(approx.)
Forests		19.1	
Not available for cultivation			
(a) Land put to non-agricul-			
tural uses :	2.2		
(b) Barren & unculturable	·		
land :	36.1		
Total		38.3	1 . A. 1
Other uncultivated land ex-			· · · ·
cluding fallows	•		
(a) Permanent pastures &			
other grazing land :	0.4		
(b) Land under misc. tree	-		
crops and groves not in-			
cluded in net area sown :	15.8	•	
(c) Culturable waste :	1.9		
Total		18.1	
Fallow lands	- i - i		
(a) Fallow lands other than	· •		
current fallows	8.9 -		
(b) Current fallows	2.4	· · ·	
Total		11.3	
Net area sown	· .	131.2	

able waste (1.9 lakh acres) and fallow lands other than current fallows (8.9 lakh together lakh acres. The cultivable land required for settling agricultural refugee families should come out of this total. The small scattered culturable lands will not be suitable if rehabilitation colonies are up and therefore some idea of larger blocks of land is neces-

sary. No recent information in this regard is available and all particulars that are available are based on a survey carried out in 1944-45. These details for individual districts must be inaccurate by now but in absence of other data, the total figures are still to be used to get a very rough idea acreage of larger That comprehensive of total plot to plot survey along with land classification showed that blocks of culturable waste ranging from five to 99 acres amounted to 3.32 lakh acres and area of blocks of 100.

required development before they could be brought under cultivation, and the 3 lakh acres were classified by diflerent requirements such as, irrijungle clearing, terracing, etc. As stated by Sri. P. C. Sen,

Minister of Rehabilitation in West Bengal, in December 1957, the refugees got two lakh acres of land of which 147,009 acres were obtained by refugees on their own initiative with either Government loans or their own resources, and Government - acquired land came to only 61,000 acres (statement in West Bengal Assembly, December 1957). Assembly, December 1957). Since the refugees purchased their lands piece-meal, they purchased mainly fallow lands and also scattered pieces of culturable waste rather than making serious inroads on the blocks of culturable wastes. All these lands occupied by them are now included in "net area sown" or, for homestead land, in "land not available for cultivation" and cultural families. The Government earlier set a scale of three acres of agricultural land for a family on the argument that as the land would be irrigated and the cultiva-tors imparted with the knowledge of crop-raising in new conditions, two crops might be raised instead of one (it is generally accepted that five senerally accepted that five access of land with average acres of land fertility and one crop can sup-port a family reasonably.) This argument remains valid even now. The total amount required per family including homestead land and that required for common use was estimated by the Government at four acres. Therefore, for 33,000 families at four acres the total comes to 1.32 lakh acres or sav 1.50 lakh acres.

The United Central Refugee Council (UCRC), a central organisation of the refugees on its own initiative suggested

For Government-sponsored colonies also where efforts for rehabilitation were made on a somewhat large scale, the ceiling price fixed at the beginning was Rs. 150 per acre, then raised to Rs. 300 and in the Salanpur Colony Scheme the cost per acre was a little over Rs 400 This Salannur Scheme is an axample of how the demand for high prices by substantial owners can push colony schemes to very unsuitable lands. The deve-lopment cost per acre here push color unsuitable came to over Rs. 800, as stated by Dr. Roy, and then the scheme was abandoned as a failure. If the Government with the

help of suitable legislations isitions land with reason requisitions land with reason-able compensation then marginal lands of various degrees are available in West Bengal which can be developed at cost lower than that required in other States.

The present problem is not the dearth of land but dearth of fairplay by the influential owners of land in West Bengal. In this res-pect, these landowners are hindering rehabilitation of refugees just as they are hindering the improvement of non-refugee poor pea-sants by holding back cultivated land from redistribution. The poor refugee and non-refugee peasants thus find a common hindrance in the big owners of land in West Bengal. An awareness of this fact

has prompted quarters serving big landowners to raise the cry of conflict of interests between the refugee and nonrefugee cultivators and to keep absolutely mum on the role of these owners. Where conflict? Refugees are settling on lands requiring development and this is made possible through Government financial help which serves as their capital. The non-refugee poor peasants do not have land and they need cultivated land held by the big land-owners. In this case a redistribution of cultivated land is the solution. The professed intention of fixing a 25-acre in the recent Estate Acquisition Act was to collect the surplus and distribute it amongst the poor and landless peasants of the loopholes in the Act that very little land is coming to the Government for redistribution

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"With man-traps stole upon you those hunters whose fierceness was keener than the fangs

whose fierceness was keener than the jangs of yon wolves, whose pride was blinder than your lightless forests. The savage greed of the civilised stripped naked its unashamed inhumanity.

You wept and your cry was smothered, Your forest trails became muddy with tears and blood, While the nailed boots of the robbers

left their indelible prints along the history of your indignity."

- Rabindranath Tagore: "AFRICA"

THEY came from all the how ignominously they failed. corners of the continent, from the mines and the "lightless forests", the rich grasslands and the smoking ries, from the thatched huts and equally from the air-conditioned sky-scrapers, from the crouching, groaning soil of forced-labour and virtual slavery and from the resplendent, proud, upright earth of the newly independent States. They came to sound the triumph of liberty, to beat the

imperialists to QUIT.

To Accra, capital of Ghana, turned the eyes and ears of the whole world. It was not just the 300 delegates from 62 organisations and 28 countries, who listened at Accra from Decem-The her 5 to 13 to the voice of new Africa, united Africa. All man-kind listened. Listened and understood. Understood that, as

"Africa stands on the threshold of a new era-from years as a power in the world.

The words of Prime Minister Nkrumah, as he opened the Conference, were equally significant: This was "the opening of a new epoch.

66 Victoru For Us?

Confidence in victory was the But the largest "national group" keynote of the Conference. It from anywhere was from the was the theme of the songs the United States of America. delegates song: "In the struggle Friends of African freedom?" keynote of the Conference. It was the theme of the songs the closed

Said Nkrumah and he meant

"All Africa shall be free in Spy Under this, our lifetime." Free, he said, of imperialism and colo- The Table minlism

Mboya went further, Africa They claimed to represent curcial international com-must be free, not *tomorrow*, such organisations as the Afri- ences to pedile the Washing can-American Institute (a body line, sugar-coated with ban

was inscribed on a bunting the the wealth of Africa), the Ameslogan: slogan: "Peoples of Africa rican Committee on Africa, the leadership of Africa", of So-unite! We have freedom and American Society for African called differences between the dignity to attain!" The inaugu-ral speech by Prime Minister agency of U.S. imperialism—the ment and the All-African Peo-Nkrumah stressed: "Do not let Moral Rearmament Group. Cor-ples' Conference, of intermin-the colonial Powers divide us, respondents report that these able debates about "violence" the colonial Powers divide us, respondents report that these for our division is their gain." gentlemen were seen giving out How desperately did the immoney here and there and perialists strive to prevent this throwing about heaps of literaunity from being forged. And ture, praising the great bene-

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poses charged special cut-throat prices. For instance, while prices of various schemes in August last and eight of these schemes located in some of the southall land transactions recorded ern districts of West Belgal at Ranaghat Sub-Registrar's To Rehabilitate All Agriculturist Befugees

are separate from 10.8 lakh alone totalled about 88,000 office for the neighbouring acres now available for cultivation

If the 61,000 acres of Government-acquired land is de-ducted from 2.46 lakh acres (consisting of 100 acres and over), we have a balance of 1.85 lakh acres. To get an estimate of acreage of blocks between 50 and 99 acres, we may take half of 3.32 lakhs (total of five-to 99 acre blocks) and the figure comes to 1.66 lakh acres. The total thus comes to 3.51 lakh acres. To this should be added the larger blocks of culturable wastes and fallow lands other than current fallows of Cooch-Beand area of blocks of 100 and fallow lands other than access or over amounted to 2.46 current fallows of Cooch-Be-lakh acres. The total was thus 5.78 lakh acres. Which were not included in A check-up survey of blocks. Which were not included in the 1944-45 survey, and certain areas under water which can be reclaimed by drainage and in 1948 showed that the blocks which are not intensively required development before used as ficharies. Taking all used as fisheries. Taking all these types of lands together the total of lands in larger blocks may come to some-where between four and five lakh acres.

LAND REOUIRED

It is not suggested that all the four to five lakh acres are immediately suitable for cultivation or for refugee rehabilitation. But a total accounting of land as done above does show there is a wery good case for careful field investigation and pro-bably well over two lakh acres of suitable land will be found. As against this, the cultivable land required now for refugee rehabilita-tion is of the order of 1.50 lakh acres.

According to a statement made on October 13, 1958, by Dr. B. C. Roy, the present pro-blem of rehabilitation relates

acres. Another scheme sug-gested earlier, the Herobhanga Scheme (11.000 acres) in was investigated Sunderhans by the State Government. After working out the techni-cal details, the State Government submitted it to the Ministry of Rehabilitation in New Delhi in 1957. The Ministry is still investigating. Some schemes may probably be found unsuitable after close scrutiny but these attempts show that there are possibilities and serious efforts should be made.

DEVELOPMENT COSTS

These lands require development and the question of costs is important. The costs will naturally vary from place to place. From informal discus-sion with Government officials and with other experts it appears that the schemes in Sunderbans will cost more and those on culturable wastes or those requiring drainage will cost less. The estimates of de-velopment costs for different types of wastes vary between Rs. 250 and Rs. 500 per acre and an overall average of Rs. 400 per acre may be taken. Up till recently the Government scale of loans for irrigation and reclamation was Rs. 150 per acre and hence costs of the schemes would be beyond this ceiling.

The Union Government kept in force this ceiling in West Bengal and looked for land in other States on the assumption that costs would be chea-per there but recent experien-ces proved otherwise. During the year ending March 31, 1958, the Union Government sanctioned 65 schemes outside West Bengal for 8,834 families with a total cost of Rs. 339.22

O by SATYABRATA SEN areas varied at the time bet-ween Rs. 25 and Rs. 77 per bigha (one-third of an acre) the acquisition cost in 1950 for the Taherpur Governmentsponsored colony came to Rs. 200 per bigha for homestead land. Similar prices were noticed for land acquired for Media and Ramchandrapur colonies. And all the sellers

family for those sent to Rajas-

than was Rs. 5,000. It may be noted that if an average of Rs. 4,300 is granted per family

in West Bengal, more than Rs.

400 per acre can be spent for land development, provided the price of land is reasonable.

PROFITEERING

And this price of land is

the crux of the problem. Rehabilitation of agricul-tural refugees in West Ben-gal has so far foundered on

profiteering with land. The substantial owners of land

had been raising prices of even culturable waste when

Government sought land or

with Government help. Apart from an upper ten-

dency of prices due to high-

land for rehabilitation pur-

nds, the sellers of

the refugees purchased the

were very rich. In every case the prices In every case the prices were not so glaringly high but inflated prices had been a great obstacle. This was also noted by the Committee of Ministers (Sri C. D. Desh-mukh, Dr. B. C. Roy and A. P. Jain) who examined the pro-blem of rehabilitation of Bengal refugees in 1954

Bengal refugees in 1954. Article 31 of the Constitution was amended in 1955 and the question of adequacy of compensation was placed outside judicial review. One would have expected the State Gov-ernment to make arrange-ments then to resume efforts of land acquisition at 1948 prices but nothing on that line was done. Prices of land obtained for refugees went on rising and the Government cooperated with the rise. No Government-sponsored colo-nies were started in West Bengal in the last four years and now help is being given only under a scheme called "Bainanama" where individual refugees seek out land and the Government after approval ment irrigation and reclama-advances money. The sellers tion schmes can improve a of land increased the prices large tract and in such areas and the ceiling price fixed by the Government, Rs. 300 per acre, is no longer adequate. The Government with a restricted beginning has recently raised the ceiling to Rs. 1.050 per acre. At first the ceiling was Rs. 150 per acre, then in to about 51,000 families of lakhs. The average per family 1953 raised to Rs. 300 and now which about 33,000 are agri- was Rs. 4,330. The average per to Rs. 1,050 per acre.

is the capital for reclaiming ceiling on holdings State, but there are NO CONFLICT The lands for the refugees

and non-refugees are to come from two non-competing and distinct sectors namely for the land requiring development which would be outside the reach of the resources of the poor peasants, and (b) for the non-refugees, cultivated land now held by the big owners. Large-scale Governa part of the previously un-cultivated land can be given to the refugees but the sur-plus land held by big owners, in any case, should be acquired for distribution an ongst the local poor peasants. The argument that addi-

*** SEE PAGE FOURTEEN**

brained pen-pushers, precedented in fact. **Blood-Thirstu** Buccaneer U.S. imperialism played "role" with all the dash and the drum of independence to spirit of a blood-thirsty bucca-serve "the last notice" on all neer. On the eve of the Con-

neer. On the eve of ference, U.S. Assistant Secre-tary of State Joseph Satterth-waite made a tour of several African countries, and openly declared that his Government

looked upon the Accra assembly with extreme "interest". "interest" was clear enough: the would-be



-out of Africa to make to for "kindly" Uncle Sam and is bags of dollars.

It was an African Conference.

for Africa, there is victory for There are many such splendid. us" was the glorious anthem men and women in the United with which the Conference States and these were present at And every speech pro-claimed aloud the determina-tion to be free. "Independ-ence or death" — shouted Ernest Ovandie, Vice-Presi-the the Carmet of the Union of the Peo-states and these were present at Accra, some of them. But the bulk — some 35 to 40—were not the innocent "personal obser-vers" and "fraternal delegates" the hired agents of the U.S. State Department, sent delibedent of the Onion of the Peo-. State Department, sent denue-ples of the Cameroons, at the rately with the purpose of end of his speech. And the creating disunity among the de-cheers that greeted him were legates and at the same time of the cheers of men and women driving the conference along with their teeth grit, deter-lines palatable to the American mined, sure of their strength. imperialists.

Mboya went further, Africa They claimed to represent

"Peoples of Africa rican Committee on Africa, the

The striking story of their intri-gues — the little whiffs of it which have reached out to India till now is an amazing tale of devilry, the like of which one reads in the fiction of fertile-

fits which American cracy" could bring if its "way of life" were adopted by the African peoples.

To what lengths these spies went. One of them nan Keith (who came under the label of Correspondent of the African Special Report, the organ of the African American Institute) was found hid-ing under the rostrum of the Conference hall eavesdropping during a special closedor meeting of the heads of the delegations the day before the closing session. Keith was caught, handed over to the police. But what of all those who were not caught, but ment about their mischief. protected by the badges of "friendship" they wore?

One more instance of the kind of game the imperialists tried to play. Through misinformatio and deceit they managed to have the "flag" of the Chiang Kai-shek rump on Taiwan flown at the Conference hall alongside the flags of the independent nations of the world. The fraternal delegates from the People's Republic of China protested and did not enter the Conference hall till, on the Conference Chairman's orders, the dirty rag was removed.

organised imperialist The agents in the Conference did where indigenous populations their best to create differences exist under regimes of colonial between African and African, fascism;

Accra did not split and Accra went forward boldly and re-solutely, arming and not disrming the struggle for freedom of the African peoples

The Accra Declaration

Listen to the resonant words of the Accra Declaration and know that Africa has truly en-tered a new age. "The All-African Peoples'

Conference, animated by the spirit of unity and inspired by the declarations of the inde-pendent African States, and aving heard shocking accounts of the brutal operation of colo-nialism and imperialism on the continent of Africa from the representatives of the participating organisati

"REGISTERS its vehement protest against this ugly system:

"CONDEMNS the pernicious system of colonialism and im-perialism in the British and French African colonial territo ries especially as expressed in its extreme and most brutal forms in Algeria, the Cameroons and Central Africa, Kenya and South Africa, the Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozam-bique, Principe and Sao Thome,

cra and then become a dip lomat. He dared not show his face, even then on the rostrum, for fear of reprisals to his family. But he and others like him put the blood of their martyrs into each word they spoke and it was these words which poured out of the resolutions:

= by ROMESH CHANDRA

Maximum assistance" by the independent African States "by every means possi-ble" to the struggles for liberation.

Full support to .the Cameroons' struggle for unity and independence, observing as Cameroons Day February 20the day on which a Special Session of the U.N. General As-sembly meets to discuss the question of the Cameroons.

Full support to the Algerian liberation struggle, a call for the recognition of the Al-gerian Provisional National Government, a demand on France to open negotiations with the Provisional Government, congratulations to the Algerian soldiers in the French Army in Algeria who have deserted an open address to all African soldiers on the French side to join the Algerian Liberation Army—a day of solidarity with Algeria to be observed and funds to be collected to aid Algeria.

An economic boycott of uth Africa as a protest against its racialist policies.

Demands for the release of



between those north and those south of the Sahara, between Arab and non-Arab, among the independent nations, between Ghana and the UAR. Eagerly did the Western Press see points of discord, eagerly did it seek hope for imperialism fr every stray remark, which would be stretched to mean what it did not mean.

False Yarns

The Indian Press, dependent to its shame on foreign news coverage, was fed by precisely such false yarns. One such version of the Conference Was old to the Hindustan Times by an American named Homer A. Jack. This Jack, who claims to to be an American pacifist and a Gandhian (!) and a man of religion, miraculously appears at crucial international conferences to peddle the Washington Unity was the theme with financially supported by an ties and protesting too much which the Conference began American metal company with his love for peace and freedom, and ended. Across the wall, at huge shares in the Rhodesian His daily telegrams on Accra the back of the Conference hall mines and in other sections of kept up a running story of Cairo-Accra "rivalry" "for the leadership of Africa", of soand "non-violence", of "tensions between Russia and the West."

But alas for the Jacks and their mentors in Washington,

NEW AGE

tion of the natural and human ources in these areas:

"CONDEMNS the denial of human amenities and democra-tic rights as enunciated in the charter of the U.N.

"CONDEMNS racial segregagation, the reserve system and all other forms of racial discri-mination and colour bar;

"CONDEMNS the use of forced labour in territories such as Angola, Mozambique, Belgian Congo, South and South West Africa:

"CONDEMNS the political policies of territories like Cen-tral and South Africa which base their minority rule the majority upon apartheid social doctrines:

"CONDEMNS the alienatio of the Africans' best lands for the use of European colonisers

"CONDEMNS the militarisation of Africans and the use of African territories for the purpose of war, especially in Algeria, Kenya, etc."

Blood In Every Word

No mincing of words. No polite diplomatic language. The delegate from that slave colony of Portugal — Angola —did not risk his life and walk for miles and miles, hiding where he could, for three months

"CONDEMNS the exploita-
Protests against the proposed nuclear tests in the Sahara. And to coordinate the actions, to give them aid and consolidated leadership, a permanent organisation has been established at Accra, with a steering committee of 15 lead-ers: Tom Mboya of Kenya as Chairman and other leaders from Ghana, the UAR, Nigeria, Kenya, Central Africa, South Africa, Ethiopia, Algeria, Tunisia, West Africa, Guinea, Togoland, Cameroons and the Belgian Congo.

Violence And Non-Violence

It is important to understand fully the rather over-zealous championing of the cause of "non-violence" by the Western Press and their imperialist masters. For, no one is under the slightest illusion that the perpetrators of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have suddenly divested themselves of their fangs. The violence of imperialism could be seen in the eyes of the pa-triots assembled at Accra, eyes that had seen the prisons and concentration camps, the tortures and the mass killings of colonial rule.

It . was the same violent mperialism which again and again sought to detail the en-tire Accra Conference into a discussion on "non-violence

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PAGE FIVE

A Problem Unsolved For Centuries

Solved In A Year By China

J UST as the Israelites of Biblical times dreamed of Canaan as a "land flowing with milk and honey, so have the Chinese of a day that would have "fung yi tsu shih." The phrase means "abundance in clothing and food," and was found as often in China's ancient classics as in contemporary writings and utterances.

This popular longing stemmed from the fact that all through the long history of China the people were cons-tantly haunted by the spectre of hunger and famine.

In the past century, particularly after the imperial-ist invasions, the question of food became a perennial problem. The word famine was soon to become almo s with the nam ina. And this in spite of onina. And this in spite of the fact that China is one of the lands most kindly endowed by Nature. its peo-ple one of the most diligent in the most diligent in the world.

In the best year China used produce around 140 million tons of grain. After the Japa-nese invasion production spi-ralled downwards, and fell to 103 million tons by 1949, the year the country was liberat-This meant a per capita supply of slightly u rilogrammes for all purposes.

It was against this background that dire predictions, coming mainly from the Mal-thusians, were made about China. The picture they painted was one of the country's growing millions exerting a hopelessly unbeara "nopelessly unbearable pres-sure upon the land" and the inability of China to solve its food problem because the "rate of food production, in arithmetic progression, will not be able to catch up with its population growth, in geometric progression."

But facts show another picture. With more or less the same tools and methods used in the past, the peasant masses of China after libera-tion quickly brought grain production up to the prewar el, and in 1952, three years after liberation, exceeded the highest prewar figure of 140 nillion tons by as much as 143 million tons. By 1957, China averaged an annual increase in food crops of about five per cent (as against its nonulation increase of two per cent), bringing the total outmillion put of grain to 185 tons. Even then the rate was already two per cent higher three per cent given by the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organisation) of the United

Double Last Year's Output

But this year, the rate of development of agriculture is even greater, far higher than anyone had ever dared to imagine in the past. Grain production, according to the Ministry of Agriculture, will reach upwards of 350 million according to the tons. This is nearly double last year's output, and is also more than double last year's output of the United States, biggest grain growintry in the capitalist China's total grain output equals that produced in 1956 by the North Ame-rican continent, Central America, Western Europe, Australia and Africa combined.

This rate of development -not of two, three or even five per cent, but 100 per cent—is unprecedented in China or anywhere else in world, past or prese

This Year's Harvest

Of the estimated total, 185 million tons of wheat. rice. million tons of wheat, maize and other food crops end of September. . The remainder, standing on 60 mil-lion hectares, will be in most probably before the first frost.

The wheat crons, among 6 the first to be harvested and ranking as the second important cereal in China, ounted to 39.5 million tons This is 70 per cent over last year's. The national average vield went up from the 855 kilogrammes per hectare of 1957 to 1,485 kilogrammes, that 1957 to 1,485 kilogrammes, that is a 73 6 per cent increase.

Producing only 44 per cent of the United State's output in 1949, China now outstrips this biggest wheat grower in .

crease of 126 per cent over last year's. By the end of September, 60 per cent of the

country's rice crops had been brought in. The total rice out-put this year is estimated by the Ministry of Agriculture at

upwards of 180 million tons,

or equal to the total grain crop of last year. The national

average yield is estimated at 5.17 tons per hectare, higher than that achieved last year

by Japan, the highest in the

istry in other crops. The big-

gest gain is in sweet potatoes

registering an estimated 500 per cent increase over last year's. Maize is double and

nillet 60 per cent higher. The

smallest gain, made by soya bean, is 25 per cent.

Cotton has jumped to 3.5 million tons, a 100 per cent increase, to earn China

the laurels of biggest cotton producer in the world. It is over 800,000 tons more than

Contrary to what many

cople may assume, these big

harvests were not due to ex-

ceptionally good weather con-ditions. In fact, right from the

beginning the peasants were

U.S. cotton crop.

arkable increases are

also reported by the Min-

🗿 Ré

the West by as much as 1.3 nationwide rectification cam-

against the bourgeois Rightists is rice, China's prime food cereal. This year's output of early rice alone came to 43.5 million tons, showing are

confronted with the worst drought in 30 years, with the wheat and cotton belts in the north being particularly badly hit.

Neither can they be attributed to any sudden large increase in the use of machinery and chemical fertiliser, two most important factors vanced by scientists in highly industrialised countries such as the United States for agricultural development. The considered important, mechanised farming in China is still goal to be achieved in the near future.

The secret of the big harvest, in the current Chinese phrase, is "politics plus technique," and the element that is instrumental is peo-Chine's 650 million A population is not a liabut an asset. Chairman Mao Tse-tung recently said. "The more peop nle there are, the greater their fer-vour in socialist construction '

The most important factor is the political leadership provided by the Communist Party. In implementing the principle that "politics should be in command," things that principle that pollices should power shortage arising from of the major factors contribu-be in command," things that the "great leap" in farm work, ting to the record harvest. In normally were considered im- a mass movement to improve possible are now being done. farm tools started. A consider-This started with last year's able amount of deep plough-

against the bourgeois Rightists and the widespread Socialist

These brought about closer

relations between the masses and the Party and Govern-

ment functionaries; smashed illusions of a capitalist revival cherished by well-to-do pea-

sants and developed a greater initiative in the building of

Socialism among the people Then the announcement by

the Communist Party of the

reneral line of Socialist cons-

truction, clearly defined how

Socialism would be built in

China. The emancipation of

thinking which followed has

produced the present situation in which everybody thinks,

speaks and acts with courage

Technically, a series of

important measures, adopt-ed on the basis of intensive farming and taking full

advantage of the rich fund

over the centuries, was

launched after the autumn

harvest last year.

forward" (ta vao chin).

Ideology And

Technique

FOOD FOR A QUARTER

OF MANKIND

NEW AGE, the writer deals with the significance of this success and what it means in agricultural science and political economy. -Editor

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by China which in the short space of a year has solved a problem, the food prob-

lem, unsolved for centuries. In the second

article, which will appear in next week's

This is the first of two articles on the remarkable success scored in agriculture

hectares, bringing the total irrigated area up to 66.6 miltotal cultivated area of China much as a quarter ton. or one-third of the world's total irrigated land. A rough of how much had been done in this field is shown by the fact that in 1949 only 15 per cent of the country's cultivated area was irrigated, although China then already ranged as the first in the

world in irrigated acreage. The next important measure was fertiliser, mainly manufe. On the average ten tons, or ten times last year's amount, was applied to every mou (one-sixth of an acre or onefifteenth of a hectare). Good anti-pest work keep a large proportion of the wet rice and cotton fields free from insect pests. To relieve the manower shortage arising from

gation facilities for 32 million grain harvest. its per capita supply rose to nearly three-quarters of a ton, higher than the national average by as total crop is 3.2 times last year's.

Kansu in the semi-arid Northwest offers another interesting example. It was food-deficient until last year when it cropped 4.25 mill tons. Even a few years ago the idea of becoming self-sufficient had been regarded by many' as wishful- thinking. Now this year Kansu's total food crop, estimated at ten million tons is almost 23 times last year's harvest. Its per capita supply now is 770 kilogrammes, as against the 350 of last year and 160 in 1949. The good farm irrigation work done in this traditionally dry province has been one of the major factors contribu-

Congress and from Congress Sessions were given.

meeting of the AICC at Hyderabad. It is reported that Sri Subramanyam, the present Finance Minister of Madras State who is being fancied as favourite in the Congress Presidentship

China's Food

***FROM FACING PAGE**

MACHINERY AND CHEMICAL FERTILISER, MOTIVE POW-ER AND ELECTRICITY IT NEEDS SOON.

In the meantime, almost all sants have already the peasants nave another joined people's communes, which represent a higher stage development of Socialist developmen

or socialist utertorputation bringing the rural productive forces to a higher level. Much greater increases in the production of food and other crops are definitely ex-pected. Following the setting up of people's commune throughout the country, th People's Daily was prompted to write editorially: "Commun-ism will come to China much sooner than expected.

In an interview with the Chairman of a pioneering cooperative farm, Tsui Yingcooperative failin, and chu, of Hopei Province Chairman Mao Tse-tung se the following as stan for "fung yi tsu shih": 750 kilogrammes of grain per capita, 50 kilogrammes of pork, ten kilogrammes of regetable oil and ten kilo grammes ginned cotton. what the Chinese people have been dreaming for cen turies seems to be righ around the corner—the day o "fung yi tsu shih." righ

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was already half-through. The Director said, "Reddi was arready nan-inrough. The Director said, itedul has arrived, begin the play again." In the same fashion, the Congress leaders are now saying : "Let us discuss land reform de novo." Ceiling on landholdings is the first item for this retrospection.

express

forms Committee, in its to ceiling on landholdings. Sri A. P. Jain. Union Minister for of 1949, recommended on landholdings. It report of 1949, recommend said: "We, therefore, recom-mend that very large holdings should not continue. A ceiling landholdings should be fixed and according to our considered views, it should not be more than three times the size of economic holding." (Report of the Congress Agra-rian Reforms Committee, p.

The First Five-Year Plan also recommended ceiling on landholdings and as a first step to that, collection of cen-sus of landholdings. The Second Five-Year Plan made more definite recommenda-tions about ceiling on landholdings and suggested that the ceiling should be normally three times a family holding Any number of assuran ces and policy statements from, the Prime Minister, the Presi-dent of the Indian National

But the whole question was again challenged in the recent

race for the existed

tion. Then how can their splitting up now adversely affect food production? SECONDLY, in China, all the

A Bogus

Argument

farms of the landlords were parcelled out in small bits but instead of production going down, it went up by leaps and bounds. Similar is the experience of Japan, where a ceiling ence of Japan, where a ceiling of seven acres (in Hokkaido island only it was 30 acres) was fixed during MacArthur's regime.

efficiently-cultivated landlord farms are also being cultivated

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75—100 a			12			3	-3	1
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			U.S.A					
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	2-11-7	19-6 -2	11-11		5-1-2			

Size of Holding

Output per acre

Net halance DET 2CT

ants built new farm irri-NEW AGE

ing and close planting was practised, making fuller use of as well as improving the fer tility of the soil.

The scope of all this work is best described by the pea-sant sayings: "We move mountains and fill in the "When there's no rain, we'll take over the dragon king's sceptre," (King Dragon was a mythical rain-making our forefathers feared to tread." god in China.) "We go where

No Longer **Deficit** Areas

As a result there is not a single province that has not achieved a bumper harvest. The most striking fact is that all formerly food deficient areas, due either to low yields because of unfavourable soil and climatic conditions or to the fact that they were main erned with technical and daring. Ideologically, the 500 million peasants were prepared for a "great leap crops, have this year become not only self-sufficient in food but have a considerable surplus to spare.

Shantung, a province with population bigger than ither Britain or France, never in history was self-sufficient in food production, and even of experience accumulated by the Chinese peasants last year there were still some districts that were uc-ficient and had to rely on grain shipments from other districts in the province that had a surplus. This year, with an estimated 40 million ton In a countrywide effort the

self being a stupendous feat in this part of the country.

One Year Of Leap Forward

Thus in barley one year's "leap forward," the food problem of one-quarter of mankind has been fundamentally solved. The record harvest, achieved without much machinery and chemi-cal fertiliser, once and for all demolishes the Malthusian theory regarding food production and population growth in the so-called backward countries. The increase of five per cent from 1949 to 1957 in food increase already shook the "theory" to its foundations. This year's unprecedented 100 per cent "leap" packs this Mal-thusian piece of rubbish into the rubbish heap.

BUT IN CHINA THIS IS RE-GARDED AS BARELY THE BEGINNING OF BIGGER THINGS TO COME. IN SUM-MING UP THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS YEAR'S SUCCESS THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CALLED RECENTLY FOR AN-OTHER 100 PER CENT IN CREASE NEXT YEAR. AND WITH A CORRESPONDINGLY RAPID DEVELOPMENT ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT, AGRICULTURE EXPECTS TO RECEIVE THE NECESSARY

* SEE FACING PAGE DECTEMBER 28, 1958

Congress Going Back On Land Reform

Food and Abriculture, openly ed his opinion in Parliament that there should be

a truce on land reforms All this opposition is from the angle of food producosition is from tion: their argument is that ceiling on landholdings would reduce the efficiency of cultivation and thus would retard the efforts to increase food production. Ultimately, a committee of 15 members was appointed, which, it is now reported,

has recommended the impo ition of ceiling on present oldings by the end of 1961. If this is true, it means that the question of ceiling is buried five fathoms deep.

The most important argu ment raised, it seems. is that food production would be af-fected adversely if ceiling is imposed now and efficiently managed, large farms are split up. That this is a bogus argument needs no explana-

FIRST, these so-called efficiently-managed farms have existed for the last several decades but that did not help to increase our food produc-

THIRDLY, these so-called

reminds me of a proverbial Telugu story. The are all fragmented and scat-Village Munsif came late to see the drama when it compact blocks.

The vield per unit is not determined by the size of the farm. A lively discussion is now going on as to the optinum size of agricultural farm but so far nobody has argued that the yield per unit will depend upon the size of the farm

The Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee had given some interesting data on this aspect of the question box).

Size Is No Advantage

These figures will prove that, in these capitalist coun-tries, with individual landownership, the larger the size of farm, the lesser is the yield per unit. Hence, it cannot be proved that the splitting up of big farms would result in decline of production.

There is no evidence to show that big farms are efficiently cultivated. Use of tractors and other agricultural machinery, though growing, is still very small.

With regard to other methods of improved cultivation, that is also very small. Barring Andhra, improved varieties seeds are used in very small areas in other States (Assam eight, Madhya Pradesh 16, Orissa ten, U.P. 11.7, West Bengal ten, and Kashmir ten per cent of the total rice land) Similarly with wheat (16 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 32.9 per cent in U.P.).Of the total per cent in U.P.).Of the total cropped area, Bihar had 14 per cent, Bombay ten per cent, Madras 46 per cent and Mysore two per cent under improved, varieties of crops. (Figures are taken from the Review of the First Five-Year plan) These figures show that w that Plan.) These figures sl even all the landlord farms are not using these improved varieties of crops.

Similar is the case of use of fertilisers. Only 600,000 tons of nitrog Only about fertilisers and about 78.000 tons of phosphatic fertilisers were used in the last year of

These amounts are quite negligible and show that only a very small area of our culti-vated land is using fertilisers.

Under such circumstances. except for that of using ag-ricultural machinery, landlord farms cannot show any other advantage over the peasant farms. As to technique also, it is

the same. Only a few landlord farms are using tractors, agricultural machinery and such other improved implements Though this tendency is growing, yet, at present, the overwhelming majority of farms are using the same technique as is being used by the peasants—the same type of ploughs, same rotation of crops, same ploughings, same use of cattle-power, same ethods of cultivation, etc. The landlords may possess better cattle, may use more ploughs but the difference lies mostly in quantity but not in quality. So the argument that quality. So the argument that landlord farms are efficiently cultivated and that their splitting up would affect production is not true.

Smaller Plots Do Better

nmon experience chows that in our country production on big farms is less per unit than in the small holdings. This is not surprising. Many of the landlords are absentee landlords or at least, supervisers of their farms and get all the work done by wage-labourers who are not so much interested in production as in their wages. It is not so with the small landowner. He sleeps in his field; he keeps his cattle also in the fields and allows no wastage of dung and urine; he gives utmost attention to his field as he does to his child; he puts his entire labour and resources into the land: what he lacks in machinery he supplements with hi labour and his family's labour ments with his Thus, a diligent small landowner can raise more produc-tion per unit than a big landowner with his huge farm

That at least a good number of landlord farms are uneco-nomically cultivated is proved by the findings of the Rural Credit Survey. Among the up-per strata cultivators (the large and big cultivators ac-cording to the definition of the Committee of Direction) about 28 per cent get less than Rs. 400 gross produce per annum and another 34 per cent get between Rs. 400 and Rs. 1000. The Survey Report on to comment that a good number of those who are placed in the lower strata (small and medium cultivators, according to the definition of the Committee of Direction) by virtue of the size of their holdings have returned value of gross produce which places them in a higher class by virtue of this gross produce, whereas a substantial number of those included in the upper strata by virtue of the largeness of the size of their holdings are within the lowest group of value of gross produce. This also goes to prove that all landlord farms are not efficiently cultivated ple cannot be fooled by wrong and about 62 per cent of them arguments

The attitude of the Congress towards land reform in small plots, for these farms the First Five-Year Plan. are no more than uneconomic

Marketable Surplus

A seemingly weighty argument is made that the split ting up of large farms and creation of a multitude of subsistence farms would reduce the marketable sur-Ins. A more diabolical argument cannot be found. Today, a large number of the rural population-agricul-tural labourers and poor peasants-do not get even a square meal a day and do not find enough employent. If by distribution of surplus land of the landlords these half-starved, underfed population get a little more ed not feel sorry for that. If the marketab surplus is reduced by that it only means that proper distribution, without the grains actually coming market, is taking place at the production site itself.

Do these gentlemen who are worried about marketable sur-plus suggest that the producers of foodgrains should starve so as to show a big marketable surpl

In fact, the marketable surplus would not decrease. Today monetisation of our economy is so all embracing that eve the smallest producer has to sell a part of his produce to purchase his daily necessities. even from other producers in the same village. A produce producing paddy or millets has to sell a part of his pro-duce to purchase tobacco or chillies or grams grown in the same village. Thus, a part of the produce of even the smal-lest producer inevitably goes to: the market and thus the marketable surplus would suffer. Much more so when production will increase as a esult of land distribution and ownership rights being con-ferred on the tenants.

The argument that the existence of big landlord farms would sustain the market with surpluses is fallacious from another point of view also. Many of these landlord farms are leased out to ten-ants in small plots. The per-centage of land leased out by holdings of 50 acres and more each, is 36 in Andhra, 46 in Punjab, and 50 in Madras. The land in such holdings above 50 acres comprises about 30 per cent of the total cultivated land. So, if we leave out the tenanted land, only about 15 to 20 per cent of the total land can be considered actually under the 1 as land landlords, which may be supplying the market with surplus foodgrains. But is that all the marketable surplus? Thus, either from the angle

of increasing food production or from that of obtaining marketable surplus, there is no cause for concern about ceiling on landholdings. In fact, China, our great neighbour, shows that abolition of land-lordism and distribution of land among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants will help in increasing produc-tion as well as in obtaining marketable surplus. The peo-

6 by N. PRASADA RAO

GENERAL SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA



A sectional view of the women satyagrahis before Parliament House.

Two thousand volunteers from Maharashtra, braving the biting cold of Delhi's winter night (the mercury fell to 9.6 degrees centigrade), sat in front of Parliament House in a non-stop 30-hour satvagraha and focused the attention of the nation on the injustice done to the Maharashtrian people by the Congress Government which has refused them the right to live in their own linguistic State.

S the demonstrators A marched up to the ram-parts of Parliament House and squatted outside around portraits of Shivaji and Vasudev Balwant Phadke, the revolutionary leader of Maharashtra, Opposition M. P.s inside sought to raise the queshilingual Romhay through adjournment motio and walked out when the motions were ruled out.

All-Night Vigil

Through the day on December 18, the volunteers sat in front of Parliament House and as evening came, they lit bonfires and made shift with a few blankets and small food packets. They continued the vigil till next evening when they dispersed after so spec-tacularly presenting their

Once before, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti volunteers had trekked to Delhi to protest against the decision to set up the bilingual State of Bombay. Since then the Maharashtrian people have again and again given their verdict against the bilingual State and demonstrated their determination to win a unilingual State.

Congress in Maharashtra did not teach the Congress leaders and Government anything, there have been seven bye-elections held since, all of which have been won by the Samiti ramming home the one fact again and again: Maharashtrians won't have the bilingual

Verdict Against Bilingual

Three of the seats-one in Parliament and two in the Assembly—had been wrested from Congress hands in these bye-elections.

 The Jaina Parliamentary seat had been won by the Congress in the last General Election , with a majority of 32,000 votes. The Samiti won this seat with a majority of 2,815 votes and the Congress candidate who was defeated was the President of the Marathwada Congress Committee.

The Basmat (Marathwa- 500 Elected da) seat which had been won by the Congress with a majority of 800 votes was won by the Samiti in the bye-elec-tion with a majority of 1,325 votes

• The Congress had won If the General Elections the Nagpada seat with a with its debacle for the majority of 2,476 votes, in the

bye-election the Samiti candidate polled 512 votes more than the Congress.

The other seats were not only retained by the Samiti; in the bye-elections, in every-one of them, the Samiti im-proved its position.

In the Mazgaon constituency, the Samiti won the bye-election with a majority of 6,213 votes and in Gangapur the majority increased from 61 to 913 votes. The biggest victory was in Savantwadi where the Samiti improved its position by 7,000 votes. The Congress candidate lost his deposit polling 2,561 votes against the Samiti's 32,686. The other seat which the Sa-miti retained was in Pandarpur.

Again and again, thus, the people of Maharashtra had given the verdict-even in Marathwada which the Congress leaders thought after the General Elections to be unaffected by the movement for Samyukta Maharashtra.

The demonstration which came to the capital had the most representative character.

There were volunteers from all the taluks and districts in Marathwada, Vidarbha and Bombay and from the border

Representatives

And it was representative not only geographically. A huge chunk of the satya-grahis were elected repre-sentatives of the people-members of gram panchayats, local boards, munici-

A MAHARASHTRA STATE NOW

People Have Already Given Their Verdict. All They Ask For Is The Implementation Of A Popular Demand

2,000 SAMITI VOLUNTEERS FROM BOMBAY OFFER 30-HOUR NON-STOP SATYAGRAHA **BEFORE PARLIAMENT**

• FROM OUB STAFF COBBESPONDENT

pelities, Corporations and the Assembly. Among them

S. S. Mirajkar, the Mayor of Bombay;

Over a hundred members of the Legislature, notable among them Udhav Rao Patil, Leader of the Opposition, be-longing to the Peasants' and onging to the reasants and Workers' Party; Communist Members V. D. Deshpande, S. G. Patker, V. D. Chitale, Bhalerao, Bapurao Jagtap, Gaekwar and others; PSP legislators like S. M. Joshi, Varty and others; Bhandare of the Republican Party: Datta the Republican Party; Datta Deshmukh and U. N. Patil of

the dissident Congressmen; Independent members like Editor P. K. Atre:

-Four members of the Mysore Assembly-Sukhthan-kar, B. P. Neik, Birje and Shamjee:

bers of Parliament led by S. A. Dange and S. V. Parulekar of the Communist Party, Inde-pendents like R. K. Khadilker and Bharucha; N. G. Goray, Nath Pai and others of the PSP; Khobragade and Babu-Congressmen).

the Lal Nishan Party; Atma-ran Fatil of the Mazdoor lican Party and others. Kisan Paksh; Dr. Narvane of

There were over 500 of these elected representatives of the people in the demonstration outside Parliament House.

Apart from them, there were leaders of various parties con-stituting the Samiti like G. Adhikari and S. G. Sardesai -In Delhi the demonstra-tors were joined by 19 Mem-bers of Parliament led by S. A. hasabha. The volunteers be-

There were over 300 women in the demonstration: 150 from Bombay city alone, about half a dozen of them carrying small children. Such a representative demonstration had rarely been seen in the Capital

Many stories could be heard about the enthusiasm of the volunteers who had undertaken to go through ordeal in their struggle. instance, there was the story of the 30 volunteers from Bel gaum, all mechanics and small garage owners who decided to come to Delhi chartering their own truck.

They contributed each a



A partial view of the demonstration before Parliament House. Satyagrahis grouped round portraits of - Pictures by SALUJA PHOTOS. Shivaji and Phadke



During the 30-hour vigil-a woman satyagrahi raising slogans for Samyukta Maharashtra.

the police created some trouble about the truck permit. The volunteers put a huge Bharat Darshan board Appeal To on the truck and did the 1 400 miles to Delhi in eight days reaching just in time to participate in the deat the time

People Sent Them

Equally enthusiastic were Equally enthusiastic were the people of Maharashtra whom they came to repre-sent. Almost every one of the delegates was sent by people who collected the money and sent them to represent their villages and streets even.

As volunteers squatted outside Parliament House, inside the Lok Sabha the Opposition sought to raise their demands.

S. A. Dange said that "the strators have not come here to upset the law of Parliament.... They have come to persuade Parliament to change its own Act and not to upset an Act of Parliament."

Referring to border issues he said it "was surprising why this principle of arbitration is not being accepted by the Government."

Sri Nath Pai said: " sri Nath Pai said: "....a very large assembly which very large assembly which with other M. P.s to greet the comprises among others the Lord Mayor of Bombay, a very large number — nearly 100 MLAs from Bombay and all the City Fathers from the leading cities of Bombay State is a matter that deserves earn-est consideration from this

hundred rupees and made House. They have come here all preparations. It seems to seek justice from this House."

Highest Forum

Sri Khadilkar said that those who had come "recog-nise the sovereign body and so have come here. They do not challenge it. They come here to appeal to the highest forum in this land....whe-. ther you have done justice or not is not the question. The people must feel that justice has been done."

himself comes from Andh-ra, was criticising the satyara, was crucising the satya-graha, one M. P. shouted, "Do you forget the satya-graha which brought into graha which brought int being the Andhra State?"

The Home Minister refused to respond to the suggestion that he should go and meet the demonstrators.

Opposition Members then walked out with the sole ex-ception of Sri Imam (PSP) from Mysore. Sri Asoka Mehta and Acharya Kripalani were not in the House when the walk-out took place. Sri Mehta left the House just before the discussion began, while the Acharya did not turn up at

Neither did they come along with other M. P.s to greet the

Addressing the demonstrators, S. A. Dange commented on the Home Minister's op-position to the satyagraha and said: "Through years of satvagraha this Parliament has been born and today you are condemning satyagraha. Satyagraha is older than Parliament itself."

Bhupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha told the demons-trators of what had happen-ed in the Upper House and expressed solidarity with expressed them.

Acharya Kripalani made a brief appearance before the demonstrators the next day. When the Speaker, who as if to make up for the previous day's lapse. But the atonement was worse than the sin -the Acharva had not a word to commend the Maharashtra demand for a unilingual State.

Confidence In Victory

As the demonstrators after their 30-hour vigil packed up and left the precincts of Parliament House, one could see their confidence in the ulti-mate victory of their struggle.

The spirit of the demons tration was best summed up by Mayor Mirajkar, "The people of Maharashtra have expressed their opinion decisively in favour of a unilingual State. They are now only asking for the implementation of that popular demand '

The Congress Government cannot for long resist it in face of a determined people.

thi

NEWS FROM BROTHER PARTIES

DANISH COMMUNISTS **REJECT REVISIONISM**

T HE National Congress of the Danish Communist Party held on October 31 to November 2, 1958, gave an overwhelming vote of con-fidence to the Central Committee and rejected the revisignist position of its previous Chairman, Axel Larsen.

Larsen's political position was developed in a memo hum after the Congress of the Yugoslav League of Commun-ists, at a special Central Commitee meeting of the Da Party on May 31 and June 1. It was printed in the Party paper, Land og Folk, along with the statement of the majority of the Central Committee completely rejected it. which

Larsen's main position that the Party was not a Da-nish Party and would not be seen as such until it criticised the Soviet Union. He said that the Yugoslav theory that the Socialist States bred bureaucracy was correct; and that the Yugoslav criticisms of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, that they were sectarian and had "tenden to allow their policies to be de-cided from abroad, was correct.

He attacked the principles of democratic centralism. In addi-tion he advocated total unilaisarmament for Denmark.

FACTIONALISM

For months the discussion. in which Larsen indulged in open factional activity paralysed the Party's work and virtually disrupted the Party. The Congress was called to olve the position so that the membership could de-clare where they stood, end the factional and disruptive activity and clear the way for the Party's advance. The Congress was attended

by 224 delegates and after a two-day debate, the report of the Central Committee conemning Larsen's position was carried with only 12 votes against. The Congress resolu-tion, based on the Central Committee report, was also ad-opted with the same 12 votes

criticism.

The three documents are

the Draft Thesis of a general report for the Sixth National

Congress prepared by the Central Committee of the

resolution on the Party's

Harian Rakjat published the

open letter and a part of the Draft Thesis. The Sixth Na-tional Congress will be opened

on May 23 next year, which

is the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party.

According to the open letter

to the coming National Con-

ed. The four slogans are :

• To stand with the Indo

in the forefront in carrying on

the Indonesian people's strug-

enesian Communist Party

four slogans will be sub

The resolution said that "modern revisionism had made its appearance in the last few ears in the form of an internal trend intended to create suspicion and confus among the working class in all countries. Our Party repudiates

the Yugoslav Programme. Communis "The Danish Party must take its stand on sis of Marxism-Leninis and be guided by these laws in order creatively to apply general Socialist principles in accordance with the actual con-ditions in Denmark." gress, and they will become the basic 'slogans' for the Party in the period between the Sixth and the Seventh National Congresses, if adopt-

The resolution continued that defence of peace was the decisive prerequisite to the safeguarding of mankind as well as the future of the Danish people. It went on to state: "The

cause of peace cannot be separated from international solidarity among the various Com-munist Parties. The Danish

PAGE TEN

Communist Party condemns all attempts to take the opposite situation

The resolution declared that the primary attack of the imperialists was aimed at the head and strongest member of the Socialist camp, the Soviet Union. Enemy pressure on the Socialist movement would not be light-ened by giving way to slan-der. It stressed that the Danish Communist Party sup-ported the international soli-darity with all Communist Parties, this solidarity being the most important guarantee of Denmark's national independence.

The Congress resolutely re-futed the slander that internationalism would turn the Party into a "non-Danish and dependent Party." The resolution em-phasised that solidarity among Communist Parties was base on common viewpoints and on Marxism-Leninism. The Party was opposed to all efforts to undermine the solidarity and growth of world Communism. In the debate, full scope was given to the delegates supporting Larsen, although as the vot-ing showed, they were a small minority. Larsen, too, address ed the Congress defending his position. As the debate pro ed from the floor, his isolation from the ordinary rank-and-file

delegates-became more apparent.

When the Congress came to elect the Central Committee, he and his supporters recognised their isolation. The Danish procedure is for districts (corresponding to our State units) to make nominations which are circulated to the delegates. Out of these, a ballot paper is pre-pared with all the names, in-cluding the list advanced from out of the nominations by the Elections Committee elected by the Congress. The delegates then vote on all nominations by secret ballot

Out of 48 districts, only five nominated Larsen and his supmotion of the Central Com-mittee. After the vote on the resolution and the list of district nominations showed that the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon-now establish-Larsen's position was so over-whelmingly rejected, he along with his supporters withdrew their names from the ballot paper at the last minute. The Danish Party Cong-

ress has, therefore, decisively rejected revisionism. It ad-opted an immediate programme for the Danish people on the struggle for peace, resis-tance to the employers' offensive, the growing unem-ployment and increased rents, and called for the Party to work and unite with all progressive people and sections of the working class movement for these aims. It elected as its new Chair-

man, Knud Jeferson, a 35-yearold worker from Aalborg, a key centre of Communist support in Denmark.

Indonesia: Documents For **Discussion**

HE Indonesian Commugle for full independence and nist Party in a recent open letter has asked its democracy;

 To improve united front members and the people of the country to study three work and further isolate the diehard group; cuments to be submitted to the Party's Sixth Nation-To strengthen the international front against colonialism and safeguard al Congress and to put forward their opinions and world peace:

• To carry on the building of the Party so as to strengthen the close relations between the Party and the masses of the people, and consolidate the Party ideolo-gically, politically and organ-isationally. Party; the Draft Resolution on the Revision of the Party's Programme and the Draft

The open letter says that that the Indonesian Communist Party maintains that with the help of all Party members and non-Party people, the Sixth National Congress will achieve success and make tremendous con-tributions to the Indonesian national movement for inmondo and progress and to world peace.

According to Harian Rakjat, the Indonesian Communist Party will invite leaders of other political parties, military and Government officials, the Speaker of Parliament, the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, leaders of popular organisations and prominent persons in scientific and cultural circles to attend its Sixth nal Congress

KHALED BAGDASH ON

Arab Struggle Against Imperialism

rut, Khaled Bagdash stated

that the imperialists, espe-

cially the U.S. imperialists,

after failing in direct ag-

gression are now engineer-ing conspiracies to split the

growing Arab solidarity and

The Secretary-General of

ed as two separate Parties-

said: "It is impossible to de-feat the imperialistic-dangers

except by the force of the people which should be set

free so as to be able to act effectively. The only course to

be followed was the course of

Bagdash added that

somebody believed that the

current struggle against im-perialism had ended and the battle in the Arab world had

become as they described it-

"between nationalists and non-nationalists"—and if they

the Arabs was not that of im-

perialism but "the other dan-ger" as Nuri Es-said and his like used to say, "there is the

danger of slipping to the

He said that the imperialist

danger took the shape in the Arab North of the bilateral

treaties between the USA, and Iran, and between Turkey and

Pakistan. In the Maghreb

Arab, it took the shape of a brutal war of annihilation with which the French impe-

rialists assailed the Algerian

the shape of massacres organ-ised by the British imperial-

ists against the people of Oman and Aden. There was

also the American and British bases in most other parts of

the Middle and Far East. The

situation in Jordan and Saud

Lebanese coast. There

Arab State.

ing imperialist

"Imperialism is a fierce ene

my. It will never give up its

the policy of pacts and mili-tary bases and its economic

loot—the policy of firmly fix-

over the petrol of the region

taking possession of the mar-kets and working for the in-

filtration of imperialist capital

various forms from

domination

strategic goals in the region

danger for

believed that the

brink of an abyss."

people.

ists against

cooperation.

democracy."

ON December 15, in Al West into all the Arab States," Bagdash added.

> He emphasised that "as long as imperialism exists, the fraternity, collaboration and solidarity of all Arab ranks remained the principal and main item in the Arab liberation movement and furthermore remained the principal point that should be stressed the present stage of the

"Everything that affected or harmed the solidarity and cooperation of the Arab peoples must be avoided. For this reason we say that the Arab unity movement, which arises out of the actual existence of the Arab countries, can never grow up firmly except on the basis of liberation from imperialism

DEMOCRACY

"The Arab liberation movement and the Arab unity novement must be justified by true democratic⁻⁻ processes They must be built on a defoundation and on mocratic the basis of carefully consider ing the objective circumstances formed by history in each Arab country.

table for us to tighten our links of friendship with the Socialist camp that is led by the Soviet Union if we want the Soviet Union if we want to drive back the menace of imperialism, keep and pro-tect our national indepen-dence and lead the national liberation movement for-

He concluded: "We neve In the Arab South it took chart our policy according to narrow considerations connected with the inclinations interests of a particular faction or group. We always Israel—the aggressive, impe-rialist, Zionist base—which did not remain quiet. There was the U.S. Sixth Fleet off the rely, in the first place on Arab opinion based on true Arab nationalism.



Akhbar weekly in Bei-

Arab unity movement.

He continued: "It is ineviward."



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SALUTE TO FAIZ

POEMS by Faiz Ahmad Faiz. Translated by Victor Kiernan, People's Publishing House, Ltd. New Delhi Price Rs. 6.

IT is, in some ways, an It would be a colossal pity if advantage reviewing these translations of the poems of a most gifted Urdu poems of a most gifted Urdu poet, without knowing the original. My Urdu-knowing friends are somewhat divided about the quality of Kiernan's Some are amazed rendering. Some are amazed at his skill, others feel that Kiernan has done to Faiz what Fitzgerald did to Rubaiyat.

I am more fortunate in not having my attention thus divid-ed between the original poems and the artistic-Satish Gujral's cover broods in pain exacto the right intensity-pro-tion of the People's Publishtly to the right intensity ing House.

The poems in English are astonishingly subtle in their power. To one who has grown used to the tougher, metaphy-sical trend of modern poetry in his own language, it was refreshing waters, these lvrical outpourings of Faiz. Not so much intellect at the tip of one's emotions as the heart at the tip of one's pen.

The poems are divided into three chronological sections, covering some fifteen years. You find the earlier rather facile emotionalism giving place to real pain and the compa ssion of shared suffering.

One is tempted to quote the numerous striking lines but then this would be an injustice. For each poem of Faiz is closely woven and to remove a strand from its place would make it a thread, robbed of the value which comes from rela tionship.

is enough to say

Faiz has understood the place

of the poet as a politician, in that he has drawn into his soul the cries of the wretched

all too rare, this quality to

give concrete social and poli-tical questions the touch of

Perhaps the secret to this

magic lies in the poem called. "Two loves". In that poem Faiz writes of the tension be-

tween his personal attractions and sorrow and the public, in-

Faiz has not let his indi-

viduality run away with him nor has he felt that he should

stamp it out. He takes himself

to the people and connects

through creative tension, a dia-

lectical unity which always re-quires two bound and conflict-

The world of progress has

come to respect and even com-mune with Hikmet, Aragon,

Place Of Poet

As Politician

human anguish.

Classical Style

ture.

that

Nineteen 'Poems shows yet another aspect of this versati-lity. They are all written in the old classical style which we have been able to admire in the past through the effort Arthur Waley and, to a extent. Robert Payne. Actually and made beauty out of the for the snobbish it should be slogans of their protest. It is added that Robert Payne's col-

These nineteen poems cover the entire revolutionary period from the close of the 1920s to as late as 1957. We have memories of the first youthful stirrings in Changsha, the poetic transmutation of pre-Japanese-invasion civil war in Chingkang deed national, suffering. Of *Mountain*. The Long March-which is he to write? He writes during that incredible trek itof both and, therefore, it be-comes something, more noble by at least four poems. and human than either could there is the famous Snow The there is the famous Snow written in Chungking during 1945 negotiations with the Kuomintang.

> In the post-liberation period we have two fascinating poems to Liu Ya-tse, a sort of united front political campaign car-ried on through a most intricate

old school Despite the allusion the poems with Chinese my-

ing forces.

Eluard, Neruda, to mention a few who come readily to mind.

Arabia should also be consi-CONSPIRACIES There were attempts at disturbing the relations of fraternal friendship between the Iraqi Republic and the UAR. There were in

rialist conspiracies and at-tempts inside every free

Thone : 25794

Telegraphic Address : MARXBADI

DECEMBER 28, 1958



One can scarcely conclude

before noticing another poig-nant fact. Faiz is again imprisoned, again a turant pun-



Won't the conscience of the Indian writers make them utter withering conde and warm sympathy



NINETEEN POEMS by Mao Tse-tung Foreign Lan-guages Press, Peking. Price 40 nP.

thology, one is able at once to experience the impact of

genuine poetry with all it

concentration of image and emotion. One must say that it is quite remarkable, re-

But there is something else

did

among

the

right

to

115-

nembering as one does

work that Mao did through this period.

controversy

THE great masters of Marxism have, as a significant part of their contri-bution, left us also a legacy of style in writing. Marx's ironic passion, the flow of Engel's clarity, the intense penetration of Lenin's phrases, Stalin's utter simplicity and iron logic-all this has that immediately comes to mind, that should lead to fruit-

pitifully shown up the tired argon of some Marxist wri-In the immediate present we have had the theoretical works of Mao Tse-tung. There has

been a classical terseness and picturesque imagery, a combi-nation of the universal science of Marxism with the idiom of China, which have made the most political of his works at the same time pieces of

efforts lection—very prim and proper —ends with a poem by Mao.

blending of brevity and sugestiveness. The collection ends ith a piognant poem for -teacher friend.

> unfamiliarity the filling o



_ AMENA DAS CUPTA who are trying at least to apply Marxism to literature.

> Mao has written in an intro-Mao has written in an intro-duction that it would not be wise for the younger poets to go in for classical forms, which might prove inhibiting. Yet the paradox is that he himself has used the classical form to express very concretely revoluonary con

Two points, therefore, come up. One is the old point that Engels made when he said that entious literature was sential, but it should be rather indirect. It would seem that Mao's poems 'do achieve this indirect partisanship, which perhaps helps to make the poe-tic achievement greater.

This, however, has not been the way we have usually pro-ceeded with the result that while we have had Mayakovsky, there has also been far too much of mediocrity which seeks to appeal with right sentiments

a sort of distaste fo

Socialist Realism

The other point is of socia-list realism in poetry. Per-haps the term has to be far more liberally defined than has been the case hitherto, unless we are prepared to say that Mao's poems are examples of this trend in literature.

One feels personally that these Nineteen Poems if care-fully studied will help to liberate many a poetic power from of narrowness and t of a baaid the achievement of a lance between all the reso of the poet and the simple daily issues of our struggle. Abov all, they will help to make ou Above poetry more poetic and bring more poets cl er to the people



Textile Bosses'

Challenge

The textile millowners of West Bengal, led by Sri B. M. Birla himself, have flung a challenge to the entire trade union movement. They are out to circumvent and sabotage the omnibus Tribunal Award and go ahead with automa-tion. All the talk of "textile crisis" and "stock accumulation" is only to mobilise public sympathy and attack workers' living standards and employment.

SINCE 1948, the textile workers of West Bengal have been drawing a basic minimum wage of Rs. 20-2-6 and a dearness allowance of Rs. 30. Every time the unions raised the demand for a wage revision, it was turned down.

It was in 1955, that 17 textile unions came together and formed the Cotton Textile Workers' Federation, thus be-ginning the big united mobiliation on these long-standing demands of wage revision house rent and leave facilities It was in September 1956 that the Government of West Bengal appointed an Omnib Tribunal to go into the demands the textile workers such as basic wage, dearness allowan rent, gratuity, night shift allowance, leave facilities

In West Bengal, there are three types of textile mills: a) composite, b) spinning, and c) power loom. Birlas' Kesoram Cotton Mills are the biggest cot-ton mills of West Bengal, em-ploying 10,000 workmen. And B. M. Birla is also the President of the Bengal Millowners' Association.

The millowners tried all their tricks before the Tribunal and their Counsel, Sri Mitter, the leading barrister of Cal-cutta, argued as if heavens would fall if any wage revision was considered

as the ONLY form of strug-gle to be pursued by the en-slaved peoples. But the dele-gates refused to be drawn

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"The African peoples can

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And again: "The method of violence was

imposed on the Algerian people by the French colonialists."

tish Correspondent raised the

question of non-violence. The

a counter-question: "Do you think it is possible for the Alge-

rians and, for instance, the South African people, to win their independence by the me-thod of non-violence?" "No",

replied the British Correspond-ent. embarrassed, "I do not

But despite all their efforts to

split the Conference on this issue of the forms of struggle,

the imperialists failed. Unfor-tunately for them, the delegates were those who came from the inlicte failed linfor

battle-fields, who knew what they could do and what they

Imperialist

Efforts Fail

PAGE TWELVE

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FROM PAGE 5

years entitling the workers to draw a basic wage of Rs. 28.17 and a dearness allow-THE iron ore and manganese ance of Rs. 32.50. After ten mines, particularly in the Singbhum District in South years of struggle the wo ers were to get Rs. 10.50 Bihar and in Keonjhar more. Sundarnath Districts in North

But the millowners, led by the mighty Birlas, refuse take the award gracefully.

The Dunbar Cotton Mills of Shyamnagar has closed down a without giving two shift nonths' notice as contemplated by the Sixteenth Tripartite rethree months' advance notice have been adhered to, nor has commendation. The mana ment arrogantly says that it is no party to the Tripartite. The award has abolished casual into the matter seriously and done anything to avert or mitihas abolished casual and granted ten days' leave and granted gate the crisis. consolidated payment on the eve of Puja. But mills such as Even retrenchment compen-sation has not been paid to the Bauria and Dunbar are not implementing it.

Piece-rated workers orkers of the spinning and roving frames are not getting the awarded amounts.

Sri B. M. Birla, the President of the Millowners' Association, is reported to have warned the Government not to press the question of nonnlementation New marines, automatic looms are being talked of rather freely. Already in the Kesoram and the Dhakeshwari Mills, a weaver has to mind four to eight looms.

charged with showing favours to the big mineowners and the allotment of quotas has no uni-The textile magnates, have Nevertheless, the Tribunal flung the challenge. And the gave its award after two trade unions have picked it up. form basis

ACCRA CONFERENCE

LABOUR NOTES BY RAI BAHADUR GOUR. M.P.

SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

levelled against the State Advisory Committee meeting in Hyderabad in May this detailed note to the Govern-

ment of India. The workers, the trade unions Bihar Government has done to solve this problem affecting the life of the workers and the economy of Bihar.

The matter is serious and needs a thorough probe and an urgent solution.

JUTE WORKERS' DEMANDS

O VER 300 representatives of the Jute Mill Unions affi-According to a spokesman of the mineowners, the crisis is a creation of the purchase poli-cies of the State Trading Corliated to the AITUC, members of mills works committees and members of Provident Fund Trustee Boards met in Calcutta on December 14. Comrade Bankim

ii. MLA. President of the Benal Chatkal (Jute) Mazdoor Union, presided over the meet-ing. Comrade S. A. Dange, M.P., General Secretary of the AI-TUC, addressed the Convention toffers. Comrade Indraji Gupta, the Above all, the Corporation is Secretary of the AITUC and and

the General Secretary of both the West Bengal State TUC and the Chatkal Mazdoor Union, moved the main resolu-

The Convention noted that Trading Corporation by the the Indian Jute Mills Associa-spokesman of the Bihar Gov- tion was not cooperating with ernment itself at the Mineral the trade unions for a rapid and Advisory Committee meeting effective implementation of the in Hyderabad in May this recommendations of the Indus-year. And the Bihar Govern-ment was asked to submit a Government of India was re-

maining complacent. The Convention hoped that and the general public of Bihar mittee set up by the State Gov-have a right to know what the ernment would expedite its Bihar Government has down ernment would expedite its work. It demanded the devis-ing of an effective machinery to guarantee uniform implementation of agreed decisions in all the mills regarding minimum period of notice in all cases of closure, modernisation or raon, scaling of hadl tests, no reduction in complement except through natura wastage, no misuse of medical examination or superannuation by the management and no re-duction in the complement of

women workers. The Convention demanded formation of joint-committee at unit level to function under the special officer attached to the special committee on rationalisation.

It called on the unions, members of the works committees and all activists to be vigilant and immediately report cases of actual or suspected non-implementation or evasion of decisions by the managements.

The Convention expressed concern over the prices of commodities and call ed on the Government to: Appoint a wage board for

the jute industry;

Restore the Rs. 4|14 per month reduction in dearness allowance (effected by the tribunal award) by way of immediate interim relief.

In the event of delay in setting up a Central Wage Board, to enhance the dearness allowance from Rs. 32.50 to Rs 40 per month and link it up with the cost of living at the rate of one rupee for every five nointe

in consultation with the unions subject to a minimum annual honus equal to a month's wage.

The Convention great alarm at the fall in the prices of raw jute and the vir-tual refusal of the Government of India to do anything in the

criminal manipulation in view of the bumper jute crop in Bengal: Bihar and

The Convention demanded jute to Pakistan, and import ment to undertake prices and render relief to th

DECEMBER 28, 1958

SAURASHTRA UNDER DHEBARSHAHI

ment

gressmen

Lakhs Through

Relief Works

Sri Dhebar's constitue was in need of vacant poshence the eviction case against him should be ex-

peditiously disposed. Plenty more can be said about all the interference with the judiciary but space won't permit it here. Now to turn to another

aspect of Congress rule. Earlier we saw how Con-gressmen had become officials. There are instances of a numfollowing facts: ber of them who reverted back to politics and found places in the Cabinet. One Congressman who had become a Collector gave up the job to become a hotch-potch. Minister. Another who became Deputy Secretary in the Lab-

our Department was later taken into the Ministry. Officials not only became Congressmen and Ministers, they also used to work openly for the Congress in elections. A district food officer resigned his job to participate in the election campaign. He went round the villages carrying a gun. When the election was over, this official who had resigned his job was reappointed in his post.

Corruption is rampant under Congress rule but in the rampant then Saurashtra it can be said to have been legalised for big

political advantage. Saurashtra faced two severe famines after the formation of the new State. The first popular Govern-ment under Sri Dhebar's leadership decided to start relicf operations through mostly comp ed of Congressmen and up by the Governm These committees v n and set were given as commission four cent of the allotment made to them as relief contribution in the name of relief operation charges. that Relief works were also handed over to these committees. They rarely sub-

reportedly through the bro ther of a Minister. Another is the case of the Congress worker who became a food officer and deposited Rs. two lakhs of Governmen money with the bank in his own name. money was stolen

AUTOMATIC LOOMS * FROM FRONT PAGE

jects. The automatic looms project would be far easier to handle than these. Units of thousand looms each should industry. be built in the various parts of the country, to meet the national necessity.

If purely State Sector activity is not favoured at the present stage, it can be unlettaken in a mixed way. The nillowners who are interested in exports can be given and units exist even today in participation according to some parts of the country. participation according to their capacity in capital contribution

etoth produced on automatic workers, to add to unemploy-looms can be organised and ment and retrenchment and to needs of foreign exchange also create unrest. If our proposed met. It will not allow the pri-vate interests to use this na-

Another feature of this me-thod will be that when new units of automatic looms are built separately and are not introduced in the existing mills, questions of displacing existing ployed workers and producooms wil not arise directly, iately.

DECEMBER 28, 1958

could not-who knew also that this was no simple theoretical question but one of hard rea-lity: the forms were imposed on the liberation movements by the imperialist forces themselves and conditions varied from colony to colony. And out of their wisdom, the delegates unitedly declared:

"Recognising that national independence can be gained by peaceful means in territories where democratic means are available, it guarantees its sup-port to all forms of peaceful action. This support is pledge equally to those who, in order to meet violent means by which they are subjected and exploited, are obliged to retaliate.

And the special resolutions on Algeria and Cameroons were proof positive of the support the Conference gave to the armed struggle for liberation, wherever it was forced upon the African peoples.

Again and again, the leaders of Africa repeated: We want to win our independence peace-fully but we are ready to take up arms if it is forced upon us by imperialism. It is imperialist propaganda which always to make out that the col nial peoples are violent and that their repressive machinery is "forced" to act against this violence And our entire experience in India fully bears this

out. The debate on "non-violence versus violence" has no mean-ing for peoples who are in the thick of the war against imperialism

Conference which the American Press has gleefully sought to misinterpret and distort. The Christian Science Monitor (December Nkrumah 10) observes that "omitted all reference to the Bandung Conferof Afro-Asians three years ago, around which Afro-Asian unity efforts have revolved ever since.

CRISIS IN

MINES

Orissa, are in the grip of a

down, rendering about 10,000

miners unemployed. Our reports indicate that

neither the recommendations of

the Sixteenth Tripartite giving

the Government of Bihar gone

poration. Their complaint.

chasing only 64 per cent content ore and the iron

that the Corporation is pur-

mines and do not purchase from these owners. Moreover, the

mineowners want higher rates

from the Corporation and plead inability to supply at the rates

In fact, this criticism was

workers.

steel com

it offers.

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is

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anies work their own

crisis. Many mines have c

Africa And Ásia

There is no doubt that nothing would please the impe-rialists more than a break-up of the Bandung spirit. But to see in the All-African Conference the slightest trace of any possible conflict between Asia and Africa is a form of lunacy, of which only the U.S. imperialists are capable. Simultaneously with the Accra Conference, a Conference of Afro-Asian Chambers of Commerce, was meeting at Cairo and ended in complete unanimity, with proposals designed to cement Afro-Asian solidarity on the economic field_Again most of the delegations at Accra were from organisations or movements which participate actively in the Afro-Asian Peo-ple's Solidarity movement. For the lovers of peace and

freedom, there is no contradicion between the growing soliof Africa on the on and the growing soli-darity of the Asian-African

There is another aspect of the countries together. Let those onference which the American who seek to create these con-ress has gleefully sought to tradictions be forewarned of isinterpret and distort. The their failure.

their failure. The new united African Peo-ple's movement will become stronger and stronger the more it builds closer and closer bonds among the countries of Africa themselves, the more it links itself with the countries of Asia and Latin America, struggling to defend their national independence, the more it becomes a part---and an effective leading part-of the world movement

Accra is a bridge; from nou on, Africa has crossed into the world that counts, that shapes destiny. It has left behind the past when it might have been called the Forgotten, Left-Be-

Our hands are outstretched in friendship and solidarity with Africa. In India, we have cele-brated the coming of age of the young continent with "Quit Africa" meetings in many States. We shall go forward hand in hand with the All-African people's movement, popularising the Accra resol celebrating the days called by the Conference—solidarity with Algeria Day, Cameroons Day (February 20), Africa Freedon Day (April 25) — participating in the campaign for the economic boycott of South Africa.

At Accra, Africa rose in her mighty strength, as the paths of the strivings of her peoples merged. The lamp of Africa's soul is lit. It is shin humanity. ning for all

Introduce a bonus scheme expres

> It erposed the monopoly grip of the IJMA over the purchase of raw jute and the ery thousands of jute-growers U.P.

the fixation of a floor price for raw jute guaranteeing a fair return to the growers, compulsion on the millowners to maintain three to four months stock of jute in the mills, permission to export 200,000 bales of Indian of corresponding quantity from Pakistan, and organisation of marketing corporations by the State Covern purchase of jute and to advance money to growers against jute so as to help stabilising the



We are, therefore, totally against allowing the existing mills to introduce automatic looms in their existing units. We can consider a proposal to build- separate

only automatic looms. Such au-tonomous automatic loom mills some parts of the country. To allow automatic looms to

replace the existing looms is to By this method, exports of allow the massacre of employed method is accepted, this disas-

wate interests to use this na-trous result can be avoided, tional necessity for their own even though temporarily. We say temporarily, because, in the long run, rationalisation under the capitalist system of private profit is bound to lead to unemployment for workers and super-profits for a few big em-

We hope Government and the Conference will accept our pro-

for peace and independence

hind continent

mitted plans and estimates of construction works and rarely were completion certificates produced before final pay-

Detailed investigation just one district—the Zala-wad District—brought out the

No relief committee here submitted full accounts, what was submitted in the name of accounts was just Depreciation of foodgrains

at transfer stages was calculated at 14 per cent while the business community normally puts it at one per cent. Important food officers were most of them Con-

Thus the final picture that emerges is that Congressmen and their organisations bagged a huge amount-four per cent commission as relief charges lakhs of rupees in the name of construction works and 14 per cent depreciation in food-

while this was the general pattern, inside this pattern Congress Ministers functioned in their own personal inter-There is the story of the

There is the story of the silver worth Rs. 22 lakhs secured from Bhavnagar State. No Government reso-lution was passed for its sale, no tender was called. The silver was not sold in Saurashtra but in Bombay— reportedly through the hra-

Some of this when a

By this method, we shall be serving the interests of the country, the workers and the

Such au

clerk was cashing a chemie The matter went to a court of law and the officer revealed that it was not his persona money but that of the Government.

Government auditors raised questions. But the officer was not made to reimburse treasury in spite of their the marks. He was not sent to jail He was asked to resign, only to be appointed later higher post. in

The third instance is of an important officer who was involved . in a big corruption case. A departmental enquiry brought out scandalous features. The officer concerned conveniently fell ill-and the Government said on the floor of the House that since he was ill there was no need to proceed further with the matter

In Kerala whenever the Government has formed any committee. Opposition memhers have been nominated on them. Still Dhebar says they are being packed with Com-

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

munists. What used to happen

in Saurashtra? Five District Development Councils were formed in the State. About a hundred members were nominated -only in to these council one District Development Council was a solitary non-Congress member included. The non-Congress parties and people were not given any place in the boards con-stituted for backward class-es, khadi and village deve-lopment, small-scale indus-tries and so on.

These boards are semi-governmental agencies but they do not have to submit the names of officers they recruit to the Public Service Commission, they have their own payscales and it is doubtful whether their accounts are ever scrutinised by Government auditors. These boards, packed with Congressmen, naturally worked to the advantage of the Congress Party and its factions.

It was also a method of distributing favours because there is no limit to the num-ber of committees to which the same person can be nominated The favourites used to bag all the nominations-it recent ly came to light that one Congress MLA was holding membership in 30 commit-

tees. The members, of course get their travelling allowance, daily allowance, honorarium and what not.

Anart from getting finances for their party from all these Governmental sources, the Congress is said to have had its links with certain notorious smugglers. The leader of an interna-

tional smuggling gang who is at the moment standing trial in Bombay is reported to have given Rs. 35,000 to the Congress election fund. Is it really surprising then

that no smugglers could be arrested till Saurashtra was merged into Bombay State? It was in the days of Sri

Dhehar's stewardship of Saurashtra that notorious dacoit Bhupat used to terrorise the peasants of that State. That Bhupat was sponsored and groomed by a section of feudal interests is well-known. The way his escape into Pakistan was arranged cannot become part of this story. With all this that took place

in Saurashtra when Sri Dhehar was Chief Minister. one can only say about his utter-ances on Kerala: Sri Dhebar, you are trying to see the first Communist-ruled State in our country in your own image. But that is not how the people see it.



Textile Bosses' Challenge

The textile millowners of West Bengal, led by Sri B. M. Birla himself, have flung a challenge to the entire trade union movement. They are out to circumvent and sabotage the omnibus Tribunal Award and go ahead with automa-tion. All the talk of "textile crisis" and "stock accumulation" is only to mobilise public sympathy and attack workers' living standards and employment.

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Bengal appointed an omnibus Tribunal to go into the demands of the textile workers such as basic wage, dearness allowance, house rent, gratuity, night shift allowance, leave facilitie

West Bengal, there are three types of textile mills: a) composite, b) spinning, and c) power loom. Birlas' Kesoram Cotton Mills are the biggest cotton mills of West Bengal employing 10,000 workmen. And B. M. Birla is also the President of the Bengal Millowners' Association

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The Dunbar Cotton Mills of Shyamnagar has closed down a shift without giving two onths' notice as contemplated by the Sixteenth Tripartite remendation. The managethe Government of Bihar gone into the matter seriously and ment arrogantly says that it is no party to the Tripartite. The award has abolished casual leave and granted ten days' consolidated payment on the eve of Puja. But mills such as Bauria and Dunbar are not implementing it. the mineowners, the crisis is a creation of the purchase poli-

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ACCRA CONFERENCE

LABOUR NOTES BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR. M.P.

SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

levelled against the State Trading Corporation by the spokesman of the Bihar Gov-ernment itself at the Mineral Advisory Committee meeting in Hyderabad in May this Advisory Committee meeting effective implementation of the in Hyderabad in May this year. And the Bihar Govern-ment was asked to submit a detailed note to the Govern-ment of India. The Convention hoped that

The workers, the trade unions and the general public of Bihar have a right to know what the Bihar Government has done to solve this problem affecting the life of the workers and the economy of Bihar.

The matter is serious and needs a thorough probe and an

JUTE WORKERS' DEMANDS

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Mukher ji, MLA, President of the Bengal Chatkal (Jute) Mazdoor Union, presided over the meet-ing. Comrade S. A. Dange, M.P., General Secretary of the AI-TUC, addressed the Convention it offers. Above all, the Corporation is Secretary of the AITUC and charged with showing favours to the big mineowners and the allotment of quotas has no uni-form basis. Comrade Indrajit Gupta, unc Secretary of the AITUC and the General Secretary of both the West Bengal State TUC and the Chatkal Mazdoor Union, moved the main resolu-Comrade Indrajit Gupta, the

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ed into the morld that counts, that shapes destiny. It has left behind the past when it might have been called the Forgotten, Left-Behind continent.

Our hands are outstretched in friendship and solidarity with Africa. In India, we have celebrated the coming of age of the young continent with "Quit Africa" meetings in many States. We shall go forward hand in hand with the All-African people's movement, popu-larising the Accra resolutions, celebrating the days called by the Conference—solidarity with Algeria Day, Cameroons Day (February 20), Africa Freedom Day (April 25) — participating in the campaign for the economic boycott of South Africa.

At Accra, Africa rose in her mighty strength, as the paths of the strivings of her peoples lamp of Africa's merged. The soul is lit. It is shining for all

The Convention noted that the Indian Jute Mills Associa-tion was not cooperating with the trade unions for a rapid and effective simplementation of the

the special rationalisation committee set up by the State Government would exp work. It demanded i expedite the devis ing of an effective machinery to guarantee uniform implementa tion of agreed decisions in all the mills regarding minimum period of notice in all cases of closure, modernisation or ra-tionalisation, scaling of badd tests, no reduction in comple ment except through natural vastage, no misuse of medical ination or superannuat by the management and no retion in the complement of

women workers. The Convention demanded formation of joint-committees at unit level to function under the special officer attached to the special committee on rationalisation

It called on the unions, members of the works committees and all activists to be vigilant and immediately report cases of actual or suspected non-im or evasion of decisions by the managements.

The Convention expressed grave concern over the rising prices of commodities and called on the Government to

Appoint a wage board for the jute industry;

Bestore the Rs. 4|14 per month reduction in dearness allowance (effected by the tribunal award) by way of imme-diate interim relief;

In the event of delay in who seek to create these con-tradictions be forewarned of their failure. 40 per month and link it up with the cost of living at the rate of one rupee for every five points:

> Introduce a bonus, scheme in consultation with the unions subject to a minimum annual bonus equal to a month's wage.

The Convention expressed great alarm at the fall in the prices of raw jute and the vir-tual refusal of the Government of India to do anything in the

It errosed the monopoly grip of the IJMA over th purchase of raw jute and the criminal manipulation in view of the bumper jute crop this year throwing into mis ery thousands of jute-grow ers in Bengal, Bihar U.P.

The Convention demanded fixation of a floor price for raw jute guaranteeing a fain return to the growers, compultain three to four months stock of jute in the mills, permission to export 200.000 bales of Indian jute to Pakistan, and of corresponding quantity from Pakistan, and organisation of marketing corporations by the State Government to undertake purchase of jute and to advance monev to growers against jute so as to help stabilising the prices and render relief to the mitivators

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SAURASHTRA UNDER DHEBARSHAHI

Lakhs Through

Relief Works

hotch-potch.

Sri Dhebar's constituency mitted plans and estimates of was in need of vacant pos of his hous and hence the eviction case against him should be exneditionsly disposed.

Plenty more can be said about all the interference with the judiciary but space won't permit it here.

won't permit it nere. Now to turn to another aspect of Congress rule. Earlier we saw how Con-gressmen had become officials. There are instances of a number of them who reverted back to politics and found places in the Cabinet. One Congressman who had become a Collect gave up the job to become e a Collector Minister. Another who became Deputy Secretary in the Labour Department was later taken into the Ministry. Officials not only became

Congressmen and Ministers, they also used to work openly for the Congress in elections. A district food officer resigned his job to participate in the election campaign. He went round the villages carrying a gun. When the election was over, this official who had resigned his job ed in his post ed his job was reappoint-

Corruption Sts rampant under Congress rule but in the then Saurashtra it can be said to have been legalised for big political advantage. Saurashtra faced two

relief operation charges.

were also handed over to these committees. They rarely sub-

Not only that. Relief works

ests. severe famines after the formation of the new State. The first popular Govern-ment under Sri Dhebar's leadership decided to start relief operations through mostly com ed of Congressmen and set up by the Government. These committees were four given as commission per cent of the allotment made to them as relief contribution in the name of

Another is the case of the Congress worker who became a food officer and deposited Rs. two lakhs of Governmen money with the bank in his own name. Some of this own name. Some of this money was stolen when a

project would be far easier to serving the interests of the handle than these. Units of country, the workers and the thousand looms each should industry. be built in the various parts of the country, to meet the ational necessity.

If purely State Sector activity is not favoured at the present stage, it can be un-dertaken in a mixed way. The millowners who are interested in exports can be given participation according to their capacity in capital con-

By this method, exports of doth produced on automatic looms can be organised and needs of foreign exchange also met. It will not allow the priinterests to use this national necessity for their own even though temporarily. We Another feature of this me-

thod will be that when new units of automatic looms are built separately and are not introduced in the existing mills, questions of displacing existing employed workers and produc-tive looms wil not arise directly, and immediately.

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AUTOMATIC LOOMS jects. The automatic looms By this method, we shall be

We are, therefore, totally

against allowing the existing mills to introduce automatic looms in their existing units. We can consider a proposal to units of new tonomous automatic loom mills and units exist even today in some parts of the country. To allow automatic looms to

* FROM FRONT PAGE

build separate only automatic lo

replace the existing looms is to allow the massacre of employed workers, to add to unemploy ment and retrenchment and to create unrest. If our proposed method is accepted, this disas-trous result can be avoided,

say temporarily, because, in the long run, rationalisation under the capitalist system of private profit is bound to lead to unemployment for workers and super-profits for a few big employers. We hope Government and the Conference will accept our pro-

thing would please the impe-rialists more than a break-up of the Bandung spirit. But to see in the All-African Consee in the All-African Con-ference the slightest trace of any possible conflict between Asia and Africa is a form of lunacy, of which only the U.S. imperialists are capable.

Simultaneously with the Accra Conference, a Conference of Afro-Asian Chambers of Commerce, was meeting a Cairo and ended in complete -----

unanimity, with proposals designed to cement Afro-Asian solidarity on the economic field. Again most of the delegations at Accra were from organisations or movements which participate acti-vely in the Afro-Asian Peo-ple's Solidarity movement.

For the lovers of peace and m, there is no contradiction between the growing soli-darity of Africa on the one hand and the growing soli-darity of the Asian-African

NEW AGE

available, it guarantees its sup-port to all forms of peaceful action. This support is pledged Asia equally to those who. in order to meet violent means by which they are subjected and exploiimposed on the Algerian people by the French colonialists." ted, are obliged to retaliate.' And the special resolutions

on Algeria and Cameroons were proof positive of the support the Conference gave to the armed struggle for liberation, wherever it was forced upon

wherever it was forced upon the African peoples. Again and again, the leaders of Africa repeated: We want to win our independence peace-fully but we are ready to take up arms if it is forced upon us by immerialism. It is imperial imperialism. It is imperial propaganda which always seeks to make out that the col nial peoples are violent and that their repressive machinery is "forced" to act against this violence. And our entire expe-rience in India fully bears this

out ut. The debate on "non-violence versus violence" has no mean ing for peoples who are in the thick of the war against impe-rialism.

There is no doubt that no-

thre

years ago, around which Afro-Asian unity efforts have a part-a on, Africa has cross

Accra is a bridge; from

construction works and rarely were completion certificates produced before final pay-ment.

Detailed investigation in just one district—the Zala-wad District—brought out the following facts:

No relief committee here submitted full accounts. what was submitted in the name of accounts was just Depreciation of foodgrains

at transfer stages was calculated at 14 per cent while the business community normally puts it at one per cent. Important food officers were most of them Con-

Thus the final picture that emerges is that Congressmen and their organisations bagged a huge amount-four per cent sion as relief charges commission as relief charges lakhs of rupees in the name of construction works and 14 per cent depreciation in food

While this was the general pattern, inside this pattern Congress Ministers functioned in their own personal inter-There is the story of the silver worth Rs. 22 lakhs

There is the story of the silver worth Rs. 22 lakhs secured from Bhavnagar State. No Government reso-lution was passed for its saile, no tender was called. The silver was not sold in Saurashtra but in Bombay— reportedly through the bro-ther of a Minister.

clerk was cashing a cheque. The matter went to a court of law and the officer revealed that it was not his personal money but that of the Government.

Government auditors raised estions. But the officer was not made, to reimburse the treasury in spite of their remarks. He was not sent to jail He was asked to resign, on to be appointed later in only higher post.

The third instance is of an important officer who was involved in a big corruption case. A departmental enquiry brought out scandalous features. The officer concerned conveniently fell ill and the Government said on the floor of the House that since he was ill there was no need to proceed further with the matter. In Kerala whenever the Government has formed any committee. Opposition memhers have been nominated on

them. Still Dhebar says they are being packed with Com-

munists. What used to happen tees. The members, of course, in Saurashtra?

Five District Development Councils were formed in the Councils were formed in the State. About a hundred members were nominated to these councils—only in one District Development Council was a solitary non-Congress member included. The non-Congress parties and neonle were not given and people were not given any place in the boards con-stituted for backward class-es, khadi and village deve-lopment, small-scale indus-

In tries and so on. These boards are semi-gov-tries and so on. These boards are semi-gov-that no smugglers could be arrested till Saurashtra was is not have to submit the merged into Bombay State? names of officers they recruit to the Public Service Commis-sion, they have their own payscales and it is doubtful whether their accounts are ever scrutinised by Government auditors. These boards, packed with Congressmen, naturally worked to the advantage of the Congress Party and its factions.

factions. It was also a method of distributing favours because there is no limit to the num-ber of committees to which the same person can be nominated. The favourites used to bag all the nominations_it recent-ly came to light that one Congress MLA was holding membership in 30 commit-

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

get their travelling allowance daily allowance, honorarium and what not.

Apart from getting finances their party from all these Governmental sources, the Congress is said to have had its links with certain notorious smugglers. The leader of an interna

tional smuggling gang who is at the moment standing trial in Bombay is reported to have given Rs. 35,000 to the Con-gress election fund.

It was in the days of Sri Dhebar's stewardship of Sau-rashtra that notorious dacoit Bhupat used to terrorise the peasants of that State. That Bhupat was sponsored and groomed by a section of feudal interests is well-known. The way his escape into Pakistan arranged cannot become part of this story. With all this that took place

in Saurashtra when Sri Dhe-bar was Chief Minister, one can only say about his utter-ances on Kerala: Sri Dhebar, you are trying to see the first Communist-ruled State in our country in your own image. But that is not how the people see it.



W. Bengal Against Transferring next day when four Opposition parties (Communist Bloc, pSP, FB and RSP) jointly Territory To Pakistan

The proposed transfer to Pakistan of parts of to send full report of the de-Berubari Union in the Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal has caused widespread resentment here. Bengal has caused widespread resentment here.

 \mathbf{T} HE people are at a loss to understand why Prime Minister Nehru agreed, during his parleys with Mr. Feroze Khan Noon a few months ago, to hand over this portion of west Bengal's territory when it is neither an enclave nor a

Muslim-majority area. Not only that. The Centre hartered away the territory in a cavalier fashion without caring to consult even the West Bengal Government.

Opposition demand that the bject must be discussed in the State Assembly. An agreed resolution ex-pressing West Bengal people's

opposition to the propos transfer will come up before the House this week. The Government has further agreed

***** What Should Be The **Basic Approach ?** Pt. Nehru sets forth his ideas on the basic approach to human problems in his article "The Basic Approach" in the A.I.C.C. Economic Review. P. Yudin, the Soviet Philosopher in his reply defends

the Marxist approach to the basic human problems. Read THE BASIC APPROACH Publication next week)

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PAGE FOURTEEN

The depth of popular the issue on the very first day feeling on this question of the winter session of the can be gauged from the fact Assembly on December 15 (that the West Bengal Gov-ernment had to yield to the worther adjournment that the west be adjusted to the worther through four adjournment (ever, refused to give his con-sent to any of these. Comrade Jyoti Basu pointed

out that the proposed cession of territory was a grave matter and the West Bengal Assembly should have the Assembly should have the fullest opportunity to discuss it, especially when the Prime Minister had stated in the course of the recent Foreign Affairs debate in the Lok Sabha that the arrangement regarding Berubari had been arrived at on the advice of

West Bengal Government's revenue officers. Explaining the reasons for withholding his assent, the Speaker said that before any the subject in Parliament, the Legislature of the State concerned would have to be con-

press its views. Dr. B. C. Roy, West Bengal's Chief Minister, made a state ment in the Assembly on December 17, claiming that "our opinion was not sought." further maintained that oht" He revenue officers gave no opi-nion regarding the points at issue, nor were they authorised to do so."

He then read out the Prime Minister's reply to his tele-gram asking for the exact text of the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha

nent in the Lok Sabha . Comrade Jyoti Basu im-mediately got up and point-ed out that it was quite clear from Pandit Nehru's reply that West Bengal offi-cers had been consulted. He, therefore, wanted to know if Dr. Roy was aware of this. The Chief Minister admitted that he did not know anything.

The Berubari issue again

figured in the Assembly the

next day when four Opposisought to move an adjourn ment motion to discuss the Minister's statement. Consent was, however, refused

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Comrade Jyoti Basu said that since it was proposed to rectify some defects in the Radcliffe Award in regard to Berubari, involving merely an adjustment of boundary. it might not need any reference to the State Assembly. The to the State Assembly. The Speaker should, therefore, allow a discussion. Other allow Opposition leaders voiced the same demand. Sri Nepal Roy, a Congress member, said that they were also opposed to the transfer. Explaining the position, Dr. Roy stated that "at no stage

the State Government's advice was taken." He further said, that in his opinion "Berubari is an adjustment of boun-

Comrade Basu then pointed out that in view of this interpretation, it was all the more ecessary that the Assembly should have an opportunity of discussing the matter. At his request, the Speaker ultimately agreed to reconsider his

ruling. Later on, it was decided at an informal conference of different party leaders that a debate should be held on the hasis of an agreed resolution

an agricul family has

erators

of the Dandakaranya Scheme, probably because they like very much to have the area

developed at as much Govern-

ment cost as possible. Then private investments will be

lower and profits higher. But the question is why should

the money earmarked for refugee rehabilitation. It will

appear as a cynical action on the part of the Government to force the Bengal refugees to go there because that would

mean sacrificing these up-

rooted people in the name of rehabilitation before two kinds of monied interests,

namely, the big owners of land

in Bengal, and business con-

area be developed with

the

Refugee Rehabilitation In W. Bengal

***FROM PAGE 4**

tional supplies of labour in tional supplies of labour in cent and 43.0 per cent in West Bengal will result in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa diminishing returns, does not respectively in 1951 as com-really apply in case of the re-pared with 23.8 per cent in fugees because along with West Bengal. No wonder lab-labour Government help is our is cheap in those areas coming in the form of capital and people from those States (true also for non-agricultural refugees), and it need scarcely be mentioned that when both gument of diminishing re-turns does not make sense. If the refugees are geared to production efforts they will be contributing to our na-tional income like other pro-ductive workers and will be an asset to West Bengal What the factors increase, this ar-gument of diminishing re- then people in those areas will an asset to West Bengal. They will be a burden if the rehabi-

litation efforts fail. Since the Government has pledged help and the money is there, the efforts may fail either by Government howing to monied interests or by improper planning and mismanagement. Since we do not want additional hundens in the State it also be seen that Dandakaranis to the interest of us all to ya area is developed by the watch carefully that rehabili- least possible cost and surely, tation schemes are properly planned and implemented

Dandakaranya · Scheme

With this background let us now examine the Dandaka-ranya scheme. There is no gainsaying that opening up of new areas in India is very de-sirable and specially in an area affecting Madhya Pra-desh and Orissa where the proportions of agricultural lahourers are very high.

agricultural labour Some families have a little land but the major parts of their incomes come from wages. They are in fact very poor peasants and different from the landless labourers only by a shade. It will be seen that the pro-

portions of total agricultural labour families were 40.1 per cent and 43.0 per cent in costs suggested in official circles are not favourable The average overall cost of rehabilitating an agricultural refugee family has been estimated at Rs. 10,000. In regard to schemes in West Bengal we had been talking in terms of Rs. 4,000 come to Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal and crowd the labour market. If or Rs. 5.000 per family. Wha advantage is there in the Government incurring dou-ble the possible cost for rehabilitation? The spokesman of industrialists and mine-operators are also very vocal in favour

Higher

But what would be the point of injecting further labour from Bengal in an area where there is already a labour sur-plus? Are the refugees going to be still cheaper labour there? From the point of view of national interest it should least possible cost and surely, local acclimatised labour will be able to do better work than persons brought in from a distant place and quite un-accustomed to the surroundbrought in from a ingg

cerns interested in the mine-rals of Dandakaranya. Even the rehabilitation



cuisine. MANAGER.

DECEMBER 28, 1958

CHINA'S COMMUNES

gress has amazed all, but it has also angered a few. These few look around for some bricks to hurl some lice some bricks to hurl some lies to spread. It looks as if they have picked on the people's

"ant civilisation" is one of the politer phrases used. Then out of their dismay they clutch at the proverbial straw-the collapse of the communes The ants, it appears, like the worm have turne

And the straw? The latest Central Committee of the Chinese Party has; it is said by them, sacked Mao and bundled off the communes. It must all be true since a Spevery special-Correspondent of one of the bigg Indian dailies has reported i all from Hongkong. Sad to say, he is refuted in the same issue of the same paper by one of their more informed nentators. But who is going to turn to the edi ige? Front-page headlines e much more catchy.

A straw, however, is not a fact. And the facts are easy ugh to get at. The Hsinhua agency has translated the Central Committee (C.C.) dogument so one fan't claim ignorance of "heathen" Ching And how does the C.C. docu-

ment look at the communes? "In 1958, a new social organisation appeared fresh as morning Sun above the broad horizon of East Asia. This was the large-scale people's com-munes in the rural areas of our country

y.... ety-nine per cent of all asant households in China Nir the peasant households in China are members of the 26,000 communes which have replaced the agricultural producercooperatives.

As for the peasants the docuent states: "For the peasants all this is epoch-making news The living standards of th news and they know from practical experience and the prospects of the development of the comthat they will live a still better life in the future.'

BASIC MEANING

Nor does there appear to be any second thought about the basic meaning of the commu-nes: "Marxist-Leninist theory and the initial experience of the people's communes in our country enables us to foresee. now that the people's communes will quicken the tempo of Socialist construction and constitute the best form for realising the following two transitions in our country: first, the transition from collective ownership to owner-ship by the whole people in the transition from Socialist to Communication lso be foreseen that in the munist society, the future Co people's communes will re-main the basic unit of social

As for the towns: "In the future, the urban people's com-munes in a form suited to the specific features of cities, will also become instruments for transformation of old cities and construction of the new, socialist cities...."

For the present, due to the more complex conditions in urban areas, due to the fact that Socialist ownership by the whole people is already the main form of ownership there

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have been convinced. No signs of retreat, of loss of confidence in the course in all this. On the contrary, a bold reaffirmation and a clarion call for quickened advance. **URGENT TASKS** The urgent tasks at present

are to quickly achieve a unity of views on the communes among all members of the Party and among the people, streng-then the leadership over the communes, check up and conso-lidate their organisation, define and perfect their working systems, and improve the organi-sation of production and life in

devoted to a penetrating and thorough analysis of these urgent tasks. The tone is precisely a warning against exaggeratio of the social nature of the munes, against ideas that China is on the very threshold of Communism, against the con-cept that the leading role of the

Party or the practice of the widest democracy are no longer problems to be faced and solved. olution soberly states

that 15 or 20 years will be re-quired for the completion of the task of Socialist construction in It clears up theoretical cobwebs by pointing out that while'

there may be elements of own-ership by the whole people in the communes, its basic character is still collective or group

where is still confective of gloup ownership. "Still less is the change from agricultural ⁵ producers' coope-ratives to people's communes the same thing as the change from Socialism to Communism. The change from Socialism to more time even than the change from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by

the whole people." During this entire period of transition the wage paid according to the work done must occupy the first place in the remuneration to commune mem-bers, and it must increase "at a rate faster than that portion of their income that comes from

free supply." The scope of free supply is not to be made too wide and in any event this "system is not to make the life of the people NATO DISARRAY T HE latest NATO Council meeting ended in disarray uniform.... Care should be be taken to ensure as far as leaving cracks and wounds that will be hard to heal possible that members have Even before it began, the itable freedom of choice with andon Economist of December

in the framework of the free 13 had remarked: "The alliance supply system." Another important theoretithus goes forward into its second decade with its edges cal point on which clarity is achieved is the question of ewhat fuzzy in places with inhealed scars across its very commodity circulation. "It must be stressed that heart, and without any pros of adding to its scope or sta during the course of a neces-sary historical period commo-

dity production by the people's communes and the exchange of commodities between the State and the communes must be greatly developed... Continued de-velopment of commodity production and continued adherence to the principle of to each according to his work are two important question



people's communes should be "established on a large scale in the cities only after rich expe-rience has been gained and when the sceptics and doubters

hoter

The rest of the resolution is

will require much

principle in expanding cialist economy."

Very great emphasis is placed



the resolution on the fact that the communes have smashed only the old feudal, family system nartiarchial which "has long ceased to exist in capitalist society and this is a matter of capitalist progress However, we have gone a step further to establish a democra-tic and united family, something that is rare in capitalist society.

Finally, on the vexed question of "militarisation" which Pandit Nehru has also expatiated upon:

"What we call getting organised along military lines means getting organised on the pattern of a factory.... The forces of large-scale agricultural produc-tion, like the forces of largescale industrial production, are an industrial army. We are now establishing.... a Socialist in-dustrial army for agriculture based on democratic centralism, which is free from exploitation by the landlord and the rich the landlord and the rich sant and raised above the level of small-scale production .. It is absolutely not allowed ed along to use 'getting organia military lines' as a pretext... to infringe in the least on de-mocratic life in the commune."

edham of Professor Joseph Ne Cambridge, author of the monumental volumes on Chinese civilisation, and the most outstanding Chinese scholar in the West, may be permitted-through his letter to the New Statesman of December 20-to make the final comment:

"My most outstanding im-pression of China this year was of the unreality of the idea so cherished in the West that the population is dra-gooned to perform its tasks On the contrary everywhere one sees spontaneity times outrunning Gove neity (some planning), enthusiasm for increasing production and mo-dernisation, pride in an anciequipping itself ent culture to take its rightful place in

the modern world.... "Deeply in accord with old social traditions, this Chinoco principle (communes) is, I be-lieve, welcomed and accepted by the overwhelming majority Chinese working people Current criticism of 'communes' seems to rest often enough, on limitations of outlook characterstic of highly industrialised

Sure enough, a limited sort of unanimity was shown. All the aggressors together ignored the Soviet proposal on the eve of the meeting to discuss a nonaggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty

The trend continued with a blanket — and remarkably quick-refusal to discuss the Soviet peace initiative on Berlin. This was natural what renanchist West Gerenith .

many's growing preponder-ance in the European wing of NATO

The Economist of the same date had foreseen this when it wrote: "...allied policy towards Central Europe too often ap-pears to be dictated from Bonn. If, as now seems probable, the Western Governments content themselves with formally rejecting Mr. Khrushchov's Rerlin Plan... that will be only one example of this general trend." Having suitably established their aggressive identity and

fought off the Christmas atmosphere of goodwill, they settled down to their differences!

NATO could not even dis such thorny problems as the open split between Greece on the one side and Britain Turkey on the other over Cy-prus. Iceland met icy silence prus. Iceland met icy silence as the only response to her com-plaints against Britain over the territorial waters-cum-fishing

dispute. Worse was to come. France had demanded that a NATO triumvirate be formed-an obvious move against West Germany-which would act as the leading nucleus and would include her, now that her man of destiny had turned up.

To this the curt reply came in the communique: "There was general agreement that the outputs machines of MARCA existing machinery of NATO is well suited to the needs of the alliance.

This "existing machinery" has the American Supremo as its very heart and has been elegantly described by the British Daily Telegraph: "The American Supreme Commander has for the Americans der has for the Americans something of the quality that the Viceroy of India had for the British." And the American Viceroy "is the great mainstay of West Germany and Washington regards the Bundempehr as the backhone of NATO in Europe.'

Having had her amour propre hurt France just refused to agree to missile sites being set up on her soil without a

"French finger being on trigger." What is more; she de-manded that these sites be a part of the "infra-structure" of NATO and, therefore paid for by that organisation and not France.

= by MOHIT SEN =

Leaving aside Suprem stad's annoyance that only 21 divisions out of the promised 30 had materialised, the big bo nad materialised, the big blow-up came on the question of so-called European economic unity.

France and West Germany had combined to insist on the Common Market of the Six, while Britain led the proponents of the Free Trade Area of the Eleven more. The dispute was on the very mundane matter of tariffs and import quotas.

spiritual and The Christian, freedom-intoxicated West just broke down on this issue very material trade. Now they must love Marx! Britain's Eccles threatened to material trade. Now they

retaliate if the Common Market vent through, while French de Murville replied angrily that he under refused to negotiate threats

NATO was able only to mumble in its communique the pious hope that "a multilateral association should be established at the earliest possible date." The London Economist sar-

castically commented that NATO "preserved its festive air only by putting off all awkward decisions. The Six and the Eleven within OEEC did not make peace; they merely patched up a truce and will resume the battle in a month's time."

This revealing disunity however, be dangerous. It is possible that the Americans acting in concert with the neo-Nazis of Bonn will think up adventures to keep the alliance from cracking. Madness over from cracking. Madness over Berlin may well have much of method behind it.

While watching their disunity, we must remain vigilant about their unchanged character of aggression

(December 23)



PAGE FIFTEEN

BEGD. NO. D597

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT by ZIAUL HAQ Spotlight On Sorry State Of Land Reforms

The resolution moved last week in the Lok Sabha by Communist Member Chintaman Panigrahi served to spotlight attention on the sorry state of affairs that prevails in the country in respect of land reforms. The resolution called for the constitution of a 15-man Committee of the Hok Sabha to assess the progress so far made in land reforms and to submit a report to the House at an early date.

T HE serious concern that prevails in all sections of democratic opinion in the country over the slow pace and steady scuttling of these reforms could not fail to be reflected in the Lok Sabha discussions.

Many Congress members joined in the Communist Opposition's criticism of the Government and even those who insisted on taking a complacent view could not help admitting the seriousness of the situation. Panigrahi referred to the categorical statements made by the Prime Minister to the effect that he (the Prime Minister)

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Panigrahi referred to the categorical statements made by the Prime Minister to the effect that he (the Prime Minister) "had no doubt" that there should be a ceiling on land and that the sconfer it was done the better. Even Congressmen seemed to be having second thoughts on this question now, added Panigrahi. In States where the reforms had been carried out in some form or the other, Panigrahi said, a minimum amount of land had invariably been provided for the landlord. But, for the tenant no such provision had been made. In the name of "land for self-cultivation," he pointed out, a large number of tenants had been evicted from land. ...

Similar, he said, was the case

with rent. Wherever land rent had been fixed by legislation it was not being implemented properly. The tenants were being coerced to pay more rent just because they want to retain a little piece of land for themselves.

Something should be done, Panigrahi demanded, to distribute the eight million acres of cultivable waste land to the agricultural labourers. Such a measure was necessary not merely to improve their miserable condition but also to increase the produc-

tion of foodgrains. K. T. K. Tankamani, Madras Communist M.P., said that several State Governments had not brought forward any legislation for a ceiling so far and had conitnued to treat the Land Reform Panel's recommendations with indifference.

Holding Up Of Kerala Bill

P. K. Vasudevan Nair, Communist member from Kerala, charged the Congress Party of breaking all the promises it had held out to the peasantry on land reforms. He pointedly asked what was delaying a decision by the Home Ministry on the Kerala Jenmi-Karam Bill sent up for the assent of the President eight months ago by the State Government. West Bangel Beny, Chalter

West Bengal, Renu Chakravarty pointed out, was a standing example of the ingenuity of the ruling party in enacting land legislations while enabling landlords to keep their holdings intact. The attitude of the Congress Party appeared to be that there was no need for fixing ceilings and that land should be distributed among those who have some of it rather than among those who have no land. How such an attitude could help raise the social and economic status of millions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people, she was unable to understand.

Congressmen Criticise

Sri D. Thimmaiah, Congress member from Mysoer, assailed his own party for not keeping the promises it had given to the people on the land issue. Fixing of ceiling, he asserted, would not lead to uneconomic holdings as was being propagated by the landlords. He cited the instance of Japan where he said each family had two to three acres of land. By means of intensive cultivation they produced more food. Why could the same thing not be done in India, he asked. Sri Ganpati Ram, Congress temper from Uttar Pradesh,

Sri Ganpati Ram, Congress member from Uttar Pradesh, said it was unfortunate that even after being in power for ten years his party had not been able to take any effective measures with regard to land reforms. Several things we're being done in a number of States in the name of land reform which were not in the interests of the tiller at all. To begin with he insisted the Government must impose a ceiling on land holdings.

on land holdings. Socialist M.P. from U.P. Jagdish Awasthi said evictions and illegal transfers of holdings were on the increase. He demanded a comprehensive legislation in respect of land reforms.

The only two Congress members who participated in the discussion to "express gratification on land reforms carried out" were also not agreed on their emphasis. One of them insisted that no ceiling on landholdings, should be fixed till a ceiling had also been fixed on urban property and wealth, while the other said, the time had now come when "we, as a party should show our loyalty to the ideals we have set before ourselves."

The Planning Minister, Sri G. L. Nanda, who replied to the discussion followed a tactic which nowadays seems to be the favourite one of many Ministers including the Prime Minister—that of trying to drown and submerge the genuine and sincere anxiety about the fate of land reforms that prevades in all democratic elements in the country irrespective of their party affiliations in a deluge of complacent, high-sounding and rather equivocatory words.

According to Sri Nanda there was now no controversy anywhere on the main objectives of land reforms like fixing of ceilings or abolition of intermediaries or ensuring security of tenure to the tillers. According to him it was only "certain details of implementation" that remained to be worked out.

remained to be worked out. After all that had happened at the Hyderabad AICC and the open attempts of landlord elements to mount a propaganda offensive against land reform measures besides going ahead with the grabbing of land that they have been quietly carrying on all these years under the protection of most Congress Ministries, Nandaji's statement in Parliament can only be described as a deliberate attempt to mislead the people and put them off their guard.

Elaborating his Government's philosophy regarding land reforms, Sri Nanda pompously declared that the general approach to the question was not a narrow one of giving more land to some people or of depriving others of the land but to make the rural economy of the country more dynamic and provide a sound foundation for our programmes of development—a statement that perfectly serves the purpose of the land grabbers in the present situation.

Raw Deal For Cane-Growers

T HIS same hypocritical and equivocatory attitude characterised the Government stand on the question of meeting the sugarcane growers' demand for raising the cane price from Rs. 1.44 to Rs. 1.75. The issue came up in the Lok Sabha on December 18 which was the fourth day of the cane-growers' strike in U.P. Supplies to thirteen mills mainly in Western U.P. had been stopped by that time and more and more growers were preparing to do so in the next few weeks.

the next few weeks. It is a long-standing grievance which arose out of the arbitrary reduction of the price in 1953 from Rs. 1.75 to Rs. 1.31 for the cane growers supply to the mills. In recent months, the Bihar and U.P. State Assemblies, both having big Congress majorities, passed resolutions supporting the growers' demands. The Union Government has persistently refused to accede to it.

The strength of feeling over the question was such that once again party barriers broke down and the Prime Minister, hardly a few hours in Delhi from his meeting with Vinobaji, had to intervene and a Congress whip was found necessary to get Sri Braj Raj Singh's motion negatived.

The Prime Minister, quoting Vinoba, spoke of some "big war" that was impending between food production and sugarcame production in which, if the millowners were made to pay the growers 1.75 per maund, as they were getting in 1951-53, food production will be overwhelmed by cane production and food scarcity in the country would become greater. The same Prime Minister who in recent days has spared no strong words to defend the public sector against the onslaught of the private sector helplessly pleaded that India's capacity to compete in the world sugar market would inevitably go down because millowners were bound to raise the

owners were bound to raise the price of sugar if the growers' demand was conceded. • Braj Raj Singh, supported by S. M. Banerji and Sarju Pandey, had anticipated and answered the Prime Minister's and the Food Minister's arguments

Food Minister's arguments about food production suffering if the cane price were to be raised. Congress M.P., Pandit Kishan Chand Sharma also pleaded against that argument. Braj Raj Singh showed how the sugar millowners with a capital outlay of Rs. 70 crores had made a profit of Rs. 80 crores in the last four years, thanks to the reduced price the Government had imposed on the growers. He thoroughly exposed the millowners' malpractices by means of which they cheated the growers of lakhs and lakhs of rupees which the Prime Minister also admitted.

Sarju Pandey reminded the Lok Sabha of the old accepted formula that the price of cane per maund should be as many annas as the price of sugar is in rupees. He recalled that in pre-independence days, at the time when the price of cane was Rs. 1.25 per maund, sugar price used to be Rs. 20.87 per maund. The price of cane then went up to Rs. two per maund and sugar price rose to Rs. 30 a maund. Later cane was Rs. 1.75 a maund and sugar sold at Rs. 28.50.

"Ever since independence a strange phenomenon has appeared," said Sarju Pandey. "While the price of cane has been constantly brought down, that of sugar has been consistently pushed up. Today while sugar is priced at Rs. 38 a maund, cane remains at Rs. 1.31 to Rs. 1.44".

Where Is The Welfare State

Pandit K. C. Sharma recounted the sufferings of the peasantry today and his speech became a flaming indictment of Congress rule. He said: "May I ask, what is a welfare State? Ten years we have been in power.... I say, we have not done our duty to the peasant."

He said, there was "no reason, no argument, no logic, no administrative mechanism whatsoever," which would justify denying the peasant the increase that he was demanding in sugarcane price. That is the only way, he said, "to do a little service to him, to save his life, to save his honour."

Yet the Government did not see its way to do this and turned down the demand.

