

*Last the Rev* 4060-4

# BHILAI... ROURKELA...

## STEEL IN OUR PUBLIC SECTOR

● by wire from ZIAUL HAQ

Within a margin of a bare sixteen hours between their inauguration, India's first two steel plants in the public sector have gone into the first stage of their production and the glowing red stream of pig iron has started its heart-warming flow from two blast furnaces, one each at Rourkela and Bhilai.

PRESIDENT Rajendra Prasad performing the ceremony spoke at both places of the great and unique joy he and every Indian felt on this momentous occasion and the statement drew hearty response. Some 20,000 listened him at Rourkela and a lakh at Bhilai.

"Between themselves," the President said, "these two works will in course of time be producing about two million tons of ingot steel which will mark the beginning of the realisation of our dream for producing as much steel within the country as we need for our daily use and for expanding development."

Looking on the streaming pig iron coming out of the 2 blast furnaces, one's mind cannot help turning back on the two centuries of British rule when India was reduced to such abject helplessness that nothing like this even on a minor scale could be conceived. Nor can one escape the thought that what has been achieved by the public sector in free India in one place in barely two years with Soviet help and in another through a deal with some 40 West German firms in three years has been almost impossible of achievement by our much-clamouring private sector in 23 years.

The talk of Rourkela being ahead of Bhilai or vaster or superior in any way which might be fashionable in some quarters is just not true. Rourkela started much earlier than Bhilai. Still test tapping of pig iron started only on

January 26 and a week later it is giving only 400 tons a day while test tapping at Bhilai took place on the 3rd night and within ten days it will give one thousand tons of pig iron a day. The secret lies in the thorough and complete installation of the latest equipment in Bhilai's blast furnace which is not the case in Rourkela.

Speaking at the inauguration ceremony, Soviet Engineer Dimshitz declared Bhilai is the last word in steel and iron industry.

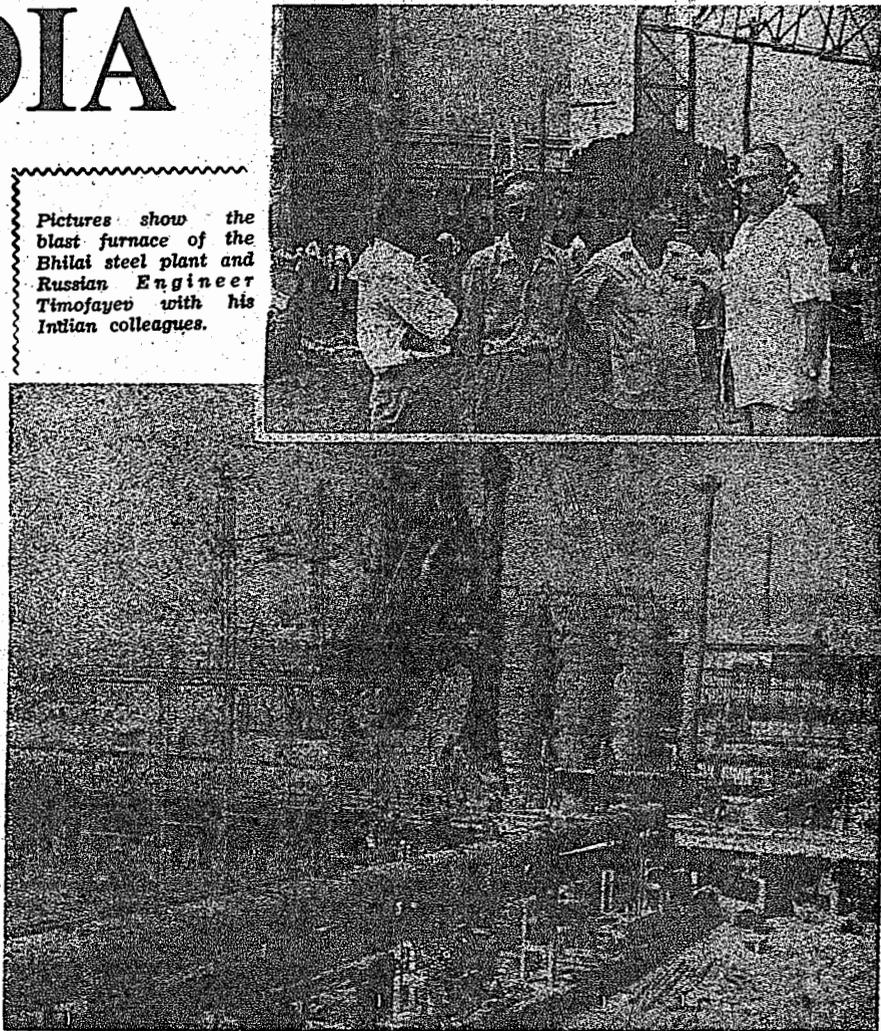
While both projects are magnificent and work on both is on a colossal scale the single most powerful impression one gets even after a hurried look round Bhilai is that the Soviet technicians have put their entire heart and soul into helping our people erect the plant themselves and in fully training them in that process for independently constructing and operating such plants.

It is acknowledged on all hands, here that Indian

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# PROUD DAY FOR INDIA

Pictures show the blast furnace of the Bhilai steel plant and Russian Engineer Timofayev with his Indian colleagues.



## Steel For Strength

It does the Indian heart good to see the Rashtrapati inaugurating the first blast furnaces of Bhilai and Rourkela. After all the frustration of waiting, delays and even waste, the first marketable pig iron has been produced in our public sector.

The Indian people have passionately wanted that their country be strong and independent and prosperous through her strength. They have urgently insisted that the Indian Government begin to lay the foundations of industrialisation which alone can generate that strength. Bhilai and Rourkela in the first days of February are the witnesses of the beginnings of greatness.

These steel plants in the public sector did not come easily. Many were the voices and vociferous who objected, both at home and abroad. Still louder were those who shouted that expansion in the private sector alone would suffice, or that at any rate all

negotiations should be left to our business tycoons.

It needs to be remembered that when the British let us down, when the West Germans were haggling and when the USA with all her stupendous production remained inaccessible, it was the Soviet Union which at the end of 1954 came eagerly forward. It was the Soviet offer that started the chain reaction and the Soviet project which to this day remains the most profitable and fertile for future growth.

Six hundred and thirty-one million rupees to be paid out in 12 annual instalments at 2½ per cent interest makes the easiest credit. The entire plant and equipment to be supplied at prices fixed in the project report ensures us against "escalating" prices. The association of Indian talent at all stages of construction, the provision for training of Indian engineers in the Soviet

Union which has no trade secrets nor patent rights, means the rearing of our steel cadres in the best way. The staying on of Soviet experts for three years after completion to supervise and train means that Bhilai will become the pace-setter for the industry as a whole.

In contrast Rourkela, though a useful fact, offers much less. Krupp-Demag are only the supervisors and consultants. Fifty other firms are involved. Contractors play an unhealthy large role. Training facilities are meagre. And costs, thanks to the vagaries of capitalist price manipulations, have jumped some Rs. 40 crores above estimates.

It should not be forgotten specially in these days of vigorous campaign against the public sector that with all its defects, weaknesses and even its stains of corruption, the State sector will produce as much steel with some five

years of effort as it took the private sector—with considerable subsidy, protection, price support—to accomplish in fifty years.

We have our criticism of the public sector and our proposals are there to make it more democratic and efficient. But we must sternly warn that any attack on it from the private sector is only a cover to deny India quick industrial growth. Steel has only rubbed in the lesson.

It has been reported from Bhilai that the cost of pig iron produced there will be around Rs. 120 per ton and steel around Rs. 200 per ton. This is the initial calculation only and our private steel magnates had better beware of the competition that is coming up and fast.

It has been calculated that the gross value of the pig iron and steel to be produced by Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur respectively will be about

Rs. 40 crores per year. It has been estimated that apart from saving some Rs. 150 crores of foreign exchange per year, the annual output can help us to finance two one-million ton steel plants every five years. We need say nothing of the vast university for industrial skill that these plants can become.

As the first blast furnaces are fired our thanks go out to all the vast army of workers, engineers and builders who have made this pride and hope of ours possible. We are grateful to all our foreign friends who have helped and laboured to bring this event about.

And on this auspicious day we are determined that the start will truly be a beginning for rapid effort and change to make this land of ours a front-ranking industrial Power dedicated to peace and Socialism.

(February 4)

## DEFEAT THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST LAND REFORMS

### Editorial

BEFORE the ink is dry of the Nagpur agrarian resolution on ceilings, etc., the landed interests inside the Congress have started their campaign against it. Ceilings and cooperative farming have become their main targets, and thanks to Congress tactlessness, the opponents are making full use of the fear of cooperative farming which every petty proprietor feels initially.

Last week Sri K. M. Munshi, reactionary Congress leader with pro-American sympathies, equated cooperative farming with despotism. He was excelled by Prof Ranga who, "defending" the peasants in cooperation with the ex-Maharaja of Patiala, gave free vent to the outpourings of his diseased mind when he attacked ceilings before an audience of Punjab peasants. Ranga used the traditional demagoguery indulged in by the vested interests when he said, "the imposition of ceilings on landholdings while no such limit was placed on non-agricultural earnings was social discrimination against the agrarian sector." He denounced joint farming and cooperative farms: "their much cherished economic independence and freedom from bossism are in danger of being subverted by the gilded planners of India... non-exploiting masses of self-employed producers are going to be subjected by our planners to the exploitation of managers, supervisors, Board of Directors," etc.

This demagoguery is, of course, directed towards the small peasant proprietor whom the landed interests wish to swing against ceilings.

Sri Nehru has sharply reacted against this propaganda and declared: "I want to declare here and now that we will stop any man from doing anything for his personal profit which harms the interests of people." Brave words, good words. But will they be implemented?

Even inside the administration, the initiative is still with the opponents of ceilings and there is no knowing whether land laws will be passed by the end of the year. If the lead of Sri Charan Singh, Revenue Minister, is followed in Uttar Pradesh, there will be hardly any land available for either distribution or cooperative farming. Speaking at Meerut on February 1, Sri Charan Singh is reported to have said, "it was proposed to fix a ceiling of 50 acres per family on existing holdings, excluding groves; for this purpose brothers will be deemed to constitute different families." This means quite a few hundred acres can be divided among brothers and relatives and hardly any land might be left for distribution.

What use are Sri Nehru's assurances in New Delhi if the Charan Singhs are to decide the question of ceilings in the States?

The agrarian issue which is linked with our food problem and further economic development has now become a serious issue and no amount of verbal salvos against reactionary landed interests will meet the situation. The question is: are the sponsors of the Nagpur resolution prepared to fight those inside the Congress who are working against it; are they prepared to remove those in the Ministries who are likely to sabotage the resolution in practice? The vested interests are not only outside the Congress; they are deeply entrenched in the Congress itself.

Besides, the fight cannot be carried on unless the overwhelming majority of the rural masses—the poor peasants, the agricultural workers—are swung into action in support of ceilings. The battle has to be fought against the feudal as well as other strongly entrenched landed interests who are in a position to sway at least part of the rural population through misrepresentation.

Hitherto the rural masses have had bitter experiences of Congress promises and legislation. This will be fully utilised by these very vested interests to give a bad name to ceilings. Unless immediate steps are taken to assure the masses that the Government means serious business, initiative may be seized by the landed interests. What is immediately necessary is to assure the rural mass of agricultural labourers and poor peasants that it is they who are going to be the beneficiaries of the surplus land secured through ceilings. It is further essential that pending the final legislation, an interim law or ordinance is passed stopping all evictions, declaring void all evictions since 1952 and making all transfer of land illegal from now onwards or from any suitable previous date. This and this alone will rouse the masses to support actively the measures to impose ceilings and frustrate efforts of the landed interests.

Without these measures, without first distributing the surplus land among the rural masses, abstract propaganda for cooperative farming only plays into the hands of the

# SCRAP-BOOK

## OBVIOUS RELUCTANCE

"We must guard against plans and programmes which, by their very nature, create conditions in which it (despotism) might become inevitable. The recent Congress resolution on cooperative farming is likely to be one such."

—K. M. Munshi—Speech in Delhi, January 29.

The Prime Minister devoted his 70-minute speech to a "straight talk" to people who were opposing the Congress programmes and telling the people that the latest land reforms proposed were taking the country towards despotism.

"There is no time for beating about the bush," the Prime Minister declared and added, "We have made it clear time and again that we have to establish socialism and democracy in this country."

—Press Report of Martyrs' Day meeting in Delhi on January 30.

"Mr. Charan Singh, U.P.'s Minister for Revenue, Power and Irrigation, said here yesterday that cooperative farming would not be imposed on landowners against their will.

"This, he said, would not be democratic and no democratic Government was supposed to force the people into cooperative farming. Such a step would not help increase agricultural production."

—Times of India, February 3.

"The U.P. Government does not seem to have finalised the proposed amendment to the Land Reforms Act to impose ceiling on landholdings. The legislative programme for the Vidhan Sabha's budget session commencing on February 9, includes an amendment to the U.P. Cooperative Societies Bill, but no modification of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act."

—Times of India, February 3.

If I am asked to introduce Sri Charan Singh, I would say he is the Congress Revenue Minister of Uttar Pradesh who goes around saying that his land reform measure is more progressive than that of the Communist Government in Kerala—so progressive that he is not prepared to go far enough to implement even Congress decisions.

It is nothing very difficult to find out what is behind

reactionaries who exploit the feelings for individual production and rouse the worst fears of the small producers. The masses will be swung over to cooperative farming after land distribution has taken place. Meanwhile everybody must be assured that cooperative farming will be a voluntary affair and that there is no truth in the propaganda that compulsion is going to be exercised.

Short of these measures, the offensive of the vested interests cannot be defeated. If the progressive circles inside the Congress move in this direction decisively and swiftly, they will secure the support of all progressive parties in the country.

Sri Charan Singh's and his Government's attitude to the Nagpur resolution of the Congress.

A large number of the Congress leaders themselves own large holdings. Some of them had it earlier, some of them got it as "fruits of freedom." Interesting estimates have reached me about the number of such landed gentry among the leaders, Ministers and Legislators of the Congress Party in U.P. Some put it at 20 per cent, others at 50—a very high rate, anyway, more than is healthy for the cause of land reforms in Congress-ruled U.P.

Many of them would rather give up their Congress membership than part with their land. Land in their eyes is permanent, God knows what will happen to Congress leadership tomorrow. One Congress leader who owns about 70 bighas of land actually said this. He accepted the Nagpur decision all right, but — and here comes the rub—he would not be able to give away his land.

An interesting offshoot of this whole situation is that one group in the U.P. Congress is trying to exploit Sri Charan Singh's reluctance to put through land reforms to get him out of the Ministry.

## AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

EVEN many of those who were convinced that there were plenty of things wrong with the American way of life would not have been prepared for what a programme over the Columbia Broadcasting System's radio network told them recently.

Call girls, madams, procurers and a top business executive spoke on how prostitution had become part of the American business way of life.

The narrator of the programme, Edward R. Murrow said that call girls — "the aristocrats of the prostitute world"—could average an annual income of 10,000 to 25,000 dollars or more. They came from all walks of life — secretaries, receptionists, school teachers, models, society girls, dancers, fad-gelting actresses or housewives in need of extra money.

The number of call girls being used to settle big business deals was a sizeable one, perhaps 30,000 in New York alone—in New York where prostitution is said to be illegal.

"Their clients are men

from equally varied professions," Murrow told American men and women — the broadcast was "recommended for adult listening only." In some cases, top executives are directly involved—giving instructions as to the type and extent of the entertainment their company will provide.

An unidentified man—his qualification: he himself had been approached to provide the services of top girls—told an interviewer: "There is a very famous madam in New York who takes care of your multi-millionaires only. 'She is a famous name in New York. She puts out a book every year with pictures of the girls she has working for her and sends this book to her very, very exclusive clients."

"This woman would make a flat fee of 3,000 to 5,000 dollars when big Corporations had a party, according to the number of girls they wanted..."

"And she'll send them a book and they will pick out the girls—there's no guesswork here. And she deals with the largest Corporations in the United States."

There are others who operate on a monthly account basis.

A woman, described as a madam, said that she dealt with a sales manager for one of the large companies who required girls for his parties mostly in the afternoon.

"The bill was taken care of through expense account tabs," she said, "but later on it got to the place where I billed them once a month and it was paid that way."

How does all this help business? Here is what a big executive, President of a large international firm, shamelessly admitted: "There is absolutely no doubt that prostitution, per se does help business."

"This," he said, "is the fastest way I know of to have an intimate relationship established with a buyer... The point is that I know that the buyer has spent the night with a prostitute I have provided."

"In the second place, in most cases, the buyers are married, with families. It sort of gives me a slight edge; well, we will not call it exactly blackmail, but it is a subconscious edge over the buyer. It is a weapon I hold, and I could discreetly drop it at any time when the buyer's wife is present... it is a weapon, there is no doubt about it—and it is a good weapon to have."

The Madams are happy, business executives, too, are happy. With such blackmail — it should be called exactly that—they are able to promote a good deal of business. But what happens to the girls?

A psychologist said a large number of call girls "end up in suicides, incurable addicts, or in mental institutions of various kinds."

I would like somebody at this stage to come along and talk to me about the virtues of the American way of life.

—DIARIST

# THE BAGHDAD PACT

Nothing highlights the danger to India, and all the Arab countries around, than the Baghdad Pact-gathering held in Karachi, which began its session on the same day as our Republic Day. The weakness of the imperialist aggressors was underlined by the fact that no one was satisfied with the outcome except perhaps Mr. Dulles.

LONDON Correspondent of the Times of India G. K. Reddy reported on February 2 that the British delegation returned "quite disappointed, that the alliance has lost not only its aim but also its sense of political purpose." The Arab Press pitifully described the speeches made by the Pact members as "funeral orations." The Indian Press called them "frustrated allies." The meeting oozed with the atmosphere of frustration and disappointment. It could not be otherwise after the resounding boom of the Iraq revolution, the ignominious failure of Anglo-U.S. military intervention in Jordan and Lebanon and the breath-taking demonstration by the Soviet rockets.

The defeatism in the enemy camp, however, should not blind us to the inherent danger which the very existence and the continued operation of the Pact imply. Historical experience teaches us that none is more desperate than imperialism and its puppets at bay. An examination of the discussions and decisions of this Pact meeting bears this out.

## U. S. Assumes Lead

The U. S. is not a direct member of the Pact, though for all practical purposes it is more than a member. The largest delegation of 50 members came from the U. S., which shows the importance attached by the U. S. Government to the Pact Council meeting. Mr. Dulles himself did not personally lead the delegation and this was obviously to put the "allies" in their proper place. The very record of the person who was sent as the leader of the U. S. delegation is enough to disclose the nature of the job the State Department had in view.

We Indians know Loy Henderson as the most insolent U. S. Ambassador ever sent to our country, who had to be recalled before his term. He is notorious in the Arab world as an old gangster conspirator against the Arab national movement and a butcher. In 1953, he successfully plotted for the overthrow of the Mossadeq Government in Iran. In 1956 he was sent to Cairo as the U. S. representative of the five-Power committee to exert pressure on Egypt to accept international control on Suez Canal. In 1957, he went round the Middle East to make arrangements for the conspiracy against Syria. He functions as a "brains-trust" for the "Anti-Subversion Committee" of the Baghdad Pact. He was duly praised by the U. S. State Department as a "valiant cold war fighter."

Everyone knows that not only the threat but the actual crime of aggression was committed against the countries of the area by the imperialist Powers, and that the greatest political reality of the region is the irresistible upsurge of Arab nationalism. Yet, the final ultimatum laid great

stress on continuing "defensive military operation" among the Pact countries and noted with "concern" that international Communism "continued its efforts to dominate the Pact area."

## Pact Of Aggression

Again, everyone with any memory knows that it was the Soviet Union which compelled the imperialist aggressors to retreat and let the Arab liberation movement have its way. The Anglo-American imperialists and their three remaining puppets, however, mean to persist with their aggressive military alliance.

The U. S. spokesman said that America's "massive military assistance programme" was the "strong shield" behind which "sound political and economic developments designed to further the best interests of our people can grow." Plain words, we all ought to know, have their opposite meaning in the dictionary of the dollar champions of the "free world" and "democracy."

The meeting decided that "the central military organisation of the Pact should be strengthened." A nuclear centre will be established in Teheran.

It was decided to establish formal "contacts with other free world security organisations," i.e., SEATO and NATO. The National Herald (January 30) writes editorially: "Turkey and Pakistan already provided the links between NATO, the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, and a formal link-up decided at Karachi will mean formal encirclement of the entire non-aligned bloc of countries from Indonesia to India. It is the Anglo-U.S. determination to keep the Baghdad Pact in being by all manner of means which makes it dangerous in spite of its being hollow at the base."

The military committee of the Pact reached agreement on the nature of the combined training to be carried out in 1959. Live exercises for "maritime and air defence forces" are to be staged this year. Land forces communication exercises will take place before midsummer. Headquarters and communications exercises are also being planned to take place later in the year. It is a pact not only with aggressive aims, but live teeth as well.

Much is being made in the Indian Right-wing papers of the fact that the U. S. did not give the guarantee demanded by Pakistan, Iran and Turkey to cover aggression in general and that this shows that the U. S. Government does not favour Pakistan's anti-Indian Jehad. The U. S. dilemma is real. It is aiding and supporting its puppets and above all Pakistan more than ever before, but it also knows that to irritate India and the Arab world against whom Iran and Turkey had demanded guarantees would be to swing the

whole Afro-Asian world of uncommitted nations against itself. It is, therefore, adopting the tactic of being formally neutral, while practically aiding its own puppets. It is the very dangerous line of psychologically disarming India and militarily strengthening Pakistan. It is wishful thinking or servility to analyse the situation otherwise.

The National Herald has put the situation correctly: "The Soviet Union is justified in rejecting Pakistan assurance that there are no military bases on Pakistan soil. If there are none, there will soon be... Vast arms supplies to Pakistan have already increased tension in this region and the new arrangements which are proposed will make the situation much worse." The Tribune (January 28) has demanded that the Baghdad Pact "should be scrapped" because it had "created bit-

ness but has adopted a national plan which reflects the wishes of the Iraqi people." Further, that the aim of the U. S. imperialists was "to suppress the national independence movements in the member countries and to wage conspiracies against liberated Arab countries and sow discord among them."

The widely circulated Turkish weekly news-magazine, Akis of Ankara wrote (January 29): "Pakistan was much more concerned with India than with the Communist danger of which she does not seem to be aware. As a matter of fact, this has been the greatest misfortune of the Pact from the very beginning. Only a year ago, Nuri el-Said, ignoring the Communist danger, tried to use the Pact against Israel. Now the place of Israel has been taken up by India and Ayub Khan was playing the role of Nuri el-Said."

# WEAKER BUT NOT LESS DANGEROUS

terness and increased apprehension of war—not against Communist countries but against countries like India."

The Rangoon Daily Mail notes with alarm that "Pakistan has received the largest amount of American military aid" and concludes, "it might well imperil safety of not only India but of Ceylon and Burma also."

## Reactionary Alignment

The Pact Council meeting considered steps "to increase political cooperation and to reinforce solidarity within the Pact." A Council of Deputies was fixed at Pact Headquarters for continuous consultations on international affairs.

The agenda of the meeting shows that they discussed the political situation in the Near and Middle East and the Tass statement rightly characterises this as "an undisguised attempt at intervention in the domestic affairs of the independent countries of the area."

The Damascus daily Al Alam wrote editorially on January 25 that the Karachi meeting of the Baghdad Pact was aimed at fighting the Arab countries and Arab nationalism.

The Anti-Subversion Committee of the Pact met to discuss the internal situation in the countries and plotted how to suppress the patriotic elements and stage diversionary moves.

## Provocative Campaign

Pakistan had staged what Tass has aptly called "a noisy provocative campaign" against India, Turkey and Iran against the USA and Iraq.

The Beirut Daily, Al Nida, wrote that "the principal goal of the Karachi Conference is to organise a conspiracy against the Iraq Republic which does not submit to imperia-

lism but has adopted a national plan which reflects the wishes of the Iraqi people." Further, that the aim of the U. S. imperialists was "to suppress the national independence movements in the member countries and to wage conspiracies against liberated Arab countries and sow discord among them."

It was decided to set up a multilateral technical cooperation fund, but the U. K. agreed to provide £850,000 though it had promised previously to provide two million pounds. The U.S. offered a paltry 50,000 dollars. According to the Times of Karachi, "Considerable surprise" has been caused by the persistent unwillingness of the U.S. to provide more."

## Keep Them Weak

The Times of India (January 28) editorially comments: "All of them (the Pact countries) can now see for themselves that the promise of the economic gains that was supposed to result from the alliance has not been kept... The niggardly sums that Britain and the USA offer for

technical aid and other economic projects show what little importance they attach to the economic development of the region. Their sole aim is to keep Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, now that Iraq is out of it, in the cold war mesh."

Such unconcern towards its own loyal allies appears odd, but there is a very sound explanation for it and it has been provided by the most influential U. S. oil magnate, Nelson Rockefeller. During 1956, in a confidential letter to the U. S. President, concerning "foreign aid," he stated that those countries which had been tied to the U. S. by means of stable, long-term military agreements were fish on the hook and no bait was needed. The U. S. Government subsidies and loans might mainly take the form of military appropriations. But extensive appropriations for economic aid would, on the contrary, tend to increase their demands for independence and, therefore, weaken the current military alliance. The imperialists to make their military alliance enduring keep their allies weak and ever-dependent.

The bulk of the nationalist Press in India, as also of the Arab countries and Indonesia, has closely followed the Karachi meeting and is aware of the dangers. The U.S. imperialists are taking full advantage of the internal and economic difficulties of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan and have used their reactionary rulers to draw these countries "ever deeper into the quagmire of their adventurist plans linked with the preparations of another war." The patriotic circles of India realise that the imperialist plans are perfi-

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# THE DUEL BEGINS

THE Nagpur resolutions gave some confidence to honest Congressmen as they caused some concern to the vested interests and the reactionaries both within and outside the Congress.

The discomfort of the reactionaries is expressed by the columnist of the Hindustan Times (January 28) under the headline "A climate of uncertainty", where he takes "note of the rather frightening political climate that one senses in New Delhi. It is a climate of suspicion and insinuation, of hush talk and cabalistic asides. . . . Outward spectacle of unity we see in the Cabinet today is not free men joined in common action. It is the unity imposed on craven men by a dominant personality."

## BUT COMPLACENT

While Pandit Nehru has boldly hurled back the reactionary political offensive, he has also indulged in complacency which only hides ugly reality. For example, he stated: "We are in control of the food situation and shall soon master it."

On the same page of the Times of India where his speech is reported, there is another headline: "They have to miss a meal—Scarcity again in rural Delhi." The Statesman next day reported that 50 thousand tons of wheat are being rushed to the Punjab which has traditionally been the granary of India.

## NEHRU SPEAKS UP

The Prime Minister answered the reactionaries within his own party and the Big Business Press in his Gandhi Jayanti Day speech in bold and emphatic words:

"I am amazed at the activity of some people to keep this pledge of Socialism shrouded in equivocal language and prevent its fulfilment. We will firmly march forward to attain this goal and fulfil this pledge of Socialism. A retreat at this juncture from this objective would be a betrayal of the nation," he declared.

Answering the ideological baiters, who donned the nationalist mask, he said: "It was not necessary to imitate any other country to achieve the Socialist objective. Methods might differ, but the basic policies and principles have to be followed."

He defended land reforms and cooperative farming and poured withering sarcasm on "some people" who had made it an "industry" to describe every step towards Socialism as "dangerous and disastrous." He answered the reactionaries who considered the Second Plan as over-ambitions in the following words: "In the treatment of a patient, it was not possible to economise on medicines."

## SOUND ARGUMENTS

The National Herald is the most progressive voice of Congress opinion. In its editorial of February 3, it has effectively answered the Munshi arguments and the Ranga thesis. Answering Munshi's first argument that cooperative farming had failed wherever it had been tried in India, it referred to December 1956 "Studies in Cooperative Farming," published by the Government of India which established that "cooperative farming was working successfully, though in some unpropitious conditions it was not."

Answering the second argument that nowhere in the world has cooperative farming on a voluntary basis worked, it states that though Sri Munshi "wants to insist that in China, too, compulsion has been used, faith and persuasion are known to have played a great part." Putting the USSR as a "totalitarian country", within quotes, it states: "Nobody can argue that collective farming in the Soviet Union has not led to increase in food production, when the 21st Party Congress of the Soviet Union is further demonstrating the triumph of Soviet economy."

# NOTES OF THE WEEK

sation against the Nagpur policy-makers of wanting the people to become "the politico-economic slaves of Soviet oriented State Socialism," the National Herald states: "This intense dislike of the Soviet Union partly explains Mr. Ranga's opposition to India deriving the benefits from the experiences of other countries, whatever their ideological backgrounds may be."

The clarity and the courage of the National Herald is, however, yet the exception and not the general rule of the nationalist Press, the bulk of which is in the grip of Big Business masters.

## OUT WITH THEM

So far, inside the Congress, it used to be the popular and Left elements who used to be victimised, but now it is the reactionaries who are being talked to in terms long overdue.

Union Oil Minister Malaviya inaugurating a Congressmen's conference in Kanpur on February 1, in a pointed reference to Munshi and Ranga said that they were "reactionaries" and added that they should leave the Congress. He further said that "those who oppose the Nagpur approach within the Congress will either have to quit the organisation or the organisation would die a premature death."

Punjab Pradesh Congress circles have taken a serious view of the speeches made and the resolutions passed at the Ranga-inaugurated Doraha conference, which was also attended by not a few Congress MLAs. A party spokesman told the Times of India that "the PCC was likely to serve notices on those who participated in the conference to explain their position."

Punjab PCC Chief Darbara Singh has characterised the Doraha Convention move as a "futile bid to bring back to life the otherwise doomed parasitical landlordism and to reduce all hope and prosperity of the toiling peasants into sorrow and despair. Under the smokescreen of a hue and cry about the ceiling on land holdings, the vestiges of feudalism intend staging a comeback on padded feet into our agrarian economy."

The Malaviyas and Darbara Singhs are yet unfortunately too few inside the Congress leadership. The more courageously and consistently they act, the quicker they will win over the vacillating middle elements to their side and isolate the incorrigible, irredeemable reactionaries within the Congress. Fighting their own reactionaries, who have been pampered so far, and who have grown strong and powerful, is the job of honest patriotic Congressmen themselves. The Nagpur resolutions cannot be implemented without defeating the reactionaries and hounding them out of all strategic places inside the organisation and the Government. This will win the confidence and cooperation of democratic and Socialist elements outside the Congress and evoke great enthusiasm among the people.

## SAME AS JAN SANGH

The Jan Sangh too has come out against the Nagpur resolutions. It is noteworthy that its line of attack and the concrete proposals are exactly the same as that of the Munshis and Rangas and what the pro-landlord Right had earlier advocated within the AICC sub-committee.

crisis that pervades our economy and dominates our national life. The Link correspondent asked her the pointed question: "Will the Congress make the first move in cooperating with other political parties and will it cooperate with all parties, say, the Jan Sangh and the Communists?" Smt. Gandhi could only give her personal opinion, for there is no Working Committee yet, and said: "It will not be possible to cooperate with parties that oppose our fundamental principles. The Jan Sangh, for instance, is opposed to our economic policies like the co-operative movement and social policies like our emphasis on women's emancipation, but with parties that have the same objectives, there should be scope for cooperation."

The Congress chief was categorical against the Jan Sangh but silent over cooperation with the Communists. This shows how much the anti-Communist poison spread by arch pro-imperialist reactionaries has infected the Congress that even a progressive within the Congress like Smt. Gandhi dare not speak up.

We did not win our freedom under the banner of anti-Communism but under the national unity of nationalists, Socialists and Communists. Similarly, we cannot build up our nation under the banner of anti-Communism, but only through the united efforts of progressive nationalists, true Socialists and ardent Communists.

## GOOD BUT TIMID

The unanimous election of Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Congress President has been generally welcomed as the best choice in the circumstances to carry out the Nagpur line and ensure loyal cooperation between the Party chief and the Prime Minister.

Interviewed by the Press about what she sought to do as the Congress head, she stated that her dominant thought was to transform the Congress into a sensitive, constructive body, "seeing that all these resolutions we passed are implemented, not, as generally it happens—merely aired once and then shelved."

This is a gigantic task which needs all the efforts that the best within the Congress are capable of.

## NOT ENOUGH

She expressed another healthy idea when she stated that the Congress should not work alone in its development programme. "I would like to see active people, non-party and from other parties, working together with the Congress as has happened on the food front." It is good that the new Congress chief realises that national reconstruction cannot be successfully carried out by any one party, not even the ruling party, but then if she is satisfied with the measure of cooperation won on the food front, she is being very timid and half-hearted. In the Parliamentary All-Parties Food Committee, the Prime Minister at least listens to the Opposition leaders, though nothing much happens in practice. In several States, the Congress Ministries have refused to set up all-party committees and the setting up of united committees at lower levels is strongly resisted.

The bitter experience of our Party about cooperating with the Congress is that it is sought only when the situation becomes intolerable and the people have to be asked to have patience and remain peaceful. In formulating policies cooperation is not sought and in implementing them the bureaucracy is trusted and the inevitable result is the

## — P. C. JOSHI

(February 4, 1959) FEBRUARY 8, 1959

# AT THE 21st CONGRESS

MOSCOW, February 2

The grand breath-taking plan of development of Soviet society presented to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the great six-hour speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov took us all forward to a new historical epoch. We all felt a few inches taller after the report.

THE Soviet Union has not only opened the doors of the cosmos for humanity but the tempo of her progress in other spheres has also increased to astronomical dimensions.

It is not easy for the mind to grasp the full grandeur and the vast sweep of this great Seven-Year Plan. Figures of the Plan seem amazing, even fantastic. In the next seven years production in the Soviet Union will be as much as the total production of the last 41 years. The Socialist countries with about one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of its territory will be producing more than half of the total production of the world.

## Tremendous Victory

As Suslov said in his speech, this will be such a victory for Socialism that the whole capitalist system will shake to its foundations. These successes will further hasten the downfall of the colonial system. It has become difficult now for capitalism to hold its head above the water and the day is not far off when under the weight of its own crimes, it will go down to the bottom.

Before the Congress assembled, the Plan had been discussed in 958,000 meetings attended by 70 million people in which 672,000 had spoken and made suggestions. Now 1,375 delegates are present in the White Hall of the Kremlin. Listening to their speeches one is struck by the business-like approach of most of the delegates to the Plan and the

confidence of all speakers that the targets of the Plan can be reached much earlier than contemplated. Thus Podgorny, delegate from the Ukraine, said that many industries of the Republic hoped to fulfil the Plan in five years and the targets in agriculture could be reached about the same time.

Bolnok, woman delegate from Ternopol and Chairman of the Stalin Collective Farm, confidently declared that they could fulfil the Plan in four to five years.

Serduk, from the Moldavian Republic, gave the example of village Parkany where in seven years collective farmers hope to have forty million roubles, in their investment fund plan to build 14 buildings for cattle, bakery, vegetable and fruit store with refrigerators, a house of culture, a new cinema, maternity home, hospital, rest home for old, etc., etc.

On the third day of the Congress, Spiridonov, Secretary of the Leningrad Party Organisation, sharply criticised Pervukhin, Candidate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, and Central Committee Member Saburov and demanded that they should speak before the Congress on their attitude towards the Anti-Party, Group and their role in it.

On the fifth day Kirichenko, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, revealed that since Stalin's death, members of the Group had attacked everything new

strengthened the friendship of nations in the Soviet Union.

Mukhitdinov gave a detailed report of the progress of the people of the Soviet East and their growing responsibilities and their rights since the 20th Congress. This had great significance, specially for the people of Asia and Africa.

The countries of the East were trying to liquidate their backwardness by following the policy of nationalisation, industrial development and land reforms; they were trying to expand the State sector and use methods of economic planning. But reaction in many countries opposed this and united with imperialism.

Referring to India, Mukhitdinov declared that she had still a lot to do to liquidate the consequences of colonialism and to guarantee economic and social progress. But as a result of the farsighted policy of the leading statesman of the East, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his Government and also of all progressive forces of the country, India had achieved well-known successes in the development of industry, agriculture and all her economy, in promoting national unity and raising the

international prestige of the country. Mukhitdinov further declared that in some countries of the East, after liberation from colonial yoke, efforts were being made to overthrow democracy. The imperialists

were directing their fire against the Communists in these countries to divide the new States of Asia and Africa and to create disunity between different sections of the people in these countries.

"But who does not know that the charge that the Communists do not serve the interests of their own nation is a clear slander? It plays into the hands of the imperialists and gives rise to justified anger of all the progressive peoples. The Communists of the East, like in all other countries, are the most steadfast and consistent fighters for the cause of their own peoples and the happiness of mankind," he declared amidst applause.

Referring to certain countries near Iraq, he said, that reactionary elements there had caught the "Nuri Said infection." They were afraid of their own people, betrayed their interests and conspired with the imperialists.

The Congress is a great demonstration of the unity of the World Communist and Working Class movement. Seventy Parties are represented with a membership of 33 millions.

# Of The Communist Party Of The Soviet Union

Listening to such reports from different provinces and regions, one realises how great the transformation is going to be and on what solid foundations the economic planning of this country rests. The great successes of the last few years have changed the way of thinking here, everybody is con-

Further in his speech, Kirichenko referred to the statement by Khrushchov that there were no political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The laws were being strictly observed, those who used to flout them had been unmasked and severely punished. This was widely known and felt by everybody, he said amidst applause.

## Progress Of Soviet East

Mukhitdinov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, declared that members of the Anti-Party Group had displayed elements of chauvinism and did not believe in the ability of the people of the national Republics to decide important State matters. Their defeat had

international prestige of the country. Mukhitdinov further declared that in some countries of the East, after liberation from colonial yoke, efforts were being made to overthrow democracy. The imperialists

Chou En-Jai's speech emphasising complete accord between China and the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries was greeted with great enthusiasm. Leaders of other Parties also spoke in the same vein.

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PAGE FIVE

# Bihar Govt. Policies Doom State Trading In Foodgrains

● FROM INDRADEEP SINHA

The Bihar Government has inaugurated the New Year with two gifts to the people of the State—two different gifts, meant for two different sorts of people. To the big landlords, the rice-millowners and the big grain traders the Government has granted wholesale or large-scale exemptions from compulsory procurement under the programme of State trading in foodgrains; and on the peasants it has let loose an army of officials, karmacharis and the police in a concerted drive to realise about twenty-five crores of rupees of taccavi and other loans, over a crore of rupees of arrears of enhanced irrigation dues and several crores of rupees of arrears of land rent.

THE basis of both these measures is the official theory of a "bumper paddy crop" this year. Needless to say that it is a theory based upon subjective and exaggerated assumptions.

It is well known that Bihar's normal deficit was estimated at three-and-a-half lakh tons per year as early as 1943 by the Gregory Committee. The situation has certainly not improved since. Food production has, in fact, declined during the last eight years of planning. According to the Bihar Government's own memorandum to the Asoka Mehta Committee, the average annual production of the five principal foodgrains (rice, wheat, maize, barley and gram) declined from 49,71,000 tons in 1946-51 to 45,00,000 tons in 1951-56 or by eight per cent. Production in 1956-57 and 1957-58 was only 46,04,000 and 30,62,000 tons respectively. Consequently Bihar had to import more than ten lakh tons of foodgrains during the last two years; and even then, over a hundred persons died of starvation.

Hence, even a normal crop of 45 to 50 lakh tons this year—which itself is by no means certain—will not lead to the situation of oversupply of grain in the market, fall in prices and a very comfortable situation for the masses. On the contrary, shortages, high prices and

financial stringency for the mass of the people are more likely to continue. But such is not the understanding of the Bihar Government. Obsessed with the idea of a bumper crop and the danger of a sharp fall in prices, it has formulated a policy of "regulated procurement based on price-support," as stated by the Revenue Minister, Sri B. N. Jha.

## Why The Plan Will Fail

In accordance with this policy the Government has fixed the minimum price of paddy at Rs. 16 per maund at which it will purchase whatever stocks are offered, "as and when prices fall to this level." Secondly, it has imposed a levy of fifty per cent on the stocks on milled rice held by rice millowners and licensed dealers which it will procure at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund. It is on the basis of this procurement plan that the Bihar Government expects to implement the Centre's decision regarding State trading in foodgrains.

Needless to say that the plan is bound to fail. And for the following reasons.

FIRST, in the chronically deficit food economy of Bihar and in the context of

acute food crisis of the last two years, one good crop is not likely to lead to any automatic decline in prices without which a policy of "price-support procurement" is not likely to succeed. In fact, paddy and rice prices have risen by about two to five rupees per maund during recent weeks.

SECONDLY, the official prices—Rs. nine per maund for paddy and Rs. 16 per maund for rice—are lower than the prevailing market prices and moreover are uneconomic to the producers. The Asoka Mehta Committee had recommended that procurement prices should be "economic prices" and had suggested a price of Rs. 9.25 to 11 per maund for coarse paddy last year when the wholesale food index stood four per cent lower than this year. Hence, there is no reason why prices should be lower this year. The only result of these prices will be that official procurement will fail and grain monopolists will again succeed in cornering the stocks and raising prices subsequently.

THIRDLY, by not imposing any levy on the produce of the big growers who control the major portion of the marketable surplus, the Government has given them a free hand to withhold their stocks and sell them at higher prices later. Absence of maximum retail prices is also to their advantage.

FOURTHLY, by exempting fifty per cent of the stocks of milled rice held by the millowners and the big traders and by not fixing any maximum price for retail sales, the Government has almost given them a free hand to corner stocks, send up prices and loot the consumers. Even the Birla-owned Searchlight is constrained to remark: "What the mills will lose in their sale of rice to Government will be sought to be made up by increasing the price of the remaining fifty per cent of the stocks. Thus, the prices in the open market will go up considerably." (January 2, 1959).

FINALLY, by lowering the target of procurement to just one lakh tons, the Bihar Government has voluntarily abdicated from the "position of strength" by operating from which alone—in the words of the Asoka Mehta Committee—it could hope to "dominate the market" and thus keep prices in check and make State trading a success.

## Miserable Results

It will be no surprise if even this miserable procurement target of one lakh tons (which would be less than ten per cent of the marketable surplus) is not realised. For, during one week of a quite rigorous procurement drive conducted through large-scale raids on rice mills and traders' shops and godowns, not more than a few thousand tons have been secured. Stocks have gone underground, prices have risen from two to five rupees per maund and a situation of

panic has been created among the small traders.

Such are the results of one week's procurement drive by the Bihar Government. Not only will this drive fail but the whole programme of State trading in foodgrains will end in a fiasco. The people of Bihar may have to pass through another year of high food prices, unbridled profiteering and speculation despite a good harvest.

## Communist Demand

The Communist Party has demanded the adoption of the following measures in order to make State trading a success: fixing the minimum wholesale price of paddy at Rs. 11 and of hand-processed rice at Rs. 18 per maund; fixing the maximum retail prices of rice; introduction of a system of com-

## IN THE NAME OF REALISATION OF DUES

# Plan For Forcible Procurement

"Linked with paddy procurement is a Statewide drive for realisation of Rs. 20 crores of overdue agricultural loans and over Rs. five crores as interest. The price support procurement of rice and paddy is designed to provide enough cash to cultivators for paying up Government loans which are overdue," reports a Special Correspondent of the Statesman (January 7, 1959).

This "link" may prove to be quite dangerous and oppressive for the peasantry. Ravaged by repeated floods and droughts, stricken by the near famine conditions of the last two years, groaning under a heavy burden of rent, debt and taxes and cheated of economic prices for most of their commercial crops (particularly of sugar-cane and jute), the overwhelming majority of the peasants of Bihar will certainly not be in a position to pay up all the loans and dues of the Government in one instalment.

In such a situation pressure and coercion are bound to be brought on them to sell off their meagre stocks of paddy and rice at the uneconomic prices fixed by the Government and thus pay back the dues. This will be not only forcible realisation but also forcible procurement.

## Panic In Rural Areas

In fact, the Government seems to have made all its plans for forcible realisation. According to Press reports, over 9,000 officials, many times more karmacharis, truckloads of policemen and Mukhias of Gram Panchayats—all have been pressed into service for intimidating the peasants. Certificates have been issued in large numbers. For example, in the district of Shahabad alone 41,000 certificates have been issued for the realisation of the arrears of enhanced

pulsory licensing for all wholesale dealers; taking over the entire stocks of rice-millers and licensed dealers; procurement of surplus of the big growers; authorising all Panchayats and cooperatives to procure stocks in their locality and make liberal advances to them; fixing the States' procurement target at five lakh tons of rice; distribution of the procured stocks through fair prices shops at fixed retail prices throughout the year; formation of all-parties' food advisory committees at all levels—Panchayat, Anchal, District and the State—to ensure popular cooperation and supervision over procurement and distribution; scaling down of prices of industrial goods to a level of parity with agricultural products.

It is only through the adoption of these measures that this year's good harvest can be utilised for ensuring an easy food situation, keeping prices in check, developing Panchayats and cooperatives as local organs of State trading and putting an effective curb on the anti-social activities of the grain monopolists.

canal rates. The daily Press is full of reports of panic in the rural areas due to this high-powered drive for ruthless realisation of loans and dues.

This drive has met with popular opposition from the very beginning. Com. Karyanand Sharma, leader of the Communist Group in the Bihar Assembly, tabled an adjournment motion in the last session of the Assembly. This brought a categorical assurance from the Revenue Minister that no coercive methods would be used till March 4. But this assurance is freely being violated in practice. Reviewing this situation, the Fifth Bihar State Conference of the Communist Party stated in a resolution:

"While categorically stating that the Communist Party is not opposed to the realisation of loans and dues from those who are in a position to pay them, the Conference records its emphatic protest against this callous anti-people policy of the Government and demands that the assurance not to resort to forcible methods be fully implemented throughout the year, the show of police force be stopped, all certificates already issued be withdrawn, areas where crops have suffered this year be exempted from realisation and be provided with requisite relief and the loans be suitably scaled down particularly in areas where crops have failed for two consecutive years or more."

The Conference also gave a call to build a powerful united mass movement against forcible realisation and organise peaceful resistance to them. Thus 1959 has brought new tasks to the people of Bihar—the task of fighting against the forcible realisation of loans and dues and of fighting for a popular policy of procurement and price of foodgrains.

## ASSAM

PERHAPS the ink on the Nagpur resolution of the Congress on expediting land reform measures is not yet dry. Already the Congress Government of Assam is giving the people a taste of how the Nagpur resolution will be implemented.

The scene is Sonebeel in the District of Cachar. The whole area had been a vast "beel" (marshy waste land) without any tenant or cultivation. It falls within the zamindari of Mrs. Manorama Mukherjee, wife of former Assam Congress Minister Baidyanath Mukherjee (defeated in the second general election) and Mr. N. N. Chakravarty, a retired I.A.S. official.

During 1950-52, hundreds of families of refugees belonging to the backward kabarta (fishermen) community were settled on this waste land. They had to pay well over a lakh of rupees as salami to the estates which cost the refugees almost the entire amount that they received as relief and rehabilitation loans from the Government.

This whole business of settlement was managed by the zamindars, through their agents, in league with some officials of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department. The amount of salami was realised by the officials themselves and the refugees had only to sign the loan receipts. Mr. Mukherjee himself was then in charge of the Rehabilitation portfolio. Communist M.L.A. Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya had at that time exposed this racket in the State Assembly. The Government was finally compelled to order a judicial enquiry into it.

The refugee cultivators, settled there, began cultivation, established villages as lawful tenants. They expressed their desire to meet all their legal obligations to the estates as soon as their possessions were regularised and legal documents and receipts were issued by the zamindars. This the zamindars would not do. On the other hand, they began to put pressure on the cultivators for more money on threat of eviction. Last year they suddenly came out with a general notice of eviction. They demanded more salami amounting to about Rs. 60,000 and arbitrarily refused to recognise the settlement made by their managers earlier.

The tenants in a petition to the zamindars reiterated their readiness to meet all legal obligations provided a proper survey was made, their respective allotments were demarcated, legal documents and receipts were given. The zamindars then planted hired goondas who at their instance began to provoke clashes by illegally and forcibly occupying land in the possession of these tenants. The zamindars were hoping that this would give them a chance to seek police help to evict the tenants.

The tenants maintained extreme patience, but held fast to their tenures. Several meetings were held protesting against this diabolical game of the zamindars. A central rally was held which was attended by representatives of the Congress, PSP, the Communist Party and the Kisan Sabha in the Sub-Division. Provincial Kisan Sabha President Achintya Bhattacharyya, in a memorandum to the Deputy Commissioner of

## news from states

# FORETASTE OF WHAT NAGPUR DECISIONS HOLD FOR PEASANTS

## Large-Scale Eviction Of Refugee Settlers

★ FROM MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

Cachar, narrated the situation and requested his intervention to defend the legitimate rights of the peasants. All this happened in December last.

Suddenly, on January 8 this year, Sonebeel was turned into a scene of large-scale police action. Groups of armed police were posted there, large-scale arrests of leading members of the community were made and cases were instituted against several of them under various criminal charges. Reports indicate that more arrests are pending. Perhaps to leave no shadow of doubt that these arrests had been made at the instance of the zamindars the arrested persons were taken to the kachari (estate office) of the zamindars.

There is no doubt that this large-scale police offensive is to terrorise the peasants into submission to the illegal demands of the zamindars. There has been no violation of law and order except by the zamindars. There has been no single instance of any tenant resisting the normal processes of law. Yet the armed might of the State is being utilised to terrorise the law-abiding peasants, to defend the illegitimate interest of the zamindars—the actual law-breakers here. Will the

champions of law and order in Kerala kindly take note of this and demand an enquiry?

Comrade Achintya Bhattacharyya, President of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, has in a memorandum to the Chief Minister given an account of the situation at Sonebeel. He writes, "The police action against the tenants contrasts sadly with the latest Nagpur decision of the Congress to speed up the implementation of agrarian reforms Acts. While the law of the State endows rights on tenants and promises liquidation of zamindari, the police arm of the State is simultaneously used to strengthen the landlords and evict tenants at the instance of the zamindars." Comrade Bhattacharyya has asserted that this police action is "unwarranted and against the letter and spirit of the law. The police have been used to achieve what the law would not achieve for the landlords."

The Provincial Kisan Sabha President has appealed to the Chief Minister for personal intervention in the matter and has assured him that the tenants would meet all their legal obligations to the zamindars if the latter would abide by legal procedure and recognise the rights of the tenants. Incidentally, the Union Re-

habilitation Minister, Sri Khanna, may please note that the tenants in Sonebeel are refugees from East Bengal and this is how the State Government run by his own party is taking effective steps to "liquidate" the refugee problem within the Second Plan period. Sri Khanna may also kindly note that it is against this kind of an intolerable situation that the refugees in Assam have decided to launch a mass satyagraha movement from March 1.

A recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Assam Refugee Association has decided to stage a march to Shillong and demonstrate there on February 24 when the budget session of the State Assembly commences. The Committee in a resolution has demanded immediate withdrawal of the police from Sonebeel and release of all the arrested persons.

# Kashmir: Demand For Restoration Of Rule Of Law

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SRINAGAR. DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL Conference units in response to the appeal issued by Sri Ram Piara Saraf, General Secretary of the Party, observed January 18, as Protest Day all over the State. Protest meetings and demonstrations held throughout the State on the day demand-

ed: immediate restoration of the rule of law, introduction of the jurisdiction of the Central Election Commission over the State and an end to repression launched by the ruling party against the democratic forces in the State.

Braving intense cold and bitter frost, DNC workers of Srinagar City met in an impressive rally at Amarakadal which was addressed by Sri G. M. Sadig, Chairman of the State Democratic National Conference.

A resolution of the rally condemned the naked interference of the State administration in the recent Town Area elections at Irtia, Bishna and Kathua in Jammu Province, expressed grave concern at the growing fascist tendencies of the State Government and reiterated the demand for the introduction of the jurisdiction of the Central Election Commission over the State.

Sri G. M. Sadig exposed the hollow claims of the State Government that it had the sanction of the Indian people in its attempts to deprive the people of the State of their hard-won liberties and fundamental rights.

At Sopore and Kulgam, "Peace Brigade" hooligans severely beat DNC organisers of the Protest Day. Reports reaching here indicate that Sri Mohd. Shaban and two other workers of the Kulgam DNC Committee were severely beaten and forcibly prevented from organising any meetings in the area. A notorious "Peace Brigade" hoodlum of Srinagar is reported to have been sent to Kulgam to organise these attacks on DNC workers.

At a largely attended public meeting in Jammu City DNC leaders Ram Piara Saraf, G. L. Dogra and Sethi charged the ruling party with usurping the rights guaranteed in the State's Constitution and ruthlessly suppressing even the ordinary struggles launched by State's people for defence of democracy in the State.

# Small Savings Collection Reminds Of War Fund

★ FROM N. PRASADA RAO

THE Government wants to encourage small-savings as a means of financing the Second Five-Year Plan. But the manner in which this encouragement is being given recalls the war fund collections during the Second World War.

I have gone round some villages in Munagala Pargana of Andhra Pradesh and harrowing tales of coercive methods being used by the officials were told to me by hundreds of peasants. Munagala Pargana is one of the poorest in Krishna District and this year all dry crops, jonna, sajja, groundnut, green gram and red gram, have failed. Yet, the officials have not spared the Pargana.

All the dry crops having failed (dry crops are grown on about nine-tenths of the area) the peasants put all their hopes on paddy crops. The second crop season has arrived and the officials took full advantage of it to force the peasants to contribute to small savings. The method adopted is

simple: You pay Rs. five per acre of wet land and two annas per rupee of land revenue on dry lands and you will get water for the second paddy crop; otherwise, no water will be given.

The Tehsildar is camping in the Pargana for days together and is pressing all the revenue staff into this collection work. He threatened some villages that water from the irrigation tanks would be drained out if the contributions were not made; in some other villages he threatened that their petitions for second crop would not be entertained. The peasants involved in some land disputes were threatened that unless they paid Rs. 30 per acre, they would not be allowed to harvest the standing crops.

These threats worked and the terrified peasants hurriedly raised the amounts and paid to the Tehsildar. The amounts collected so far are: Rs. 2,000 from Munagala, Rs. 3,000 from Tadnavai, Rs. 1,500 from Ganapavaram, Rs. 3,000

from Madhavaram and so on. Many peasants had to borrow to pay for these "small savings."

THE CONTRIBUTORS DO NOT GET EITHER BONDS OR EVEN RECEIPTS FOR THESE CONTRIBUTIONS. THESE AMOUNTS WILL BE PAID TO A MARWARI OR SOME RICH PERSON, WHO WILL PURCHASE BONDS ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT AND DEDUCT THESE AMOUNTS TOWARDS THE INTEREST. HOW MUCH MONEY WILL BE ACTUALLY PAID TO THE MARWARI AND HOW MUCH WILL BE POCKETED BY THE OFFICIALS, NOBODY KNOWS—THE PEASANTS ANYWAY GET NOTHING IN RETURN. The beneficiaries are the officials who get rewards for fulfilling their quotas of "small savings drive" and the merchants who get back the money with some interest, when the bonds mature.

Such is the story of small savings under the "Socialist pattern of society."

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# BUILDING FOR PROSPERITY WITH PEOPLE'S SUPPORT & COOPERATION

## Our Correspondent Reports On Minor Irrigation Week In Kerala

The Times of India headlined the news-item "Leap Forward" in Kerala. Whether one calls it "leap forward" or something else, what is happening in Kerala just now is something unprecedented in the way of mobilising people's support and voluntary labour for nation-building activities. Shramdan (contribution of voluntary labour) is a frequently heard word in Kerala—now that the din and uproar of "lawlessness" has subsided to some extent and the Government has gained breathing space to seriously take up a number of schemes for the State's development.

SHRAMDAN had been successfully tried on a mass scale in the Rural Electrification Programme and many villages as a result had been able to receive electricity.

Priority for extension of electric supply was given to those villages which offered shramdan to do such work as transport of poles and other material, digging for erecting the poles, etc. Villagers readily jumped at this proposal and made the best use of it.

Since then Shramdan has been extended to other fields of development activities but it was seen on the widest scale so far during the Minor Irrigation Week from January 23 to 29.

The Minor Irrigation Week truly opened a new chapter in Kerala's nation-building activities—with work having been started during the week on 227 minor irrigation schemes, all of which are to be completed during this financial year.

These schemes in nine Districts (75 in Trivandrum District, 29 in Quilon, 32 in Kottayam, 22 in Alleppey, eight in Ernakulam, 13 in Trichur, 19 in Cannanore, ten in Kozhikode and 19 in Palghat) composed of reclamation of tanks, digging of canals, erection of bunds, etc., will in all cost Rs. 30 lakhs. Twenty-five to 30 per cent of the cost would be met by the people through shramdan. On completion, they will benefit 14,000 acres of paddy-fields and increase production of rice by 7,000 tons.

In addition to these schemes, five medium irrigation works costing Rs. 30 lakhs are also being undertaken to benefit 5,000 acres of land.

### What Made This Possible

How has this mobilisation of the people been possible?

During the month of December, the Kerala Karshaka Sangham held its Village and Taluk Conferences and the Communist Party its Branch Conferences.

One of the main items on the agenda discussed at all these conferences was how to increase food production with popular initiative and participation.

Peasants, Kisan Sabha activists and Party Members

working in the peasantry came forward with concrete proposals for increasing agricultural production in their own areas and suggested that administrative difficulties which came in the way of popular initiative should be removed.

The Taluk Kisan Conferences became real agricultural production conferences. Officers of the Agricultural Department were invited to these conferences to explain the methods of scientific cultivation. Mass rallies held at the conclusion of these conferences were attended by tens of thousands of kisans in each taluk. At everyone of these rallies the national task of the kisans to increase food production was explained and popular enthusiasm was roused.

Announcing the programme of the Minor Irrigation Week, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, Minister for Law, who is also in charge of minor irrigation, appealed to "the people of all parties and persuasion, to the workers, to the students and to all irrigation engineers and development officers to pour their enthusiastic service plentifully, by way of shramdan and otherwise during this week and after."

This appeal was followed by conferences called by the Minister in the Districts which were attended by members of Parliament and the Assembly, representatives of political parties, Panchayat Board Presidents, Block Development Officers, engineers of the Public Works and Irrigation Departments, revenue officials, etc.

### Red Tape Cut Out

The Minister explained to the conferences the intention of the Government to start all minor irrigation works proposed by people's representatives provided there was a guarantee that people's contribution to these schemes would be forthcoming in the form of voluntary labour up to 25 per cent of the estimated cost of each work.

The conferences chalked out detailed plans about the specific items of minor irrigation work to be taken up, the amount of expenditure involved, the extent of shramdan available, etc.

The conferences were most significant for the way red tape was cut out in sanctioning schemes.

The representatives of the people attending the conferences sharply criticised the administrative delays and difficulties standing in the way of people's participation. Officers, in their turn, brought out their difficulties because of existing rules and regulations.

For instance, it was pointed out at the conference in Palghat District that under the existing regulations not more than Rs. 250 can be spent per acre on minor irrigation schemes and this was preventing the taking up of some of the important works.

In Cannanore District, the Development Council had suggested more than a hundred minor irrigation works but only 33 had been selected for completion during the year. And even out of them, only 12 had received technical and administrative sanction.

There were problems of a different nature too.

If Panchayats or popular committees are to undertake minor irrigation works, where will the money to start the work come from? Where is the guarantee that prompt payment will be made when the work is completed?

These problems were thoroughly discussed by the conferences and the decisions showed how a Government which is interested in mobilising people's cooperation can enunciate policies and cut out red tape to enthuse them.

### New Rules Framed

The Panchayat President or some other people's representative would make a proposal for a scheme. The Conference would find out what percentage of the cost would be guaranteed as people's contribution in the form of shramdan—usually it would be one-third or one-fourth. Orders would be passed immediately in the presence of the people to complete investigations, preparation of estimates and other formalities so that work could be started during the Irrigation Week itself.

The result was that what usually takes many months was done within a few days. In Cannanore District, instead of the 12 schemes which had received sanction, it was decided that work would begin on 74.

Not only immediate decisions have been taken, on the basis of the discussions at these conferences, the Government has made the necessary changes in the rules, according to which—

1. Irrigation works costing up to Rs. 400 can now be taken up. Earlier the upper limit was Rs. 250.

2. Panchayats, Labour Contract and other Cooperatives and popular committees are entrusted with the execution of minor irrigation works.

3. Panchayats or popular committees which guaranteed people's contribution

in the form of shramdan as decided by competent authority undertaking these works, would be given an advance amount to start work, equal to 33 per cent of the estimated cost to panchayats and 25 per cent to cooperatives or popular committees.

4. No security or solvency certificate is necessary for getting advances, except a written undertaking.

5. The engineer responsible for the work would make a fortnightly inspection of the progress of the works and pay whatever is due for completed work.

These decisions have set the tempo for popular initiative.

Eleven thousand people had come forward, before the week began, to do voluntary labour on the irrigation works in North Malabar. The police force in the State had offered to contribute shramdan to complete one irrigation scheme in each district. The Malabar Special Police had decided to do shramdan for the big lift irrigation project in South Malabar costing Rs. eight lakhs and beneficial to 800 acres of land.

On the day the anti-flood-water project in Kulakkada was to be inaugurated by Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, people had from early morning begun to assemble with spades and other implements. Kisan jathas came from neighbouring villages. Thirty members of the Armed Police from Quilon and 50 Non-Gazetted Officers under the leadership of the Personal Assistant of the Collector of Quilon came to contribute shramdan. The two slogans which could be heard again and again were: "We will increase food production," "Kerala Government Zindabad." The same was the scene at every place where work began on the schemes.

### Enthusiastic Scenes

Inaugurating the Irrigation Week on January 23, Finance Minister Achuta Menon and Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer started work on two schemes near Trivandrum City.

Sri Krishna Iyer, speaking on the occasion, said that transforming barren land into lush green fields was a work

of art and there could be no nobler art for us today.

Speaking in another place Sri Krishna Iyer pointed out to three advantages of minor irrigation works: (1) they cost less, (2) they can be completed more quickly and (3) people will be able to participate in such works.

### A New Chapter

The Finance Minister spoke of the great leap in agricultural production which China has made and said that it was an example worthy of emulation.

A new chapter is being written in Kerala on this day, he said, when people en masse have started participation in development activities. Referring to the policemen ready to begin work, he said, "the police who till today have only been considered responsible for maintenance of law and order are participating in construction work. This indicates the changes that are taking place in our social set-up." Indeed they

are great changes, considering that the Malabar Special Police and other wings of the police were considered by the people as their hated oppressors during the British and Congress days.

At the end of the week, speaking to Pressmen in Trivandrum, Sri Krishna Iyer said that he had seen throughout the State the unprecedented enthusiasm of the people and cooperation in nation-building activities without considerations of party affiliations.

The Minister said that it had been possible to eliminate the private contract system in irrigation works and that Congressmen, Communists, PSP-ers, non-party people, NGOs, policemen, all had come forward to contribute shramdan.

The Secretariat of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party had in a statement before the Week began, appealed for cooperation from all patriots to make the irrigation campaign a success.

The statement explained how the Communist-led Government had created favour-

\*SEE PAGE 13

## Police In Democratic Set-Up

### KERALA APPOINTS HIGH-POWER COMMITTEE

A KERALA Government Press-Note announcing the appointment of a High-Power Committee to enquire into the role of the police in a democratic set-up says that a re-evaluation of the role of the police and re-orientation of their method of functioning should be made in the emerging context of a new social order, based on equality and dignity of man, to help them function as a friend and guardian of public welfare, animated by a spirit of service to the people and filled with a sense of love for and pride of our people.

The High-Power Committee consists of: Chairman—N. C. Chatterjee, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court, New Delhi; Members—Mohan Kumaramangalam, Advocate, Madras, Sri S. Guruswamy, Secretary, All-India Railwaymen's Federation, Madras, Krishna Pillai, Secretary, Personal Managers' Association, Calcutta; and Member-Secretary—M. Krishna Menon, I.P., Inspector General of Police (General).

The terms of reference of the Committee are:

i. The role of the police in a Welfare State;

ii. Whether the existing provisions of law are adequate to help realise and secure fulfilment of the objectives laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution and the public aspirations released thereby, and in particular in the sphere of employer-employee, landlord-tenant and capital-labour relations;

iii. The duties of the police in the context of:

a) The free exercise of civil liberties and political rights of freedom of speech, of platform and association in a democracy consistent with the paramount security of the State;

b) Communal and linguistic tensions that crop up from time to time;

c) Demonstrations and agitations with or without the support of political parties;

d) In property disputes.

iv. Whether in view of the public criticism in recent

times against firings by the police, the use of fire-arms by the police should be totally excluded; if not, the nature of the circumstances and the conditions under which it should be allowed;

v. The use of the regulatory and restrictive powers, under the Police Act, the security provisions under Ch. X and section 144 and 151 of the Criminal Procedure Code;

vi. Operational technique of the police and the use of the following weapons: lathi, tear-gas, coloured water;

vii. Provisions regarding the handling of undertrial prisoners, and accused persons in matters like handcuffing, treatment of accused before production in court, facilities for getting evidence in the possession of accused;

viii. Measures for controlling meetings, demonstrations and mobs;

ix. Measures for improv-

\*SEE PAGE 13

## Kerala's Difficulties Because Of Centre's Policies

### ★ FOOD

THE people and the Government in Kerala are meeting with very serious difficulties because of certain economic policies of the Government of India which do not take into consideration the special problems of the State nor the interests of the nation as a whole.

FIRST we will consider the problem of food itself. As the readers of NEW AGE know, the food situation became very critical in the State in September last when the State Government was compelled to stop distribution of rice through the fair-price shops.

The State Government did not have any stocks for supplying the fair price shops. The Central Government refused to give any rice to the State; the State Government was not allowed to purchase rice in the open market in Andhra at rates higher than those statutorily fixed by the Government of India.

All this made the situation critical. The price of rice and other daily necessities began to shoot up. Within two months there was a 25 per cent increase. Repeated appeals had no effect on the Central Government. They stuck to their position of no responsibility to help the State Government to run fair-price shops.

A temporary solution was found only when the Andhra State Government agreed to help the Kerala State Government to purchase rice through the Mill-

owner's Association at higher rates than the controlled price. And it was reported that the Government of India objected to the Andhra Government abetting the "illegal" purchase of rice by Kerala Government at the prevailing market rates in Andhra.

Anyhow the Kerala Government was able to restart supply of rice through fair-price shops from January 1, 1959, and within two weeks the price in the open market came down by ten to fifteen per cent.

Centre Again Buys In Andhra

Now the harvest season has begun in Andhra. Rice is available in the Andhra market at the rates fixed by the Central Government. The Kerala Government wanted to purchase as much rice as possible to build a buffer stock for the coming months.

But the Government of India has decided to resume purchase of rice from the Andhra market which it had stopped in August last. It is reported that the Government of India is planning to purchase four lakhs tons of rice from Andhra from the second week of February.

Hence the millowners in Andhra are prepared to supply Kerala with only such quantity of rice as could be transported before the Central Government entered the market. For the Central Govern-

ment will be requisitioning all the stock available with the millowners and hence they will not be in a position to supply Kerala with any more rice.

What is the result? The Kerala Government wanted to buy 50,000 tons of rice, but the millowners were prepared to enter into a contract only for 15,000 tons of rice.

After the National Development Council meeting in November last, there was a lot of talk about State trading in foodgrains. Nothing has been concretised yet. As far as Kerala is concerned, State trading is good if it is done on an all-India plane—that is, if the Government of India makes arrangements to purchase the marketable surplus from the surplus States and to distribute it on an equitable basis to all deficit States.

It is not on the basis of any such plan that the Central Government has entered the Andhra market now. There is no guarantee that out of the purchases to be made in Andhra, the Central Government will make available to Kerala adequate quantities of rice to run the fair-price shops in the coming months.

Spokesmen of the Central Government have been repeatedly saying that it is the responsibility of the Kerala State Government to run the fair-price shops in the State. The Opposition parties in Kerala are echoing the same by saying that the Kerala Government has failed to supply the people with adequate

quantity of rice at reasonable prices.

The State Government can discharge its responsibility only if the Central Government recognises its responsibility to see that the total rice available in the country is equitably made available to the various States.

SECOND is the question of State participation in capital investment to start new industries or expand existing industries in the private sector.

The Second Five-Year Plan for Kerala, prepared before the Communist-led Government came to office, had provided for giving financial assistance to begin some industries in the private sector. The present Government had suggested at the time of finalising the Plan an increase in this provision so that private entrepreneurs are encouraged to start more industries in the State.

The Kerala Government's suggestion was to increase the original provision of Rs. 23.75 lakhs to Rs. 197 lakhs.

### Planners' Objection

The Planning Commission objected saying that it was not in accordance with its general policy to approve direct investment by State Governments in private industries.

But modern industries have come up in Kerala till now mainly with Government help. In almost all the large-scale

industrial units in the State, Government also is a shareholder, and in some of them the major share-holder.

So for the sake of industrial development, the policy of share capital participation by the State has to be continued and even intensified, for which provision was made in the budgets for 1957-58 and 1958-59 outside the Plan. The Planning Commission did not object.

But when the State's proposals for the Plan for next year were being discussed, the Planning Commission wanted to include all development expenditure in the Plan. And the State Government proposed that Rs. 31.20 lakhs might be provided in the Plan for 1959-60 to give financial assistance to eight industrial units in the private sector.

The Planning Commission did not accept this proposal saying it was against the general policy of the Government of India.

The Planning Commission is also against the State incurring any developmental expenditure outside the Plan.

Of course, after vigorous protests by the State Government the Planning Commission has now agreed to the State Government investing in one industry, the manufacture of cables, to be started in the private sector in Kerala in collaboration with a Japanese firm.

Still the general policy of the Government of India remains one of not approving direct investment by State

Governments in private industries.

As far as Kerala is concerned this policy will definitely stand in the way of rapid industrial development. On a national plane itself, this policy is detrimental to the expansion of the public sector and overall planning—of industrial development with the objective of building a Socialist society.

THIRD is the question of Central assistance to find resources to fulfil the State plans.

The Planning Commission has limited the Kerala State's annual Plan for 1959-60 to Rs. 18.5 crores, though Kerala State had proposed Rs. 22 crores as the financial target for next year's Plan.

Other States Get More

This is not at all commensurate with the needs of the State or with the growing tempo of developmental work in the State. This will also mean that the financial target of Rs. 87 crores for the whole Second Plan may not be fulfilled. For, the total outlay for the first three years will come to only Rs. 37.75 crores and hence the outlay for each of the last two years will have to be off the order of Rs. 24 crores to reach the target.

The Government of Kerala had suggested that it could find internal resources for Rs. 11 crores for Plan outlay

in 1959-60 and that the Centre might provide an equal amount as assistance. But the Planning Commission was prepared to allot only Rs. 7.5 crores as Central assistance to Kerala.

According to the Planning Commission, Kerala State is required to contribute 54.7 per cent of the resources needed to implement the Rs. 87-crore Plan. No other State in the South is required to contribute such a high percentage of the Plan. The contribution fixed for Andhra State is only 30.7 per cent of the total Plan, for Mysore State 34.5 per cent and for Madras state 51.5 per cent.

And Kerala received only the least Central assistance during the 1956-59 period—43.1 per cent of the Plan outlay for the three years—Central assistance for Mysore during the same period being 62.3 per cent of the total outlay, for Andhra 59.8 per cent and for Madras 50.1 per cent.

As the smallest among the southern States, comparatively less developed, with scores of difficult economic problems like acute unemployment and food shortage, in a national plan Kerala ought to get an equal, if not preferential, treatment, compared to other States, in the matter of Central assistance. But quite contrary has been the policy of the Government of India which will only keep backward regions always backward.

—C. UNNIRAJA

# PROBLEMS FACING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The discussions at the recent AITUC General Council Session at Bangalore and the decisions taken there prove the growing strength of the AITUC in the Indian working class movement. The deliberations unfolded the variety of issues and revealed the magnitude of problems facing the organised trade union movement in the country.

The report from Kerala showed how pent-up grievances have come to the fore now that a Government sympathetic to the working class is in office in the State. The working class and the trade union movement in Kerala has had its experience of courts and tribunals—long drawn-out litigations and consequent denial of demands in the past.

The emphasis of the movement, therefore, is on tripartite settlement, if need be after a show of strength. Kerala, therefore, has produced the biggest number of settlements and collective agreements on wages and bonus covering all sorts of workers and employments from transport to cashew and coir.

The experience of Kerala has proved that a Government sympathetic to the cause and demands of workers can move its administration promptly to facilitate direct settlements and collective agreements and avoid litigation.

The other aspect of the Kerala experience was the problem of law and order arising out of workers' struggles against obstinate employers.

The Penal Code of the country and the role and the powers of police in dealing with law and order problems arising out of labour disputes are presenting difficulties requiring urgent solution. Hence the Kerala Government's decision to appoint a high-power committee to suggest measures in this matter.

The report from West Bengal raised problems of a highly developed trade union struggle—a dispute going beyond the limitations of an enquiry by a tribunal. The tramway struggle in Calcutta raised one such problem. The workers refused to accept ordinary adjudication which would not go into the question of how to avoid fare-increase in order to meet the workers' demands. Workers and trade unions, therefore, insisted on the constitution of a high-power committee with powers to go into the very cost structure of the tramways.

## Urge For United Action

Both Bombay and Bengal showed how the eagerness for united action from below gets a favourable response only from an understanding among the parties of Left and a combination of the two moves the workers forward into united actions and secures victories.

In Bombay, the unity of Left parties in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has played a significant role in mobilising the workers and above all in bringing about a united union of textile workers.

In West Bengal the understanding among the parties of the Left helped, to begin with, the unions of the AITUC, EMS and the UTUC and later even

the INTUC, to join in united actions as in the Doars Tarai strike and the Calcutta tramway strike.

Funjab reported on the problems of a vast small scale industry. A strong united trade union movement was forcing collective agreements.

The Punjab report revealed the serious difficulties facing trade unions in industrial cooperatives—difficulties arising out of bureaucratic red tape, difficulties in getting loans for the cooperatives and difficulties of marketing the products of such cooperatives.

The report from Andhra revealed how during the last two years or so, the workers have achieved an average 29 per cent increase in wages. The unions are insisting on

The Declaration warns against the danger arising from the public sector from the attacks of sections of Big Business and foreign monopoly interests.

## Defend The Public Sector

The Declaration calls upon all workers "to defend the public sector against attacks of corruption, sabotage and denationalisation, to demand its extension, further nationalisation of such key things as the big banks, mining and plantations and the automobiles, to demand balanced distribution of industries in various States, to demand satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the workers, a stop to the attacks on the rights of workers in the governmental services and public sector, and strong action against those in the ruling circles who mismanage or sabotage the growth of the public

that the rents of tenements already constructed be reduced and cheap transport be provided to the workers.

The General Council has demanded legislation to force the employers to construct houses and has suggested that the houses constructed by the State Governments should be allotted to workers of small-scale industries whereas owners of factories employing above 1,000 men should construct houses themselves.

The Council has decided that agricultural labourers should be organised under the AITUC in cooperation with the Kisan Sabha.

The Council discussed the report of the study group on social security. The Council has directed the unions to discuss the recommendations about integrating the existing schemes of social security and conversion of provident fund into a pension scheme. But the Council has demanded that first the schemes should be run efficiently and the defects removed in order to inspire confidence among the workers.

The Council accepted the affiliation of 50 new unions

selling price of foodgrains—the maximum selling price to be not more than 15 per cent above the minimum price;

● Ensure minimum price for the peasant by arranging that voluntary offers of foodgrains to Government will be purchased by Government officials at places within the easy reach of the peasant;

● Procurement from landlords holding more than ten acres of wet land, at the minimum price, on the basis of a system of compulsory graduated levy;

● Cheap grain shops at the rate of one for 500 of the population;

● Constitution of popular committees to ensure proper distribution through fair price shops and also to watch the activities of the traders.

The Council has decided that a National Federation of Engineering Workers should be organised.

The General Council hailed the prospects of merger of the South Indian Railway Labour Union and the Dakshin Railway Employee's Union that would immeasurably strengthen the AIRF.

Resolutions demanding legislation for transport workers' service conditions and amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act, completely removing the waiting period, enhancing the rates of compensation and improvements in the list and scope of employments covered and diseases involved, etc.

But the very first resolution passed was concerning the collection of Rs. two lakhs and towards the Building Fund for the AITUC. October 1959 is the month when on the 10th Comrade Dange completes his sixty years of a busy life in the service of the working class and the AITUC completes its forty years.

This happy event would be commemorated by presenting a purse of two lakhs to Comrade Dange. And the privilege to organise this historic function would go to the State that collects the single biggest amount by the middle of September 1959.

Winding up the discussions, Comrade Dange emphasised the expansion of trade union membership and strengthening of provincial trade union centres capable of coordinating and leading trade union activity in the States.

The Council decisions for the working class were summed up by Dange in the following slogans:

## Slogans For Action

- Against high prices, for wage-increase.
- Against closures and rationalisation.
- Against all attacks on AITUC, for trade union rights.
- For social security and better ESI.
- For united action and trade union unity.
- Against gangster and police attacks against workers and unions.
- For defence of the public sector, against attacks of the private sector.
- For democratic management and check-up, against corruption and waste.
- For elected works committees and more powers for them.

FEBRUARY 8, 1959

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

Czechoslovakia, among all the countries of the Socialist world, except the Soviet Union, was the most advanced industrially even before liberation. After the establishment of the workers' State, its progress, however, got a new impetus. And with it also grew its capacity to help develop our as well as other underdeveloped people's industrial potential.

In the humdrum of deals of "collaboration" with the capitalist countries, however, each one of which is publicised with an unprecedented fanfare, neither the immense prospects of Indo-Czech economic cooperation, nor the very tangible fruitful results which such cooperation has already borne—in the few fields in which it has been tried—get a chance to catch the popular attention. And yet, in many a respect, and spheres, these results have been quite unique.

Before detailing them, however, it is worthwhile to recall that even before liberation, Czech enterprises, then under private ownership, had been transacting substantial trade with our country. But the terms, as well as the spheres of trade and economic collaboration, were essentially circumscribed by the capitalist system obtaining there. Needless to say that that system, like its counterparts in present-day U.K. and USA, aimed at merely creating here a few subsidiaries, and not main capacities. The most important of these was the BATA, whose shops dotted every nook and corner of the country.

After liberation, the picture has been entirely different. Instead of subsidiaries it is now the main national capacities that the Czech enterprises have been helping to set up here, and instead of shoes, it is now forgings and castings that are coming off the delivery belts.

## Forge Foundry Plant

The pride of place among Indo-Czech deals should go to the forge foundry plant, being set up at Ranchi. Some of the most important features of the agreement under which the plant is being established are:

- The Plant will be set up, complete in all aspects, on deferred payments with the first repayment falling due only after the period of India's heavy foreign liabilities is over;
- Ten per cent of the cost of equipment for the first stage—estimated at Rs. ten crores—will be repaid in Indian rupees, which will be utilised in buying goods from the country. The remainder will also be repaid in rupees which will, however, be convertible into other currencies. Payment will be made in eight half-yearly instalments, the last maturing in 1967;

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● While the first instalment will be due in 1964, the first products of the plant would be available for marketing by the middle of 1962. In other words, the products themselves will be able to provide funds for repayment.

## New Capacity Created

The magnitude of the Plant's contribution towards creating new capacity can be judged from the following:

● As against the present capacity of 600,000 to 800,000 tons of grey iron foundry with a maximum piece-weight of 15 tons, the production in the first stage at 25,000 tons and in the second stage at 30,000 tons will comprise items with maximum piece weights of 50 and 100 tons respectively. This means an increase in piece-weight by 330 per cent in the first stage and 660 per cent in the second stage;

● In steel castings, the plant, with a capacity of 15,000 tons in the first stage

# Immense Prospects Of Indo-Czech Co-operation

## A GOOD DEAL HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE TO HELP OUR INDUSTRIALISATION

and 28,000 tons in the second, will augment the country's overall capacity by about 190 and 186 per cent respectively.

Besides the castings, the plant will manufacture 13,950 tons of forgings in the first stage and 27,700 tons in the second stage with maximum piece-weights of 17 and 30 tons respectively.

The Czech enterprise Technoexport has also been instrumental in setting up three sugar factories till now—one each in Assam, Madras and the Punjab. In Assam, especially, the difficulties of the soil and climate notwithstanding, its progress has been extraordinarily rapid. At Panipat (Punjab) also the work of Czech engineers has been highly assessed even by the Government officials.

## Striking Contribution

It is, however, in establishing a complete sugar machinery manufacturing plant at Walchandnagar in collaboration with Walchandnagar Industries that the Czech contribution has been the most striking. Already, even in the fourth year of the agreement, the new plant has been able to raise the indigenous component of the machinery manufactured to as high as 90 per cent. The value of the output has also been steadily increasing, with the figure of 1958 stand-

## Fighters For Freedom



Representatives of the Omani people fighting against British imperialism were in the capital recently. Picture shows the Omani delegation with its leader, the Deputy Imam of Oman (wearing glasses).

ing nearly four times as high as that for the previous year. Some machinery is also reported to have been looked for export to Ceylon.

The most significant aspect of the Czech contribution to

Uttar Pradesh. In Madras also, it is helping to set up a cement plant in the private sector.

Besides these, Czech enterprises are setting up a flour mill at Okhla and a

ries. The Czechoslovak Republic was the first to have entered into a trade agreement with independent India, and yet, even after nearly a decade of the first accord, the trade between the two countries has not been balanced. The reason behind it essentially consists of the reluctance of our own executives and traders who have not shown even ordinary economic prudence in extending relations with the best customer and this despite the readiness of the Czechs to absorb as much of our iron ore and other products as we are able to sell.

In the context of the significant role which the Czechoslovak Republic has played till now in helping us industrialise the country, and in view of the immense possibilities which its developing industry holds out for further collaboration, it is only proper that our Government and the traders lose no time in objectively evaluating its due place as a supplier of capital goods to the country and absorber of its export products.

— ESSEN

January 27, 1959



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# THE FOLK DANCE FESTIVAL

## Dullness Begins To Creep In

The National Folk Dance Festival was, like earlier years, the star attraction of the Republic Day functions this year as well. The folk dancers were received with enthusiasm and the audience in the Stadium was bigger than ever, which shows their increasing popularity.

It is good that our folk dances have become popular in the Capital. They help to bring the isolated, bureaucratized Delhi world in touch with what is one of the best aspects of the life of our common people, living in the remote hills, thick jungles and the big plains of our vast country. The folk dances revealed the creative capacities of our common folk by demonstrating in what artistic forms they can portray the real problems of their life, love and labour and what intense aspiration they have for a happy and prosperous life.

The popularity of the festival should not blind its organisers in particular to the sameness and dullness that has begun creeping in.

### PRIZE-WINNERS

The coveted national trophy was won by the Santhal troupe from Bihar with their Shikar dance. They were terrific with their gay spontaneity, rhythmic patterns, rich variety of movements and perfect synchronisation.

The Santhals had almost a tie-up with the Gonds from Madhya Pradesh, who danced

their Salla Rina which was described as a war dance, but was considered to be a festive dance of joy. Besides, the organisers had touched up the dance. This went against them but they got a special prize.

The order of merit awards were given to three other troupes. A Scheduled Tribe troupe came from the snow-bound Sangla village, Mahasu District of Himachal Pradesh. This was the dance left untouched by "experts" more than any other and was the most graceful and pretty. They made and re-made formations before you noticed the change.

The Silambu dancers from Pondicherry danced with the most abandon and their footwork revealed the folk origin of Bharat Natyam.

The Gher Ghumar performed by a troupe of Rajasthan Jats was genuinely authentic and pleasing in every way.

Now a little about the other troupes. From Andhra came the Mathuris, who claim to have migrated ages back from Mathura and did not speak Telugu but Brij Bhasha. They wore Angarkhas and their women the same costume you

see around Mathura and they danced well.

The tribal troupe from Tripura was also genuine. Its girl dancers made a hit with slow and pretty foot-work and graceful hip movements.

Uttar Pradesh generally cuts a sorry figure, but this year did better by sending a tribal Tharu troupe from the Terai. It was noteworthy that their women dancers used and swung the majiris about like the Manipuris.

The Sawa-Cham dance of the Buddhist monks from NEFA was also striking. Their costume and movements were not only colourful but Chinese and reminded one of the Peking Opera and our ancient contact with China.

From Orissa came a troupe of Paik dancers representing the Mayurbhanj school, which was very effective as a war dance but very stylised and hence not considered genuinely folk. Similarly, the Yakshgana troupe from Mysore was glamorous and proved popular, but again they were not considered to be in the folk category. The costuming and movements revealed its common origin with Kathakali.

### CRITICISM

Now some criticism. The tribal Mudiyas from Rajpipla, Bombay, were serious competitors for a national prize but

they ruined their chances by sporting satin jackets!

The Poorakkali troupe from Kerala was universally acclaimed as the most manly and vigorous despite having no musical accompaniment but they ruined the good effect they produced by their atrocious costuming.

Mysore's Suggi Kunitha was not Suggi Kunitha at all, but some other and a very good dance. They were asked to perform Suggi Kunitha and so they did the dance they thought was their best and called it Suggi Kunitha!

I feel sorry for the tribal troupes from Assam and around who missed the prize because of the sameness of their steps and the paucity of movements, though their costuming and appearance are superb and their traditional choreography grand. A disturbing factor is the obvious influence of European church music on their traditional folk music which is obviously due to their conversion to Christianity and the grip of the church on their life as a whole.

The worst troupe of the year came from Punjab, which included a few college girls, who had obviously glamourised their costumes and had made a bad rehash of a number of things, both in their dances and songs. The girls sang the tunes that normally boys do and so on.

Our folk cultural treasures are so rich and untapped

that the National Festival ought to register an improvement year to year, but it has reached the stagnation point. This is primarily because the choice and selection of the troupe is in bad, i.e. bureaucratic, hands.

Some junior official in the Information Departments of the State Governments is asked to get a troupe together, who sends words to the contacts he knows and sends the word around that they have to do their best because "Delhi jana hai" (we have to go to Delhi) and "Panditji ke saamne nachna hai" (and dance before Panditji). The choice is really left to chance and favouritism and the inevitable tampering with the purity of form and traditional styles, and crazy costuming up takes place. The busy body gang of officials, thus corrupt and commit an outrage against our folk cultural heritage.

### SUGGESTIONS

The obvious and best way out is to hold State and regional festivals and get a jury of real experts do the grading, awarding and sending on to the best to the National Festival in New Delhi. Bihar come on top so often and one of the reasons is that they regularly hold a regional festival.

The official attitude to folk culture and the dancers has changed for the better, though it is not yet fraternal enough. The army jawans are in charge of the arrangements and they do a magnificent job of work and take loving care of the troupes primarily because they too like them come from common people.

The dancers and musicians are fagged out the way they are handed. They have to rehearse and work not only for the Festival but also for AIR. What is worse, they have to perform over and over again, and the way they are told to, for the foreign guests who come in hordes with their expensive cameras and recording machines. It is very necessary for more reasons than one to investigate how many permits these foreigners get, who actually they are, and what use they make of what they shoot or record. It is below our national dignity to give the foreigners the facilities they get at the cost of the normal comforts and self-respect of the troupes.

Again, the advanced dance and music students of our cultural institutions and the Indian artists get very little chance to fraternise with and learn from the folk troupes. This too needs looking into. The artists with a pull do manage to get in but not the rest.

Every year I have been stressing the dire and urgent necessity of institutionalising the study, teaching and research into our folk cultural heritage either under a new wing of the Sangeet Natak Akademi or through an autonomous Folk Culture Institute. But the Government seems interested only in using folk culture for a show and not for scientific and sustained efforts to discover our folk heritage and use it to create new art forms of beauty and joy.

—P. C. J.

\* SEE FACING PAGE

NEW AGE

FEBRUARY 8, 1959

# STATE OF INDIA'S SCIENCE

## Not a very encouraging picture

● FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

DELHI has been the centre of much scientific activity during the last week. The bigwigs of Indian science were at Vigyan Bhavan for a meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India which was addressed by the Prime Minister and Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis.

Then there were about 2,500 scientists from all parts of the country, and many distinguished guests from abroad, for the 46th session of the Indian Science Congress Association, which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister.

Lastly, there was a meeting of the rank-and-file Association of Scientific Workers of India, also addressed by the Prime Minister.

While it is gratifying to note that Sri Nehru shows a keen interest in the gathering of scientists, it is difficult to agree with his views on many matters concerned with the growth of science in India.

At the National Institute of Sciences Prof. Mahalanobis talked at some length of the prospects of the Third Five-Year Plan, but the Prime Minister refrained from touching on the subject, and instead referred to

the "mental approach based on fear and hatred" and said: "Let science pull itself up and see how to remedy it."

At the inaugural session of the Science Congress he again referred to social problems created by science and said that science had to look at the heart of the human being, the mind and the spirit of the human being and had to try to integrate it with all the advances it is making.

### Conveniently Vague

It should be obvious to any realist, and by inclination and training scientists tend to be realist, that Sri Nehru's approach is conveniently vague and, therefore, incapable of bold and methodically harnessing science to the development of our economy. The advances of science which have put phenomenal progress and utter destruction within our power, have come at a time when the old capitalist society is crumbling and is faced by a new, vigorous Socialist society, which in its turn, is capable of taking the fullest benefit from the vast sources of energy available

from the atom and of automatic control based on electronics.

Dr. Mudaliar's opening address was somewhat more concrete, pinpointing as it did the grave danger of atomic war and the need for scientists to come out sharply against this menace. His remarks on the social function of science were also well-made—but the scientists in the audience were left unimpressed, as they had been hearing it for the umpteenth time.

As for the rest the Science Congress was the usual jamboree. Hardly anybody turned up for the discussions, even those who had submitted papers were often absent. Only Dr. Bhabha's symposium attracted some attention. Actually this dismal lack of interest indicates a grave malaise—how can scientists popularise science when they are just not bothered even about each other's work?

A special feature of this Science Congress was the most unscientific furore and fuss over the "great and gracious" Prince Philip. The British scientists can send whomever they like but why must we be so sycophantic? It all added to the general air of a

melancholy, rather than an academic gathering.

What finally was very upsetting was the get-together to divide up examinations, paper-setting, etc., which has also become an invariable feature.

### General Air Of Frustration

From the meeting of the Association of Scientific Workers of India it was clear that there has been a general air of frustration amongst scientists. In spite of progress with buildings and provision of modern apparatus in the big laboratories they feel that they are not told what problems in production they must tackle in their research; in spite of pious resolutions about the role of scientists in planning they are never encouraged to participate in the process of planning; in spite of considerable know-how being available in the country they feel that experts are imported with lack of discrimination; in spite of the fact that processes are sometimes developed on the initiative of Indian scientists they feel that the Government shows unexplainable inefficiency in

# SCIENCE CONGRESS

\* FROM PAGE 12

awarding contracts to foreign firms.

Faced with such problems, in other words being concretely confronted with the policy of the Government in action, these scientists decided to forego the convenience of passing platitudinous resolutions and they took up the case of the Hindustan Antibiotics Works at Pimpri.

In this resolution the ASWI sharply criticised the Merck's Government of India deal and felt "that there is no justification for ignoring the Soviet offer of assistance in the sending away of Dr. K. Ganapathy and declared that "it is feared that the remaining present scientific staff would also be dispensed with, in order to justify the installation of Merck's to run the anti-biotic plant as a whole."

Pandit Nehru took umbrage at this resolution and in his temper obviously did not hear a word of Dr. Zaheer's presidential address. He may have had his personal reasons for resentment but the exhibition of ire hardly bespeaks a scientific temperament. It was a sad spectacle. But far worse was the response of Dr. Mukerjee of Lucknow—a spineless and undignified performance.

The Association meeting itself was quite lively. Its journal Vignan Karmee has much improved since shifting to Calcutta. But the situation is far from happy when in many centres in the North and the South the units of the Association do not exist. All the existing units are also not equally active.

All in all, the state of India's science and her scientists—as shown during the present congress—is not very encouraging. There is too much groping, quite a bit of selfishness and a gaping lack of an integrated and detailed

approach to the problems of science in the context of national development.

Still the review of the activity during the last ten days must not end on a note of pessimism. The session shows that Indian scientists, and especially the younger group, are increasingly giving their attention to the utilisation of science in our country. They are even talking of planning and coordinating scientific activity

with the Plans, even if they have not yet formulated concrete suggestions with any degree of unanimity. The review also shows that the Science Congress as the largest functioning organisation of scientists in India has yet to find suitable ways, in the present context, of popularising science among the common people and of bringing the pressure of scientific opinion to bear on national economic problems.

## What Next In Andhra Congress

\* FROM BACK PAGE

were referred to the Congress High Command—including charges against the Chief Minister and other top leaders of the Andhra Congress of corruption.

It is for the High Command to tell the people whether they had received these charges from the dissidents, whether they have made enquiries into these charges and publish the details of such enquiries, so that the people can dispassionately judge who was wrong and who was right.

While it is claimed that the new political party has a following of 41 legislators, there is speculation in Hyderabad about the actual number of legislators who would ultimately opt to sit in Opposition benches when the budget session of the Assembly meets on the 16th of this month.

The speculation is partly due to the fact that some very prominent leaders of the dissident group including Prof. Ranga and a few of his loyal supporters, are not signatories to the resolution to secede from the Congress and also due to the fact that all the participants in the Vijayawada

meeting, except Dr. Chenna Reddi, were left off merely with a warning, which is an indication that all methods would be pressed into service to win over, wean away, neutralise these dissidents.

The coming budget session may give an indication as to the future of this new organisation.

## ROLE OF POLICE

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

ing the work of investigation and detection; the introduction of an incentive scheme; the feasibility of associating the public with the work of the police and the setting up of Police Advisory Committees for the purpose;

x. Village police or at least associating Village Panchayats in some form, with the police.

xi. Use of modern scientific devices to help in the work of the police as in some of the advanced countries in the West;

xii. a) Reorganisation of the administrative set-up of the police in the State including recruitment, training (both initial and service training) and promotion;

b) Special training for duty in emergencies like famine, fire, strike or sabotage relating to essential services or public utility services;

c) Dress and uniform;

xiii. Women police : whether women police should be recruited, their conditions of service, specialised training for women police, in which departments of the police and for what specific purposes they should be posted;

# PROUD DAY...

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

engineering personnel trained in the Soviet Union and working in Bhillai will be able to erect a full steel plant themselves. The enthusiasm of India's young engineers working in Bhillai—their average age is between 27 and 30—is a phenomenon never witnessed before in our country. Like the steel plant itself, it is a cherished asset which will go a long way to transform the face of the country. Among them and their Soviet teachers and helpers it is not just perfect cooperation but real sincere love and mutual respect that prevail.

President Rajendra Prasad departed from the prepared text of his speech at Bhillai to pay tribute to the great capacities of Soviet men and material and Minister Swarn Singh recalled the Prime Minister's words that Bhillai is "one of those places which have become embedded in national consciousness as significant symbols of a new age in India."

Still there is another side to this magnificent job of work done and the inaugurations. It is time for Parliament and the

people to review and set right the wrong things happening there whose continuance is not only a shame and eternal stigma but a veritable threat to the smooth progress of the work, a vast amount of which remains to be done. To mention only the most talked about things are the corruption and waste that prevail in giving out and handling of contracts to various Indian firms at both places, Rourkela and Bhillai, the difficult conditions of work and living in both places for the Indian staff and the bureaucratic and racially arrogant attitude of the West Germans towards Indians in Rourkela, which stands out in sharp contrast to the Russians in Bhillai.

Above all what is to be remedied is the situation in which the West Germans in considerable number are playing havoc with the lives of the unimaginably poor local Adivasi population by reducing their womenfolk into a vast horde of harlots. Anyone visiting Rourkela would hear this in whispers and of actual fighting between Indian apprentices and West Germans over this business. Nothing effective has so far been done to stop it.

## KERALA IRRIGATION WEEK

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

able conditions for mass popular participation in irrigation works by guaranteeing security of tenure to the tenants, the agrarian reforms bill which has reached its last stages and by making the necessary changes in rules and procedure.

The statement called on every Communist in the State to take the initiative to unite the people belonging to all political parties for national reconstruction. It reminded Congressmen of the Nagpur resolution enjoining Congressmen to cooperate with all for making India self-sufficient in food.

The statement concluded: "Our objective should be to extend the new approach adopted in the minor irrigation programme to all sectors

of development activities. We expect that all parties would unite to increase production in all sectors through cooperation between the Government and the people and that they would come forward to organise production committees and voluntary labour coops in every village."

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## NEW AGE

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WEST BENGAL

**THE ISI-GOVERNMENT CONTROVERSY**  
**Premier Scientific Institution**  
**Faces Close-Down**  
**FUTURE OF 1600 EMPLOYEES AT STAKE**

CALCUTTA, February 2

The future of 1,600 employees of the Indian Statistical Institute (ISI), Calcutta, an important institution and the only scientific body of its kind in the country, is now at stake.

These employees, to whose selfless service the Institute owes its present position, are faced with mass retrenchment as the result of a decision taken by the Institute's Council at its meeting on February 1.

The Press release issued after the meeting states that in view of the fact that "the present form and terms and conditions of the Government's grants for the project work (from the Government) are not likely to continue beyond 31st March, 1959", the Council "authorised the Director to serve notice on all employees that their services on existing terms and conditions would not be required after 31st March, 1959."

It is further pointed out that in the event of the Government agreeing to continue the project work on a contract basis, the Council "further authorised the Director to explore the possibilities of offering fresh appointments to as many employees as possible for the fulfilment of the contracts consistent with the nature and volume of the project work, and its quality and efficiency."

This decision of the management of the ISI is a sequel to the deadlock in the Institute's relationship with the Union Government.

The Government employs the ISI to conduct national sample surveys and also

utilises it in other ways. The Institute receives, in return for its expert services, about Rs. 80 lakhs annually as grants-in-aid from the Government.

Since the public funds involved are quite substantial the Government insists on a regular audit of the ISI's accounts. The ISI management, however, refuses to accept any such condition for the grants.

The Government had drafted two Bills, one in 1956 and another in 1958 to put the ISI on a stable basis; but they were dropped because the Institute's management strongly opposed the provisions regarding audit.

The management argues that the methods of official audit are "incompatible with the functions of a scientific research institute". Secondly, it is claimed that the ISI is a private organisation which sells its expert services to the Government. As buyer the Government has no right to examine the seller's account book.

It is, however, widely felt here that without entering into any legalistic quibble about the seller-buyer relationship, it is possible to devise a very flexible system of audit.

that "stability and security of service conditions is an essential pre-requisite for the smooth and efficient functioning of this institution of national importance." It further requested the ISI management to "take steps for an early stabilisation of the Indian Statistical Institute and the service conditions of its workers through appropriate legislation."

A deputation of the employees met Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, who is also the President of the ISI, in Calcutta on January 28.

Sri Deshmukh categorically told the deputations that the authorities of the ISI were opposed on principle to Government audit and that they would not accept it under any circumstances.

He further said that they were negotiating with the Government for project work on a contract basis. If the Institute was run on this basis, he emphasised, the employees too would be appointed temporarily for the duration of the contracts. There would, therefore, be no grades or fixed scales of pay.

He admitted that a large number of employees would have to be retrenched in case the Government stopped the grants-in-aid. But, he added, everything depended on the

final outcome of the negotiations now going on with the Government.

It is interesting to note in this connection that on January 30, Prof. Mahalanobis issued a note to the Press, in which he stated, "As a result of recent negotiations, the Government has agreed to place project work on contract basis with effect from 1st April, 1959."

But, in the Press release issued under his signature the next day, the language was slightly different: "there was every reason to believe that the Government would continue the project work."

The resolution adopted at the mass meeting of the employees on January 24 was signed by more than 1,300 employees, and the document was handed over to Sri Deshmukh for placing it at the Council's meeting on February 1. He was further requested to convey to the Prime Minister the deep concern of the employees over the proposed mass retrenchment.

After the Institute's Council meeting about 400 employees met Sri Deshmukh and other members of the Council. Sri Deshmukh informed the employees that there was as yet no final agreement with the Government on the question of audit of the amount already given to the Institute for 1958-59. He further said that there was still uncertainty about the nature of the ISI's work in 1959-60.

The statements made by the ISI management have failed to dispel the justified apprehensions of the employees. They do not know whether they would continue in service after March 31, 1959, and even if they continue, whether the conditions of service would not be worse.

**CONGRESS-LED GOONDAS**  
**ATTACK WORKERS**  
**WORSE WAS BEHAVIOUR OF THE POLICE**

OVER a hundred workers of the Birla-owned Keshoram Cotton Textile Mill at Metiabruz, a suburb of Calcutta, were injured when hired goondas in a procession organised jointly by the INTUC and the mill management attacked another procession taken out by the Garden Reach Textile Workers' Union (A-I-TUC) on the occasion of Republic Day.

One Killed

A local tailor was killed on the spot when the goondas broke open and looted his shop.

As in previous years, a procession of over 6,000 workers was brought out by the union on the morning of January 26. After it had proceeded some distance it was found that the Congress procession, led by Sri Bejoy Bahadur Singh, Labour Welfare Officer of the Company and also Secretary of the Local Mandal Congress Committee, and about 100 goondas armed with lathis, was coming from the oppo-

site direction. To avoid any clash, the union leaders made way for the procession to pass. But, instead of moving on, the goondas suddenly fell upon the workers and started assaulting them. The Labour Welfare Officer, it is said, whipped out his pistol and fired several shots.

Three workers received bullet injuries. One of them was removed to Bangur hospital; two others were bluntly refused admission in the police hospital.

It should be noted in this connection that in December 1956, the Labour Welfare Officer's pistol was temporarily confiscated as he had fired at the workers near the mill gate. Severe repressive measures have been adopted, and attempts are being made in a deliberate manner to create an atmosphere of terror and panic in the Metiabruz area.

Workers were dragged out of bed and arrested. Many of them were manhandled in the police lock-up. When the workers went to the thana to lodge a complaint against the goondas, it was not entertained. Comrade Kamalapati Roy, trade union leader and member of the Executive Committee of the union, was

called to the thana and taken into custody. The police also raided the local office of the Communist Party and interrogated the people present there.

Till now, 60 workers have been arrested. All of them have been refused bail.

But, while the police officials have been so active against the workers and their union, they have openly given protection to the goondas.

Although Sri Barin Sarkar, one of the leaders of the union and an eye-witness to the whole incident, submitted a written complaint to the police, neither the Labour Welfare Officer nor the goondas, who are quite notorious in the area, were arrested. On the contrary, when a worker who had sustained bullet wounds, went to the thana to lodge the First Information Report, he was placed under arrest!

It was only after several Communist M. P.s and MLAs and representatives of the BPTUC had visited the area and demanded action against the real culprits that eight men of the management were arrested.

All of them, however, have been released on bail.

**SIX MILLIONS CRY**

**INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH**

by ROMESH CHANDRA

Says Gunther in Inside Africa: "There are wonders without end in the Cameroons." And he tells of some of the "wonders" which would strike a White Sahib like him. Mount Cameroons, "a live volcano"; the seaport Douala, where "French officials play tennis under yellow fog lights"; "in the French zone there is one doctor for every 70,000 people."

But Gunther visited Africa long ago. And in the six to seven years since, the Cameroonians have marched forward as never before and there are new "wonders", about which the white sahibs never dreamed: the entire territory of two hundred thousand square miles on the West Coast of Africa, South of the Sahara, is a volcano seething, rumbling with revolt. White officials are playing games other than tennis in the vast concentration camps where there are over 60,000 soldiers (instead of the normal 2,000) in the French zone—one for about 60 human beings to cure them of that worst of African diseases—the desire for national independence.

28, orders for the arrest of 800 leaders of the national movement were issued and a large number of detenus were deported and on July 13, the UPC and two other patriotic organisations were banned and outlawed.

Since then, again and again, repeated rounds of terror have been a feature of French "Trusteeship". During the elections of 1956, 1,500 Cameroonians were slaughtered by the French army; on November 11, 1957, 480 patriots were killed.

One could write a volume on the tortures and the barbarism of the French army, as related to the whole world through the United Nations Trusteeship Council, by the Cameroonians patriots and as confirmed by independent authorities and the French Press. But the figures of 50,000 in concentration camps and 60,000 French troops tell their own tale. Add to it the fact that the battle still goes on doggedly and courageously and it is clear that but for the military terror, the patriotic forces would have assumed power long ago.

The British followed the French, banned the UPC and took recourse to repression on as wide a scale as possible.

What about India? I still remember vividly the speech made at the Cairo Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples by the leader of the Cameroons national movement, Dr. Felix Roland Mounie, President of the Union of the Populations of Cameroons. He demanded the help of the independent Afro-Asian countries for the struggle of all peoples, still in the grip of colonialism.

"It is the duty of Afro-Asian countries that have already attained independence not only to welcome the independence of Afro-Asian countries that are still under occupation, but to support them in their national struggles for independence with every means in their power. This is not only a duty but an absolute necessity for independent nations, in order to ensure their own security."

**HISTORY**

The land of "wonders" was a German protectorate from 1884 to 1914. The French and the British took possession of the Cameroons on February 16, 1916; after defeating the German troops. The territory was first administered jointly by the two imperialist Powers, but later an arbitrary decision was made—four-fifths going to France and one-fifth to Britain. The Versailles Convention confirmed this division and decided that France and Britain should administer their respective portions of the country under the mandate of the League of Nations.

On December 13, 1946, the mandate regime was ended and the Cameroons were given Trusteeship status under the United Nations. The Cameroonians rejoiced, for unlike the mandate system (which was largely based on colonial principles), the main object of Trusteeship, as laid down by Article 76(b) of the U. N. Charter, was to give expression to the freely expressed aspirations of the people concerned and help them towards self-government.

**FRESH PLAN**

Cornered by world public opinion and compelled to face the scrutiny of the Trusteeship Council, the imperialists decided on a fresh plan; to integrate all, or at least, a part of the "British" Cameroons into Nigeria and to absorb the "French" zone into the French Union. And it has been along this plan that they have worked, rigging fake "elections" and installing in "power" their own henchmen.

In the United Nations, anti-colonial Powers protested at the massacres of May 1955, and the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly of the U. N. and U. N. Trusteeship Council both called for an amnesty and the restoration of normal conditions. But nothing of the sort happened. The ban on the UPC continued, the concentration camps and prisons remained full and the murders of patriots went on.

A visiting mission of the Trusteeship Council sent in 1955 was so dominated by the imperialists that it refused to hear the evidence of the nationalist forces, because the French and the British imperialists objected.

Meanwhile, both the imperialist Powers announced the dates for the fruition of their plans to integrate their "zones" in their empires by announcing their "independence".

A new mission of the Trusteeship Council has just completed its work and will be presenting its report to the Trusteeship Council now. The

**DEMANDS**

The demand of patriotic Cameroonians, endorsed by all-freedom-loving people everywhere, is that the General Assembly should take steps for—

1. The immediate establishment of a normal political life in the Cameroons through the withdrawal of foreign troops, a total amnesty and the removal of the ban on the UPC and other outlawed organisations;
2. A democratic referendum in both parts of the country simultaneously on the following question: "For or Against Reunification";
3. General elections in the two parts to elect a National Constituent Assembly;
4. The appointment of a Commission of the U. N. (of the Afro-Asian countries and excluding the imperialist Powers) to organise and supervise the popular referendum and elections.

This session of the General Assembly will be watched in all its details not only by the Cameroonians but by all freedom-loving peoples. The stand taken by each country on this vital issue will indicate clearly where it stands with regard to colonialism and imperialism.

This indeed is the crux of the problem. What the peoples still under direct imperialist domination demand is not only lip support to the cause of independence. They want practical proof by "every means." The people of the Cameroons have looked towards India patiently for support. Because in the Trusteeship Council and in the United Nations Missions which have visited Cameroons, India has played always a decisive part.

It was Sri V. K. Krishna Menon in the Trusteeship Council as long ago as February 1954 who led the attack on the French and the British for their abuse of their rights as trustees for the U. N. in the

Cameroons. The French imperialists, he pointed out, had administered the Cameroons as if they were an integral part of their own countries, virtually "annexed" them, instead of helping them, as is enjoined on a trustee Power to "march towards self-government." The British were scarcely better with their archaic and barbarous "Victorian" punishments of collective fines on Cameroon villages.

Since then, however, India's work in the two Missions has appeared to the Cameroon patriots to be one of compromise with the imperialists. And they have openly expressed their misgivings.

Now is the time for action against imperialism to wipe out this unfortunate impression.

Ernest Ouandie, Vice-President of the UPC, visited India last November as a guest of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association. And everywhere he spoke, he stressed the vital role which India could and must play in bringing unity and liberty to his people. He met Prime Minister Nehru, too, and was assured of support. It was from Delhi that he went to the Accra Conference, where he raised the slogan of "Independence or Death" to the cheers of all Africa.

**WE MUST NOT FAIL**

India must not fail the Cameroons at the U. N. For to be found wanting at this moment, is to betray not only the Cameroonians but all who fight for freedom, to betray ourselves. There is no neutrality between the oppressor and the oppressed, between the imperialists and their victims.

Let the voice of the Indian people ring out in full support of the just demands of the Cameroon patriots; and let this voice be heard through the Indian delegation at the U. N. during the special session opening on February 20.

(February 3)

**The Baghdad Pact**

\*FROM PAGE 3

dious and spearheaded above all against the interests of Asian peace, security and sovereignty and the struggle against colonialism.

The opposition of the Soviet, Chinese and Independent Asian Governments to the Baghdad Pact is well-known. The Soviet Government as also the Governments of India, Afghanistan, Iraq and the UAR are all against the U. S. plan for bilateral military agreements with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey as constituting a threat to international security in our region. This is a powerful alignment for a just and noble cause.

What needs to be noted anew is that the U. S. by stepping up its activity in the Baghdad Pact and going forward to bilateral military

vocations, and pressures via Pakistan.

The patriotic people of India must not lose their heads over provocations from Pakistan, that is what the Anglo-U. S. imperialists desire. We must ceaselessly campaign for good neighbourly relations with Pakistan on the basis of the commonly agreed noble principles of the Bandung Conference.

Against the Baghdad Pact, for the Bandung Principles and U. N. Charter!

The united voice of the Indian people and the active stand of the Indian Government can reduce the Baghdad Pact into a paper pact. This is our national task and will be our most acclaimed contribution to the cause of Asian and world peace.

(February 3)

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# Ajoy Ghosh Greets Soviet Party Congress

BY CABLE FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, February 4  
**O**N Tuesday, February 3, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, greeted the Extraordinary 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Everybody stood up to greet him and welcomed him with loud applause.

Speaking in Hindi, Comrade Ghosh said, "On behalf of our Party, our working class, peasantry and the working intelligentsia and expressing the sentiment of all peace-loving people of our country, we convey to the delegates assembled here, to the CPSU, its Central Committee, and the entire Soviet people our heartfelt warm fraternal greetings."

Comrade Ghosh mentioned the great achievements of the Soviet Union and said they had brought immeasurable

strength to the cause of peace and freedom. Repeatedly the Socialist world had acted for peace and frustrated war. "It is no wonder, therefore, that in the growing might of the Soviet Union and the Socialist world, the common people everywhere see a powerful guarantee of peace and of freedom and sovereignty of all countries.

"Especially this is true in Asia and Africa where the colonial order is crumbling to dust, where many countries have won national freedom and taken to the path of independent development. Economic agreements which several of these countries have made with the USSR and other countries of the Socialist world have helped them to strengthen their economy, fortify their national freedom and withstand the pressure of the imperialists. For the people of Asia and Africa, the perspective held out in the Seven-Year Plan is a factor

of great economic significance."

He said that imperialism was stepping up its activities on the other hand with the help of the servile and the most reactionary elements in Asian-African countries. "With the mass of people evincing increasing hatred for military pacts like SEATO and the Baghdad Pact, with the growing popular urge for an independent foreign policy, the imperialists and their agents have launched a ferocious offensive against democratic institutions in a number of Asian countries setting up regimes of military dictatorship.

"The resolute struggle against the political and economic machinations of the U. S. imperialists and their agents, the resolute defence and strengthening of democratic institutions in alliance with all patriotic forces are the tasks which have acquired a new urgency and importance in this context."

Mentioning that relations of

friendship had steadily grown between India and the USSR in recent years, Comrade Ghosh said: "The Republic of India, upholding the banner of peace and determined to defend and strengthen its national freedom, has made a great contribution to the cause of international amity as embodied in Panch Shila."

Ajoy Ghosh said the Communist Party of India stood in the forefront of the movement for democratic reform, for Socialism and peace. He mentioned the successes of the Party in the elections and Kerala.

"Our Party, guided by the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism and basing itself on the principles of proletarian internationalism, strives to work out its policies in accordance with the concrete realities of the Indian situation and the best traditions of the great Indian people. We strive to unite all patriotic forces in our country to defend peace and combat colonialism in every form to

strengthen national freedom and the national economy to carry out democratic reforms in every sphere, to defend the interests of the working people and to safeguard and strengthen democratic institutions."

Ajoy Ghosh concluded his speech saying: "We have no doubt that the 21st Congress will be a landmark in the triumphant advance to Socialism and Communism."

His last words, "Hindi-Russi Bhai-Bhai" were greeted with loud and prolonged applause and everybody stood up and clapped till he walked back to his seat.

The Congress was addressed by Defence Minister of the USSR Malinovsky and Peruvkhin, Kuusinen, Kozlov and others.

February 3

Chou En-lai was the first representative of the Brother Parties to address the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and his speech immediately put an end to the speculation that there were major disagreements on questions of policy between China and the Soviet Union. Earlier, N. S. Khrushchov had also made it clear that there was complete accord between the two Parties.

Chou said, "Peoples of our countries are the closest comrades-in-arms, our interests are the same and close friendship between our peoples is eternal and unbreakable. The imperialists headed by the United States and Yugoslav revisionists, are sparing no effort to try to provoke a split between us. But they will be disappointed for our two countries and all countries of the Socialist camp will be eternally together along the road leading to Communism."

This was greeted with tremendous applause.

On Monday, the sixth day of the Congress, Khaled Baghdash, leader of the Syrian Communist Party, Salam Adil, Secretary of the Iraq Communist Party, Bu Ali, Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, and Ali Ata, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Morocco, addressed the delegates. Their speeches came after reference to the situation in the Arab countries by Khrushchov and Mukhitdinov, which had earlier aroused great interest.

Khaled Baghdash made an impassioned speech frequently interrupted by stormy applause. He thanked Khrushchov for having warned the Arab peoples of the dangers ahead. The Soviet Union was the greatest friend of the Arabs, he declared. Imperialism was still trying to find cracks in Arab unity and supported anti-Communist movements with this end in view. It concentrated its fire on Iraq but for Arabs, Iraq was a major achievement of their freedom. The Arab people knew that the Communists had always been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. They could never believe that Communism and Zionism were the same things.

## THE ROT THAT CAN'T BE STEMMED

### Andhra Dissidents Secede From Congress, Form New Party

FROM V. HANUMANTHA RAO

The creaks heard in the Andhra Congress for a long time have now led to a crack in its foundations, when a 500-strong dissident Congressmen's Convention held at Vijayawada on January 24, under the chairmanship of Dr. M. Chennareddi decided to secede from the Congress and form a new political party.

**A**FTER a week's hesitation as to how to proceed against these dissidents, the Executive

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of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee which, according to the dissidents is the "accused" in the affair, resolved to expel Dr. Chennareddi for three years, that is, just until before the next general elections. All others were let off with a mere warning.

The dissidents are again meeting on the 12th and 13th in a convention at Vijayawada to give constitutional shape to the new political party as well as outline its political policy and philosophy.

Whatever may be the conclusions of this meeting, whatever may be the number of legislators who will choose to sit in the Opposition and finally whatever may be its political policy, it is definite that the formation of a new political party and its sitting in the Opposition will have its own effects on the political developments in the State.

Neither the decision of the dissidents to form a new political party nor the resolution of the provincial Congress to expel their leader is unexpected news to those who have been following the politics of this State.

Ever since the new State of Andhra Pradesh came into existence and Sri Sanjeeva Reddi was elected as the new Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, defeating Sri B. Gopala Reddi, the then Chief Minister and now the Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, there was an echo of these group politics every now and then.

It can be said without any

hesitation that it is the discriminatory and revengeful attitude adopted by Chief Minister Sanjeeva Reddi who held and continues to hold complete sway over the Congress Legislature Party and the Congress Party that was at the root of these group politics.

During the last two years, there were frequent charge-sheets and counter-charge-sheets; nearly half-a-dozen enquiries were conducted by the High Command into the group politics inside the ruling party; there were repeated attempts by the dissident group to seek the intervention of the High Command in its favour and in favour of justice, as they say it; there were disciplinary actions against certain dissidents, which were not confirmed later. In settling these quarrels, the effect of intervention of High Command has turned out to be in favour of Sri Sanjeeva Reddi.

With this support behind him, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi stepped up his discrimination not only against the Opposition parties, but against persons in his own party, filling up various committees at taluq, district and provincial level with his own supporters.

Members of the dissident group were taken to task for allegedly supporting non-Congress candidates in various elections, but Sri Sanjeeva Reddi himself went about canvassing support for Independent candidates.

With complete control over the organisation as well as legislature, his own colleagues allege, Sri Sanjeeva Reddi "suppressed democracy" even inside the Congress party.

Thus, it was made impossible for the dissidents to carry on any longer inside the organisation. Though they passed a resolution in Novem-

ber last at Hyderabad to hold district and taluq conventions to mobilise Congressmen subscribing to their view, they suspended operation of the resolution and decided to appeal to Sri Nehru for his intervention. Having failed to secure his intervention, the dissidents were faced with no alternative than to decide to leave the organisation.

In a resolution passed at the meeting on the 24th, they have almost repeated the same charges levelled by the Opposition against the Government. It said that "the administration has become corroded with all vices of nepotism, favouritism, corruption and interference in all its branches of activity," "that agricultural, industrial and taxation policies have become injurious to the people."

About Congress organisation, the resolution stated that the "Pradesh Congress has become mainly a clanish affair," that "democracy ceased to exist within the organisation", that "the Congress exhibited gross breach of faith of the pact made in the context of the formation of the United Congress Party on the eve of the general elections in Andhra in 1955."

The resolution of the Pradesh Congress Executive, in reply to this resolution, is a master-piece in vagueness and blatant denials. To all the charges made against the Pradesh Congress, there was only one reply, that is, all the charges are "malicious, baseless, slander" and so on.

This unconvincing resolution has brought forth a rejoinder from one of the prominent leaders of the dissident group, Sri K. Suryanarayana, former M. P. In his statement, he repeated some of the charges that

\* SEE PAGE 13

(Earlier Report on Page 5)