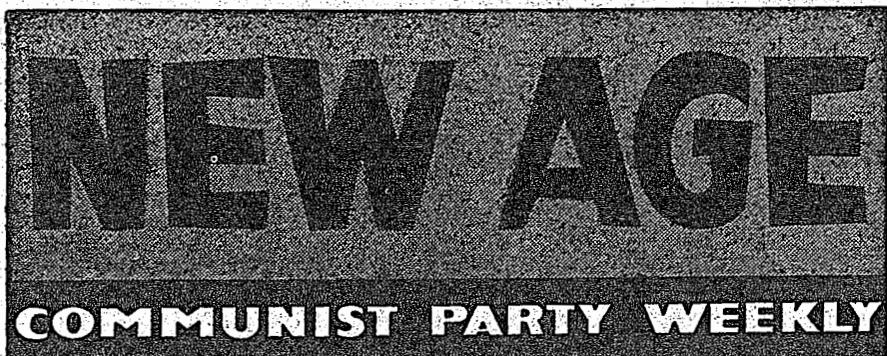


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ACT NOW TO DEFEND

HUMAN DIGNITY



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Blood And Terror In South Africa

JUN 21 1960
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South Africa's streets are today spattered with African blood. What the Romans used to do to the slaves or the Nazis to the prisoners-of-war is now being done to a whole people in their own native land. Peaceful people staying away from work to mourn their dead, to protest against seizure and humiliation of their leaders—and the outlawing of their organisations are set upon with the knout and guns by the white racist tyrants seeking to force them back to work at any cost.

THE massacre of Sharpeville is left far behind in face of the present atrocities and the tragedy becomes deeper every passing day, with the whole world looking angrily on.

For the second consecutive day this Tuesday armed police and troops backed by armoured cars and Saracen tanks, with helicopters and jet planes flying overhead, moved into the battered African township of Nyanga, already besieged for five days, to drive African residents out to work.

Mediaeval Barbarism

And soldiers and police went from house to house battering on doors, ordering occupants out in the streets. Scanty reports trickling out from the sealed-off township say that the bloodhounds are assaulting the Africans indiscriminately. The beatings perpetrated in the streets of Cape Town and in the Nyanga and Langa townships constitute a new chapter in brutality lifted straight from mediaeval barbarism.

"Africans walking peacefully," according to even the worst hard-bolled Tory imperialist Press, were set upon and flayed mercilessly with whips and truncheons and soon the pavements were spattered with the blood of beaten Africans, among them many women and old men.

The screams of the Africans horrified the white

citizens of Cape Town who telephoned newspaper offices and foreign journalists. A nurse from a hospital rang up to say, "The police are beating up everybody. Blood is everywhere," and another eye-witness reported, "The police beat hell out of every non-white they saw."

In Langa and Nyanga they forced their entry into one house after another and beat up every man they found.

Repeatedly as part of these operations they have resorted to firings killing how many Africans nobody knows.

The rulers openly proclaim that this is a reign of terror. The object: "to intimidate the intimidators". The intimidators are no other than all the Africans because they are "intimidating" each other to stay away from work. The very fury of this terror is evidence of how universal and unanimous is the Africans' response to their spontaneous urge to keep away from work. It is no more than a spontaneous urge of a whole people because they have been deprived of all leaders and all organisations of their own.

Affront To World

The present terror campaign is also a calculated reply by South Africa's rulers to world opinion and to the United Nations. The racials who lord over the

Resolution Of Communist Party Executive On Back Page

AJOY GHOSH calls for Solidarity with Africans

THE carnage in South Africa continues. Every day brings more stories of horror. Tanks and jets go into action against unarmed people. The streets flow with blood. A regular man-hunt with whips and guns is on. Terror is rampant.

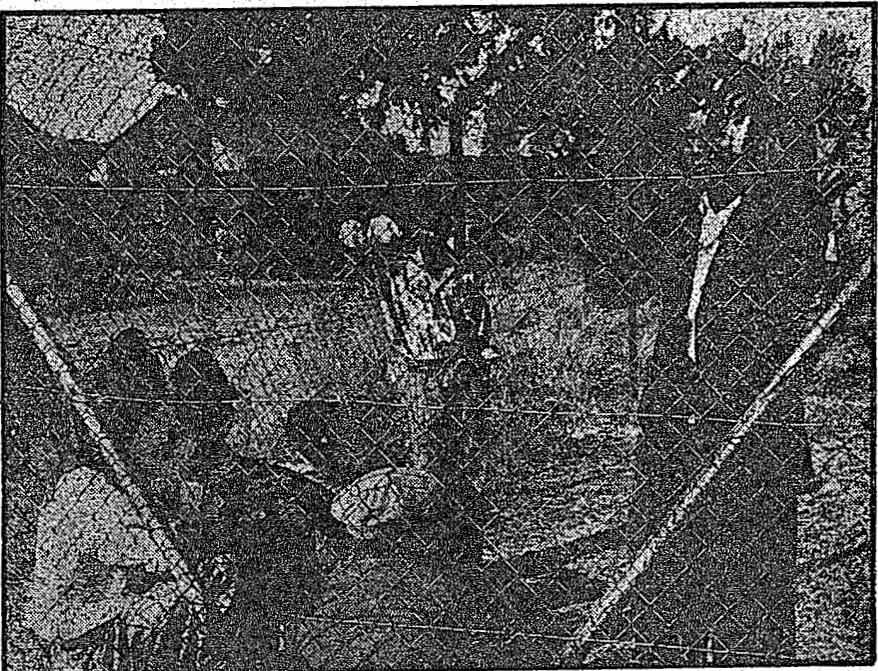
While there is wrath at this utterly base and demeaning policy, there is a salute and admiration in every heart for the glorious courage of the Africans who pit their massive unity and heroism against the worst that the South African Government does. Together with them, suffering the same indignities and repression, stand the citizens of Indian origin and from other Asian countries. Displaying rare moral courage some of European descent in South Africa have also voiced their opposition to racialism.

These events of the past few days only serve to sharply underline the Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party on the South African killings. They only stress the urgency of the call that it gives for observing April 10 to 17 as a 'Week of Solidarity with the Africans in South Africa'.

This is an issue which unites all Indian irrespective of party affiliations and other differences. This national unity was demonstrated in the unanimously passed Lok Sabha resolution. This is an issue to which responds all the memory of our own glorious struggle for freedom, all our deep desire to see the end of foreign domination everywhere, all our determination to see that insult and humiliation to men of colour are banished from the earth.

It is essential that each unit, member and friend of the Communist Party at once plunge into the most hectic activity. Let the message of solidarity ring out from every city and village, every street and house, every man and woman. Let plans be prepared immediately for house-to-house canvassing, street corner meetings, demonstrations and mass meetings. Let every conceivable form be used to express the Indian people's united anger, their utmost sympathy.

There is no time to lose. Let us rise to the occasion to our capacity and beyond. South Africa calls to us in her hour of pain and glory. Let all India and each Indian answer!



SOUTH AFRICA—A VAST PRISON HOUSE

These are South Africans who want work—some even HAVE jobs—but they are locked up in an old mine compound and told: "Work on a mine or in a quarry."

* SEE BACK PAGE

The proceedings in the Lok Sabha this week were rather desultory and the sense of drama which South Africa had brought, naturally enough, could not be sustained. Still the controversies and passage-at-arms were not without their significance.

T. NAGI REDDY led off the debate on the Grants demanded by the Commerce and Industries Ministry with a fighting speech. He sharply brought up the spectacular case of Bijayanand Patnaik of Orissa and the looming scandal therein (the synthetic oil deal and the Orissa Textile Mills management).

This was to form the main theme of the speech of P. K. Deo (Ganatantra Parishad) who did not hesitate to hammer away at his coalition partner in Orissa—the Congress embarrassment was an unholy sight to see.

Foreign Capital

Apart from this exciting bit of muck-raking, there were certain policy issues on which revealing light was thrown. Nagi Reddy quoted official figures to show the continuing grip of foreign-controlled companies over our foreign trade and its extension from 26.7 per cent in 1956 to 32.8 per cent in 1958. The percentage share of Indian scheduled banks in the financing of our external trade has declined in the same period, giving more scope to foreign banks.

As an important corollary of the same point he mentioned the growing inflow of foreign private capital, almost half of which came in the form of firms with over 50 per cent of foreign equity participation. The Communist M.P. rightly stressed that this was in complete contravention of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

Rebutting the usual excuse that this was a necessary price for Western aid, he pointed to the alarming trade deficits we were piling up in our trade with the Western bloc. As a matter of fact, even the Eastern Economist had acknowledged that the one bright feature of our foreign trade was the rupee-payments clause of all credit deals with the Socialist countries, which was so beneficial for our foreign exchange position.

From this Nagi Reddy drew the extremely important and perfectly correct policy conclusion that we must "integrate our aid with trade" as the best and swiftest path to the take-off.

Defence Of Public Sector

The second important policy issue was the question of the public sector. H. C. Mathur (Congress) made a severe attack on the offensive opened by the Swatantra Party and the Forum of Free Enterprise. He deprecated this vilification campaign and called for a vigorous counter-offensive.

Another point he made very effectively was that the public sector had to be efficiently run and be subject to proper

control. He suggested that the task of guiding and checking up the public sector could be undertaken by a Standing Committee of Parliament. Through ensuring proper performance, the public sector projects could be asked to ensure a fixed dividend return after a certain number of years—thus providing an expanding source of capital accumulation.

This problem of a profit-yielding public sector was also dilated upon by B. C. Ghose (PSP) who regretted that public sector profits were so meagre. In this he was supplemented by A. C. Guha (Congress) but from a different angle—since there are low profits what exactly is the use of the public sector, was this M.P.'s query.

But Rajeshwar Patel (Congress) gave the opposite story by detailing the inefficiency of the private sector in the automobile industry and by demanding that the small car (scarcely a Janata car, however,) be produced in the public sec-

PANT'S GRACELESS PERFORMANCE

tor. K. U. Farman (Congress) also took the wind out of the sails of the private sector protagonists by exposing the working of the Ahmedabad textile mills, which were cheating both the Government and the workers.

Despite all this concentration by different members on the issue the two Ministers—Lal Bahadur Shastri and Manubhai Shah—studiously avoided giving any indication of where their preferences lay. All the House got was the usual messy pottage of platitudes.

Regional Development

Two other points deserve attention, however brief—the plea by members of all parties for proper regional distribution of industry and the need to do more for medium and small industries. In the possibilities of the African and Southeast Asian markets for our exports many Congress members were excitedly interested. Hazarding a generalisation, one could say that there were all the signs that we were hearing the voices of a rapidly maturing bourgeoisie on the look-out for preserves abroad, in view of the restricted home market.

The speeches in reply were remarkable for their non-chalance. Manubhai Shah held out prospects of great industrial development, pointed out the growing quantum of industrial investment over the Plan period and praised

the "great role" of the private sector. But he, rather illogically, went on to warn that the "take-off" stage was still a distant prospect. As was to be expected he defended all the concessions to private foreign capital.

Lal Bahadur Shastri seemed to seek safety in a long rigmarole about the Orissa scandal which took up a good half of his time. For the rest there were sweet assurances about everything and absolutely not a spark of inspiration or originality.

As a foot-note illustrating the official attitude, notice may be taken of Lal Bahadur Shastri refusing, on April 4, to disclose the names of the companies that had destroyed evidence wanted by the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission. Private sector lapses seem too readily to find Government shielding.

Bifurcation Of Bombay

The Bombay Reorganisation Bill—or rather the reference of it to a Joint Select Committee—was the occasion for an unusual spectacle. The massive and impulsive Govind

which was the great working class of Bombay.

Dange pleaded that principles—and not a desire to maim Maharashtra—should be enunciated and debated with regard to the outstanding problems between the two States to be. The border problem, the Dang area and financial assistance to Gujarat could all be amicably settled if no prejudices stood in the way.

N. G. Goray (PSP) more or less echoed all the points made by the Communist leader. But he was insistent that the Samiti should be dissolved, not so much because its purpose had been fulfilled but because a united front in itself was bad if the "past-master at united fronts" S. A. Dange was anywhere around.

Indulal Yagnik reiterated the points made by the previous speakers, but from the angle of Gujarat. He, too, castigated the Government for having callously sent people to their deaths, for having refused to read the clear message of the Gujarati people's passionate desire for their own State and for not having

restrict even proselytising activities.

What the Bill sought to do was merely to prevent the Catholic church from encroaching on the fundamental political rights of Indian citizens. He quoted from the circulars threatening excommunication of anybody who did not vote against the Communist Party, which were widely used in the recent Kerala elections and after.

He recounted his own experience in a Catholic college and the authoritarianism that reigns supreme there—his brother was not allowed to read Blitz! Such authoritarians, backed by limitless funds from abroad, were now waging a crusade against the foundations of our secular democracy.

Foreign Intrusion

The Bishop of Nellore declared some years ago that the individual clergymen were not to answer any questions put to them by the civil authorities, without prior reference to their ecclesiastical superiors.

BOMBAY REORGANISATION

the grace to make even a mention of all this even now.

He raised the border and financial problems from his side and insisted that justice and fair play should mark Maharashtra's dealings with Gujarat.

Dr. Aney made his plea for a separate Vidarbha State and then Pandit Pant indulged his anger. He defended the Bombay killings by the twisted logic of condemning the Nambhodripad Ministry's police policy and its forced resort to firing.

As for Congress adherence to democracy he made the surprisingly cheap dig that Dange's presence in the Lok Sabha was proof enough of this—the Congress evidently had been gracious enough, for the moment, not to snatch away the franchise from the people! He refused to accept the Communist leader's offer to bury the hatchet and made it all too evident that democratic advance through the break-up of the billings was scarcely to his liking.

Church And Politics

One other debate needs to be mentioned. T. Nagi Reddy had moved a Private Member's Bill seeking to restrict the political activities of the Catholic church. At the outset he explained that the Communist Party was absolutely for the protection of religious activity and had moved against any attempt to

Another revealing statement was made by one Reverend Maria Doss who declared that if the Pope asked any Catholic to vote against Pandit Nehru, he was duty bound to obey or face the consequences. This was religion and all its hold placed at the disposal of a foreign Power. It was this force that had to be curbed and prevented from intruding into our political life.

After an ineffective attempt at defence of the Catholic church's political activities by Congress M.P. Maniyangadan and a spirited rebuttal of all his arguments by T.C.N. Menon, the debate was held over till next time.

Krishna Menon was once again sought to be put in the dock on the basis of an alleged interview with Max Lerner. This American gentleman lectures at the Indian School of International Studies and wrote up an obviously tendentious account of a private conversation with the Defence Minister.

Instead of being incensed at the insinuations and insults heaped on a member of the Government by an American pen-pusher, Hem Barua of the PSP wanted to question again Krishna Menon's loyalty and through this to spoil the atmosphere for the crucial Nehru-Chou talks. A concerted drive is on against the meeting—in the streets, in the papers and in Parliament—and it needs to be energetically repelled.

—MOHIT SEN

APRIL 5.

APRIL 10, 1960

Congress Faction Out To Break Coalition With Ganatantra Parishad

Hardly ten months have passed since the formation of the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad Coalition Ministry. Now a substantial section of Congressmen, headed by Bijayananda Patnaik, MLA (the industrialist), are out to break the coalition. A crisis inside the Congress is gathering momentum on the issue.

B. PATNAIK (owner of the Orissa Textile Mill, Kalinga Tube Factory, Kallin-ga Airways, mines and steel mills, etc.) was the prime mover, along with Mahatab, in bringing about this coalition. At that time everybody was given to understand that the Ganatantra Parishad had accepted the Congress programme and its aim of building Socialism and would merge itself in the Congress after a few months.

Even Pandit Nehru went so far as to eulogise the Rajas of the Ganatantra Parishad for their present sacrifice and because a united front in itself was bad if the "past-master at united fronts" S. A. Dange was anywhere around.

But the experience of the last ten months has belied the hopes of a large section of Congressmen. Instead of merging itself in the Congress, the Ganatantra Parishad is consolidating its position in the old ex-State areas and extending its contacts in the coastal areas, which were the stronghold of the Congress.

Congress Subservience

Almost all the actions, executive orders and even most of the Acts passed during this period clearly prove the dominant position of the Ganatantra Parishad inside the Ministry and the subservient position of the Congress.

One after the other, the Congress has given up all its anti-feudal measures and made fresh concessions to the Rajas at the cost of the people, in order to keep itself in office. To mention a few instances: the Coalition Ministry restored the allowances paid to the members of the rulers' families, which had been stopped earlier by the Congress; the agricultural income-tax, inheritance-tax (in the agrarian sphere) and land tax on the rent-free holding of rulers, the Acts granting rights to the sharecroppers on the lands of the Rajas, etc., were so amended and manipulated that only the princelings benefited while the peasants and the State were deprived of their due rights.

Even the Land Reform Bill, first proposed by the Congress, was amended in the Select Committee to suit better the interest of the feudal elements. Though outwardly the ceiling limit was reduced from 33 acres to 25 standard acres, actually it was raised to 50 standard acres (i.e., 200 acres of dry land) through a most peculiar definition of what is meant by a family. The surplus land that would be available to the Government for distribution even after all this has, however, been left to be disposed of by the owners.

This Coalition Ministry, while increasing the tax burden on the people is, at the same time, handing over lakhs of rupees to the Rajas, bidi leaf traders, rice mill-owners and blackmarketeers. It has increased the road cess and education cess by Rs. ten lakhs, irrigation tax by Rs. 15 lakhs (apart from the new

irrigation tax), sales-tax by Rs. 27 lakhs (by taxing essential oils, atta suji, maida, coconuts, firewood, kerosene, etc.).

Orissa gets Rs. 84 lakhs of its revenue from leasing out the right of collecting and selling bidi leaves, which are mostly exported to Pakistan. These bidi leaf merchants donate freely both to the Congress and Ganatantra Parishad coffers. A remission of Rs. 17 lakhs has been given to them and in the name of giving rights to the people, the bidi monopoly licence has been abolished, with a loss of about Rs. 60 lakhs revenue to the State.

State Trading Given Up

Moreover, the Coalition Government has given up State Trading in foodgrains and has accepted the food zone with West Bengal, under pressure from the Central Government. This has neither helped the producers of Orissa nor the consumers of West Bengal. Colossal profits are being made by the middle-men, the traders and rice mill-owners.

According to the Government's plan, Orissa is to supply three lakh tons of rice to West Bengal, which comes to about 81 lakh maunds. The profit per maund of rice, after meeting all expenses, will not be less than Rs. five, which means a total of more than Rs. four crores. This huge sum is now unnecessarily being handed over to the rice merchants and black-marketeers. It is equal to the entire land-revenue of Orissa for two years! At present the Coalition Ministry has appointed a committee under Professor Lokanathan to investigate the possibility of further taxation and increasing Orissa's revenue so as to bring in Rs. 25 crores—the State's share for the Third Five-Year Plan. The income from State Trading in foodgrains over five years can bring in 80 per cent of this and substantially

reduce the tax burden on the people.

The Ganatantra Parishad, while it gathers all the benefits of the Coalition, at the same time holds the Congress responsible for all the anti-people acts. It unequivocally declares that since it is a Coalition Ministry, the Ganatantra Parishad cannot do what it likes but has to satisfy the corrupt and anti-people leaders of the Congress.

If in the coming elections more people vote for the Ganatantra Parishad, then it can form a Ministry of its own and do away with the corruption and other anti-people acts of the Congress—such is its line of agitation.

The growing anti-Congress feeling among the masses has penetrated a section of the Congress Party as well. The fact is that either the Ganatantra Parishad should merge with the Congress or the Coalition Government should be broken. Bijayananda Patnaik is the leader of this group. He contested for the Presidency of the Pradesh Congress but Mahatab defeated him and got in his own name, since he wants to carry on the Ministry at any cost.

Intensified Struggle

After the defeat of Patnaik, the struggle between the two groups has intensified. The correspondence which passed between Mahatab and Patnaik, each accusing the other of various misdeeds, has now been published. Patnaik's proposal is that the coalition should be broken up and a mid-term election ordered. In the meantime, he advances the slogan of "an industry in each district" as a means of galvanising the Congress. He has further declared in a Press Conference that he can bag the PSP within two hours and thus form a new Coalition Ministry with it.

Behind Rapprochement Moves In U. P. Congress BIG BUSINESS CRACKS THE WHIP?

From RAMESH SINHA

There is no doubt left now that the attitude of the dissident Congress leaders of Uttar Pradesh, led by the erstwhile "iron-man" C. B. Gupta is undergoing a visible change vis-a-vis the ministerial clique led by Sampurnanand.

C. B. GUPTA himself has not spoken; he has so far not said anything publicly; but his lieutenants have. In a recent debate in the U.P. State Assembly, Newal Kishore, one of Gupta's chief storm-troopers, sprang a surprise on everybody by going out of his way to pay tributes to Chief Minister Sampurnanand and appeal to the Congress Party to be loyal

Mahatab has openly said that there is no possibility now nor in the future general election for the Congress to get an absolute majority and form its own Ministry. His plan is to divide Orissa between the Ganatantra Parishad and the Congress and not to fight each other and carry on the Coalition Government even after the General Election.

Charge Of Defalcation

He has brought some charges against Patnaik alleging defalcation of Government funds to the tune of Rs. six lakhs which had been paid to him for a synthetic petrol plant some ten years ago. It is Mahatab who hushed up the matter then and now has dug it up to take revenge. Mahatab might himself be incriminated and so has demanded of Patnaik the return of so-called "blank papers" signed by him.

In the meantime, it is reported that Patnaik has deposited Rs. six lakhs in the name of Pandit Nehru and has written to him to probe into the whole question. A few days ago, the Executive Committee of the Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee decided to carry on the Coalition and to intensify Congress work in the ex-State areas—i.e., work against the Ganatantra Parishad. A few days after, the Working Committee of the Ganatantra Parishad met and decided to carry on the Coalition but it did not repudiate the statement of its Secretary, who had publicly held the Coalition responsible for all the misdeeds of the Government and treated the Congress "ideology and principles with deliberate contempt." It only passed a remark that the statement was "untimely and impolitic."

Behind Rapprochement Moves In U. P. Congress

BIG BUSINESS CRACKS THE WHIP?

April 5. Assembly, was said to have discounted all "rumours of reconciliation" between the two warring groups and declared, "No question of reconciliation arises at all so long as the ideological differences between the two groups continue to exist."

The Acharya has now demitted that he ever said such a thing. He says that "there were never any ideological differences between the two groups, nor could there be room for any in an organised political party" (like the Congress?).

He has even said, "Whatever differences there were at the time of resignation (November 1958—R.S.) on the

Thus, the partnership continues its uneasy existence. Now it is reported that the Patnaik group is mobilising all its strength to call a meeting of the Pradesh Committee itself where it hopes to win a majority.

During this period the Communist Party issued a call for a Statewide campaign against fresh taxation and increased rent, as well as for the distribution of fallow land, a progressive land reform law, State Trading in foodgrains, liquidation of the privileges enjoyed by the Rajas and their families, etc.

Communist Campaign

This campaign ended in a rally at Bhuvaneshwar on March 30. A huge procession in which people from different districts participated was taken out. Five hundred people came from Ganjam on foot, taking five days to reach Bhuvaneshwar. On its way even Congress, PSP and Ganatantra supporters and workers fed them, in spite of the instructions of their leaders not to help the Communists. They also supported the demands raised by the Party. The rally was unique and unprecedented for Bhuvaneshwar.

A delegation led by Gurucharan Patnaik, Secretary of the Utkal State Committee of the Communist Party, met the Raja of Patna, the Deputy Chief Minister, as the Chief Minister was ill. He handed over a memorandum but the Raja evaded all the issues and did not give any clear-cut reply. The procession ended in a meeting, where it was decided to mobilise public opinion behind the legitimate demands mentioned in the memorandum and to struggle to win them.

APRIL 5.

question of independence of members of Government to express their views on organisational matters within the Congress, were resolved by the decision taken by the Central Parliamentary Board last year which all Congressmen are bound to accept."

Of course; but the Acharya has not told us why the so-called decision was not accepted during the last one-and-a-half years! The elections in the Congress Committees in the State had to be completed before the Bangalore Session; but, despite the trips which Swaran Singh and

* SEE PAGE 15

Kisan Sabha Calls For Demonstrations To Condemn South African Terror

A. K. Gopalan M.P., President and Bhovani Sen, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, have issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on April 4:

THE mass massacre of South African people and the continued suppression of their struggle for liberation by the colonialists have justifiably evoked the indignation of the entire civilised world irrespective of nationalities and political ideologies.

We, on behalf of the Indian peasantry, express our deep sympathy and admiration for the heroic people of Africa, the leviathan that had been sleeping for epochs and is now roused from its slumber.

The challenge that Africa has thrown against the imperialist rulers cannot but be highly appreciated by the newly liberated peoples of Asia. The two

continents, marching side by side, will now precipitate the final doom of the remnants of world imperialism, thanks to the fact that imperialism no longer holds the monopoly of the world, because Socialism marches triumphantly on in one part of the globe.

The Indian peasantry, struggling for the liquidation of all the remnants of feudalism, must express its solidarity with the African people fighting heroically to restore their land and liberty lost to the colonial Powers.

We, therefore, urge upon all the units of the All-India Kisan Sabha to observe a week, from April 10 to 17 together with other parties and organisations to condemn the brutal oppression of the imperialist enslavers and to demand action on the part of the United Nations, according to its Charter of Human Rights.

CALCUTTA PROTESTS

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA CALCUTTA, April 4

The savage mass killings of Africans by the racist rulers of South Africa have caused deep indignation here.

On March 28, the West Bengal State Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution deploring the "police firing in Sharpeville and Langa" and conveying "deep sympathy to the Africans who had suffered in the tragic incident."

AFTER Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy moved the resolution, Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, and leaders of all the other parties associated themselves wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed in the resolution.

A public meeting, convened the same day under the joint signatures of Vivekananda Mukherjee, editor of Yugantar, Gopal Neogy, Editor of Basumat, Dr. Triguna Sen, Rector of Jadavpur University, Jyoti Basu, Amar Basu, MLA (Marxist F.B.), Jatin Chakravarty, MLA (RSP), and Subodh Banerjee, MLA (Socialist Unity Centre), strongly condemned the brutalities perpetrated on Africans and the South African Government's policy of racial suppression.

Thunderous applause greeted different speakers when they demanded that India should quit the Commonwealth and that Prime Minister Nehru should not sit at the same table with the South African Prime Minister at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference.

Bejoy Banerjee, Mayor of Calcutta, said that he had come to the meeting to voice strong protests on behalf of the people of the city. He did not know whether the State could do anything in the mat-

Unemployed Father Kills Hungry Son On Public Thoroughfare

POPLE stood shocked and dazed when in a public thoroughfare in Calcutta on March 28, a desperate father smashed the head of his five-year-old son because he could not give the hungry boy even a single morsel of food. The father tried to take his own life when he was arrested by the police.

The man, Ramdas Turi, was a worker in a tea garden in Jalpaiguri (West Bengal). He lost his job about four months ago and went to his village in Pala-

man district in Bihar. Here life for him and his family was one of prolonged starvation. Unable to stand the pangs of hunger, his wife deserted him.

About a fortnight ago, he came to Calcutta with his child in search of a job. He knocked about for several days, but could not find any employment. He did not mind living on the pavement and going without food for days on end, but what made him increasingly desperate were the cries of the hungry child.

On the day of the occurrence, the child would not stop asking for food. His piteous wailings suddenly threw Ramdas Turi into a fit of madness. He seized the child by his feet and swinging him in the air dashed his head against the pavement. It was a horrible sight—the dead body with its head smashed and blood spattered all over the place.

Who is guilty? Food hoarders and speculators or the desperate father?

Refugee Rehabilitation Policy Under Fire

THE West Bengal Assembly discussed the problem of East Pakistan refugees on April 2 on the basis of a resolution moved by a Congress member. Among other things, the resolution criticised the failure of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry "in fulfilling its plan and programme according to targets declared from time to time."

This portion was, however, taken out of the resolution by means of amendments moved by two other Congress members.

It was learnt in Lobby circles that the original resolution was considerably toned down after the Union Rehabilitation Minister had closed-door discussions with Dr. B. C. Roy the previous day.

Nevertheless, all Congress members who spoke tried their utmost to absolve the State Government and shift the entire blame to the Centre.

Opposition members were not unanimous in their views—while Communist members held both Mehri Chand Khanna and P. C. Sen, Union and State Rehabilitation Ministers, equally responsible, most other Opposition members blamed either M. C. Khanna or P. C. Sen.

The amended resolution, which was ultimately adopted by the House by a majority of votes, suggested that the Re-

Nepali social worker, demanded withdrawal of all Gurkha troops and police from Africa.

By another resolution the meeting strongly criticised the "continued practice of discrimination based on the pigment of the human skin" in eight clubs in Calcutta, run and controlled by British businessmen. Most of these clubs, situated on Government-owned plots, enjoyed all possible facilities through the Government.

The West Bengal Yuba Sangh has appealed to the youth of the State to organise large-scale protests through clubs, libraries, student and youth organisations against the repressive measures in South Africa and for cancellation of the Pass Laws.

The Bengal Provincial Students' Federation has called on students to observe April 5 as Protest Day by holding meetings and demonstrations all over the State.

habilitation Ministry should not be closed in 1961 until more effective arrangements for complete refugee rehabilitation in Dandakaranya and other places were made. The West Bengal Government's closer association with the Dandakaranya Development Project was stressed. It was further stated that the project should have more officers with intimate knowledge of the life and language of the East Pakistan refugees.

The Centre, the resolution urged, should allot adequate funds under the Third Plan for the general development of the State's economy to help economic integration of displaced persons in the State. The amendments, which stood in the names of Samar Mukherjee, Ranen Sen and Surhid Mallik Chowdhury of the Communist Bloc, held the Union as well as the State Governments responsible for failure in resettling the refugees.

While pointing out that necessary measures should be adopted for the all-round development of Dandakaranya, the amendments stressed that the "rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan should not be wholly dependent upon the development of Dandakaranya, rehabilitation in Dandakaranya should be planned on a voluntary basis."

It was further urged that the target date for closing down the Rehabilitation Ministry should be extended till all the refugees were resettled.

The Congress member, who moved the main resolution, made out the following points against the Union Rehabilitation Ministry while trying to cover up the guilt of the State Government.

● Since July 1958, the Centre had rehabilitated only 2,653 camp refugee families out of its quota of 85,000 families, that is, seven per cent of the total.

● The Centre was concerned more about the closure of camps than about resettlement of refugees. About 70 per cent of the camp refugees had been deprived of doles after so-called "screening". Besides this, doles had been stopped on grounds of alleged "insubordination and indiscipline." The permanent habitability camps (for unattached widows, aged and invalid people) were being closed down. The Centre had thus succeeded in throwing 58,000 refugees

out of camps in the past three years.

● The target for land reclamation in Dandakaranya had been fixed at 10,20,000 acres. But till now only 50,000 acres had been reclaimed.

● A sum of Rs. 2.45 crores had been allotted for providing employment to 9,000 refugees in different industries. But the amount utilised so far was Rs. 1.39 crores, and only 2,000 refugees had found employment.

● As regards subsidies and loans, the amounts sanctioned were Rs. 90.11 lakhs in 1956-57, Rs. 14.36 lakhs in 1957-58 and Rs. 12.37 lakhs in 1958-59. A sum of Rs. 3.12 lakhs was utilised in 1956-57. But not a pie was disbursed in subsequent years.

The main points underlined by Samar Mukherjee and Ranen Sen, Communist members, in their hard-hitting speeches were:

● Communists were not concerned about the share of responsibility of the Union and the State Rehabilitation Ministers as both belonged to the same Congress Government. Both were equally guilty.

● The spokesmen of the State Government and some Congress members of the Assembly had eulogised M. C. Khanna's work in the past. But now, when refugee rehabilitation had become a public scandal, the State and the Union Governments were throwing mud at each other in a desperate attempt to disown their respective share of the responsibility.

● The Dandakaranya Project was in a deplorable mess. About 18,000 camp refugee families had been served with notices of stoppage of doles if they declined to go to Dandakaranya. But only 1,500 families or less than ten per cent had actually gone there.

● If the Dandakaranya Project had been a failure, no less sordid was the record of the West Bengal Government.

Of the target figure of 1,50,000 acres, only 10,000 acres had been reclaimed in Dandakaranya. In West Bengal also, only 119 acres out of 60,000 acres had been reclaimed.

The West Bengal Assembly will discuss the refugee rehabilitation problem again, possibly on May 8, after the Chief Minister and some Opposition members have visited the Dandakaranya Project.

CHINA'S ECONOMIC ADVANCE

The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China meeting in Peking heard on March 30 a report on the draft 1960 plan for the development of Chinese economy by Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vice-Premier Li Fu-chin.

HAVING developed a big leap speed in 1958 and 1959—first two years of China's Second Five-Year Plan—the Chinese economy had already reached the major targets of the Plan, thus necessitating the draft of a supplementary plan for the remaining three years, which was now being done.

This had been achieved, said Li Fu-chin, thanks to the carrying through of the whole group of policies known as "walking on two legs."

These policies are simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and simultaneous development of heavy and light industry, while giving priority to heavy industry, simultaneous development of centrally-run and locally-run industries and of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and the simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production, all under centralised leadership, with over-all planning, proper division of labour and cooperation.

This group of policies was able to bring about full, all-round mobilisation of the initiative of the masses, making for well-coordinated and planned efforts on every hand, all centring round the cause of building Socialism.

The national economic development task for 1960, Li Fu-chin said, was to better carry out the Chinese Communist Party's General Line for building Socialism. Planning arrangement for 1960, he said, must further confirm agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor; continue the policy of making over-all arrangements with steel as the key lever in industry and grain as the key lever in agriculture and further strengthen transport and motive power, extracting and mining industries as well as the gross value of industrial and other departments.

Agricultural Production

Li Fu-chin announced that agricultural production in 1960 would be 298,000 million yuan, an increase of 23 per cent over 1959. Of this the gross value of industrial production would be 210,000 million yuan, an increase of 29 per cent; the gross value of agricultural production would be 88,000 million yuan, an increase of 12 per cent.

State budgetary investment on capital construction in 1960 would amount to 32,500 million yuan (excluding 6,000 million yuan by localities and enterprises), an increase of 21.7 per cent. Of this total investment, 58.3 per cent would be on industry; 12 per cent on agriculture, water conservancy, forestry and meteorological service, 20.9 per cent on transport, post and telecommunication and 3.5 per cent on education, scientific research and health services.

In the first quarter of 1960, the gross output value of industry showed an estimated increase of 80 per cent over the corresponding period last year. The situation on the agricultural front is also very good, the

Vice-Premier announced. "The year 1960," he said "is an extremely important year in the development of our Socialist construction." It would lay the foundation for continued leap forward throughout the period of the Second Plan as well as the whole decade of the sixties.

Speaking of industry, Li Fu-chin announced that steel output (excluding steel made by indigenous methods) which reached 13.35 million tons at the end of 1959 was targeted to rise to 18.4 million tons at the end of 1960. Similarly pig iron output (excluding iron made by indigenous methods) would reach 27.5 million tons—an increase of 34 per cent over 1959. Coal in 1960 would be 425 million tons, 22 per cent more than in 1959.

Gross output value of heavy industry was targeted to reach 127,000 million yuan, an increase of 32 per cent and that of light industry at 83,000 million yuan, an increase of 24 per cent over 1959.

Labour productivity in industry was planned to rise by 25 per cent or so.

Li Fu-chin declared that in order to accelerate technical transformation of agriculture, the State would allocate this year 1.1 million tons of rolled steel for the manufacture of agricultural machinery and farm implements, about twice that of 1959, mechanical power employed in the agricultural field

each increase by about ten per cent in 1960, the number of pigs by about 35 per cent.

"To develop agriculture at a greater speed in 1960," said Li Fu-chin, "the technical transformation of agriculture must be actively pushed forward to raise agricultural labour productivity, at the same time that we further bring in to play the advantages of the People's Communes."

"Under the conditions where the People's Communes have already been established throughout the countryside, we should push forward the worker-peasant alliance to a new stage, so that industry gives active aid and support to a new stage, and agriculture is put on a modern basis step by step," said Li Fu-chin.

"We must strive," he said, "for the basic realisation of agricultural mechanisation and water conservancy throughout the nation in around ten years and for a considerable extent of electrification by that time too."

Li Fu-chin declared that in order to accelerate technical transformation of agriculture, the State would allocate this year 1.1 million tons of rolled steel for the manufacture of agricultural machinery and farm implements, about twice that of 1959, mechanical power employed in the agricultural field

in the number of people employed and the increase in collective amenities, the real standards of living of the families of workers and other employees would register a relatively bigger increase.

A big development of scientific research, culture, education and health work is also envisaged in the plan for the current year. State investment in capital construction in these fields will be 65.7 per cent above 1959 with the share for education almost doubled.

Year Of Economic Prosperity

Nineteen Fiftynine was a year of economic prosperity, with increased financial resources, stable commodity prices and growing stockpiling. This was a result of the big leap forward of the national economy in 1959, and in turn prepared material conditions for the continued leap forward of the national economy in 1960. Finance Minister Li Hsien-nien told the Chinese National People's Congress on March 30 in his review of the economy for the last year.

He went on to say that of the 1959 expenditures on economic construction, social services, culture and education and other items, investment in capital construction accounted for 50.6 per cent of the total outlay in the final accounts, an increase

above-norm construction projects were undertaken in 1959, of which 671, wholly or partially completed, went into operation during the year. That is to say, almost two big enterprises were put into operation every day. Below-norm projects undertaken by the authorities of the county level and above, totalled 75,000, of which 54,000 were completed and put into operation during the year, i.e., an average of 150 medium-sized and small enterprises started production every day. Moreover, the large numbers of small construction projects undertaken by the People's Communes are not included here....

"In August 1959, when we adjusted the targets of the national economic plan, in the mouthpieces of imperialism

ACHIEVEMENTS LAST YEAR—PLAN FOR 1960

An additional 8,389 kilometres of railway lines would be built, an increase of 82 per cent on the construction of 1959.

Power generation is to increase by 34 to 40 per cent, from 55,500 million to 58,000 million kw. hours. Crude oil output is to rise to 5.2 million tons, an increase of 41 per cent over 1959. In the machine-building industry the 1960 plan provides for 90,000 metal cutting machine-tools to be produced, a rise of 29 per cent over 1959. The output of tractors is planned to be trebled.

In light industry, Li Fu-chin said, production of cotton yarn was planned to be increased to nine million bales (increase of nine per cent over 1959), cotton cloth to 7,000 million cubic metres (increase of 31 per cent), sugar 1.3 million tons (increase of 15 per cent).

Small, Medium Projects

Special attention was to be paid to setting up more small and medium-sized projects, apart from the continued attention to building necessary large projects.

Speaking of agriculture, the Vice-Premier emphasised that to speed up agricultural development was the central link in developing China's Socialist planned economy at high speed and in a proportionate way. He pointed out that when agriculture developed at great speed, not only could the more rapid development of light industry be ensured but the priority development of heavy industry as well.

He declared that China's output of grain and cotton would

would be increased by over five million horse-power and the area cultivated by machinery would reach over 100 million mou an increase of around 40 per cent over 1959.

Irrigated area would be extended by 60 million mou, afforestation by 200 million mou and the area of preliminary water and soil conservation by from 100,000 to 150,000 square kilometres.

He also pointed out that it was necessary to bring into full play the advantages of the State farms so as to supply the State with more farm and animal products.

Li Fu-chin pointed out that "the continuous big leap forward in the past two years has testified to the fact that the (Chinese Communist) Party's General Line for building Socialism is a great creation." The starting point of the General Line for building Socialism is that "the masses of the people are the creators of history and are the most active element of the productive forces. Once they are liberated from the old society and under the Socialist system become the masters, they are able to bring their initiative and creativeness into full play and bring about a high speed development of production and construction."

Vice-Premier Li Fu-chin declared that average wages of workers and other employees would go up by six per cent, an increase of 2,000 million yuan in the total amount of wages.

He added that the 1960 State expenditure on labour insurance, medical care, welfare and other collective amenities for workers and other employees would increase by about ten per cent and, as a result of increase

of 24.5 per cent over the 1958 figure. This did not include the capital investment made by the local authorities and various departments from their own funds.

Li Hsien-nien said: "1,341

spread all sorts of slanders and clamours. But smoke cannot blot out the sun. Before long, the predictions of these propagandists completely fell through and their clamours were shattered to pieces."

NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET

Expenditure in 1960 on economic construction and social services, culture, education and scientific research will reach 81.9 per cent of the State Budget, while expenditure on national defence will drop to 8.3 per cent. This was announced to the Chinese National People's Congress by Finance Minister and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien in his report on the final accounts for 1959 and the draft State Budget for 1960.

The State's budgeted revenue and expenditure for 1960 were balanced at 70,020 million yuan, Li Hsien-nien said. The budgeted revenue was up 29.3 per cent compared with the 1959 final accounts and the budgeted expenditure was up 32.7 per cent compared with the 1959 final accounts.

Of the budgeted expenditure, allocations for economic construction were 42,910 million yuan, 33.4 per cent more than last year, and 61.3 per cent of all budget expenditure; allocations for social services, culture and education accounted for 8,620 million yuan, 47.1 per cent more than last year, and 12.3 per cent of all budget expenditure.

Budgeted national defence expenditure, he said, amounted to 5,800 million yuan, the same

as last year, forming 8.3 per cent of all budget expenditure. The proportion had decreased year by year in the past few years, he added.

Li Hsien-nien pointed out that in the U.S. Government's budgeted expenditure for the fiscal year of 1960-1961, military expenditure amounted to 57.1 per cent. In fact, he said, U.S. expenditure on arms expansion and war preparations was larger than what appeared publicly in the budget.

Li Hsien-nien said that this "fully shows the fervent desire of the Chinese people to engage in peaceful labour and their firm determination to economise national defence expenditure and speed up Socialist construction." "At the same time, it fully exposes the true face of the U.S. imperialists in actually preparing for war under the cloak of peace."

Referring to budget revenue, Li Hsien-nien said that the predominant portion of the increase in the estimated revenue would come from the increase in payments by State-owned enterprises. Nearly all of the total increase in the estimated revenue of the 1960 State Budget comes from the increase of

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Confession Session For New Ministry

HYDERABAD, April 3

Opposition benches emerged triumphantly from the Budget Session of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly which concluded last week.

FOR the Ministers it was a 'confession session'. Opposition criticisms made year after year used to be dubbed as 'destructive', but this time, when they were made again, government benches suddenly found some reason behind the criticism, accepted their 'shortcomings' readily and accepted some of the demands and suggestions.

P. Sundarayya, Leader of the Opposition, commenting on this

new trend, remarked that the speeches of the Ministers indicated that the Government was in a thinking mood and expressed the hope that it would not stop at that but get down to implement its promises.

The admissions made by Ministers were an indirect but strong comment on the administration of Sanjeeva Reddi during the last three years. What he refused to accept during the last three years has now been accepted by the present new Ministry. For three long years, Sanjeeva Reddi had tried to fool the people into believing that all was well with the State and everything was progress-

ing. But the sum and substance of the admissions of this new Ministry was: All is not well with the State and there is much to be improved and remedied.

The climax of the budget session was the unanimous resolution passed by the Assembly demanding of the Government of India to locate one iron and steel industry unit and five other major industrial units in this State during the Third Plan period. Speeches made by members from all sides and especially by the Minister concerned should make the Centre feel the mood of the Andhra people in this regard.

The Opposition has been telling the Government year after year how administrative delays, red-tape, mechanical implementation of rules, inflexibility, a wooden-headed bureaucratic

attitude, lack of initiative have all been hampering the fulfilment of Plan targets, thwarting the full-fledged development of peoples' initiative and hindering the economic progress of the State.

The other evil of the present-day administration, corruption, was equally forcefully nailed down by the Opposition, by quoting concrete instances and challenging the Government to make enquiries. This year Congressmen too, joined the Opposition in making a dispassionate plea for putting an end to this menace which has been at the root of much of the moral degeneration in public and private life.

The Ministry has at last thrown aside its complacent attitude and in response to the criticism, agreed to appoint an Administrative Re-

forms Committee as well as create a special anti-corruption department.

The statement made by the Chief Minister on the floor of the Assembly that all the cultivable waste lands of the Government would be distributed to landless labourers within ten months, is the most welcome declaration ever made on the floor of the Assembly.

The rate at which these lands have been distributed so far has been deplorably slow. According to the Revenue Minister, only six lakh acres have been distributed during the last six years. The Government owns 40 lakh acres of such land, and at this rate, Sundarayya estimated, it would take another 34 years to distribute this land.

Another feature of Government's policy in this regard has been to evict poor harajans who have turned barren land into fertile plots after ten to fifteen years of labour and give them away to landlords and political sufferers. This has been sharply criticised by the Opposition every year and whatever little concession the Government gave last year was sought to be taken away by the new Ministry.

Criticism from all sides of the House including from the Congress benches during this Budget Session, seems to have driven some sense and reason into the Government and the result was the above announcement that government waste lands would be distributed within ten months. A meeting of the District Collectors has been arranged for the 7th and 8th of this month to chalk out a plan.

The performance of the Ministry in regard to allotment of house-sites to harajans in villages is, however, disappointing. The Government admitted that there was inordinate delay, that the Land Acquisition Act, with all its loopholes, was standing in the way of expediting disposal of the applications and that applications were pending since the last ten to fifteen years. Yet the Government was not prepared to even promise an amending legislation to the above Act.

A Congress member from Telangana very bitterly remarked that during the last ten years, he had persuaded the harajans to put in hundreds of applications, but he did not have the satisfaction of getting land for even one of them. Another top Congress harijan leader asked one simple question: When harijan bustees continue to remain segregated from the main village and the Government continues to allot even the few house-sites away from the village, how can untouchability be abolished? He said that the claim of the Government that it had done a lot for the amelioration of the lot of the harajans was 'bogus'.

LABOUR POLICY

"The Government has no labour policy at all," "The policy of the Government is to ask workers to produce and perish"—these were not criticisms from Opposition benches, they were accusations levelled by top INTUC leaders.

Speakers from Opposition benches, however, asserted that Government certainly had a labour policy and that that policy was to discriminate against non-INTUC unions, to discriminate in the

matter of referring disputes to labour courts and tribunals, to ignore the recommendations of the 15th and 16th Labour Conferences, to deny minimum wages in various industries by delaying decisions, and to fail to implement labour legislations in industries owned and managed by the Government itself.

The Minister had to yield and promise to end the prevailing discrimination in the matter of appointment of minimum wage committees. No further assurances were forthcoming from the Minister, but in the background of the general conciliatory attitude of the Ministry, it is to be hoped that it will turn a new leaf in its labour policy also.

Though it was claimed that as much as Rs. 12 lakhs were spent on Stage 1 Block in the

Big Business Demands

THE Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) is the representative organisation of our country's trade and industry, and as such, it deserves to be given due recognition in consultations prior to the formulation of plans of economic development. It can, however, have no grouse on this score, since its views have always been welcomed by the Planning Commission and the Government. And though it is true that they have not always been accepted in their totality, their influence has very often been perceptible in the Government's policies and practice.

ATTACK FROM THE FLANK

In spite of this "accommodation" shown by the authorities, however, the FICCI has remained as recalcitrant as ever. In fact, its hostility to the "Socialistic" pattern, even of the type conceived and woven by the Congress Government, has only increased with the passage of years. Despite this hostility, however, the logic of a developing public sector, as a part of this very "pattern", has been inexorably having its course, with the result that side by side with private enterprise, there has come into being a sizable State sector in such crucial industries as steel. And, if the process continues unabated the situation will be far more disagreeable (to the FICCI) at the end of the Third Plan than it is now.

Unable to contain this development through a frontal attack, the FICCI has chosen to attack now from the flanks. Formally accepting the need for a big Plan, it now suggests steps which will render the State incapable of undertaking any big schemes,

unless, of course, the co-operation of FICCI, and its foreign collaborators is sought. In its 33rd annual session, which met in New Delhi last week, it even went to the extent of claiming that acceptance of its suggestions will enable the country "to attain a more rapid industrial growth than envisaged by the official planners".

What were these suggestions, however? The most crucial of them was about changing the fiscal policies, which, in FICCI's view, inhibit the savings of the individuals, which in their turn, also dampen the resources position of the corporate sector. The statisticians, however, speak otherwise.

According to the latest statutory Report on the Working and Administration of the Companies Act, 1956, as many as 1095 new companies were registered in 1958-59 as against 961 in 1957-58 and 848 in 1956-57. The paid-up capital of the companies at work in the private sector alone increased by Rs. 128 crores during the three-year period.

IMPROVED POSITION

And if this was the prosperity enjoyed by the corporate sector during years when certain direct-imposed, though diluted-Kaldorian imposts were in fact imposed, the position must have only improved during succeeding years, when under Morarji Desai, there has been practically no increase in direct levies.

Apart from taxation, the activities of the State Trading Corporation (STC) have been the FICCI's perpetual bugbear. And this, in spite of the fact that the STC has almost singlehandedly taken the trade in manganese and other minerals literally out of the ruts. It has also helped

establish relations with similar organisations in Socialist countries, and thus created new markets for India's products, a good many of which are produced in the private sector.

SUGGESTION ABOUT S. T. C.

But now that it has attained an independent role, and people have begun to demand expansion of its activities to include trading in more goods, the FICCI seeks to delimit its sphere only to entering into deals, and furthering promotional measures, leaving the private sector to handle the actual business and appropriate the resultant profits. Obviously, in the FICCI's scheme, the STC should be no more than a handmaiden to private industry to help it keep its trade on an even keel. Since this function can also be performed by the various export promotion councils, what it suggests virtually tantamounts to scrapping of the State Trading Corporation.

Another sphere in which the FICCI has chosen to give its obiter dictum is that of labour. Here it suggests linking of wages to productivity, besides, of course, exhorting the Government to see to it that discipline in mills is not infringed. Here, however, as the National Herald (April 1) has said, what is relevant is not only the question of linking wages to productivity, but also the obligation of the employers "to provide the right conditions in which men could work in reasonable comfort and produce to the full extent of their capacity."

What is even more noteworthy, says the newspaper "is the discovery that production in India has in fact gone ahead of wages." It quotes an official survey, recently made for the ten-year period—1947-1957—to show that while productivity in India increased by 45 per cent during the period, wages went up no more than 33 per cent. The survey also showed that the ratio of wages to the total volume of production fell from 18 per cent to 15 per cent during the same period. Surely, these indices do not point to labour appropriating an undue share of the total produce, which obviously is the thesis propounded by the FICCI.

The FICCI has also expressed its views concerning agriculture. Here again it is not bothered by considerations of social justice nor for that matter of increasing production. All that matters to it is continuance of an agrarian structure which keeps the position of the rural rich intact. As for any basic reorganisation of the rural economy, to give the land to the tiller, and form co-operatives, it feigns a "non-ideological" pose to deny its need altogether.

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

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and power, it is only the private sector which will flourish in industry proper. Similarly, in agriculture and in trade, it will virtually be a free for all—with the strongest, the big trader and the rich peasant, ultimately devouring the "all" to rule the roost.

GOVERNMENT'S PRACTICE

What, however, is the Government's approach to these suggestions? The Prime Minister, no doubt, debunks them as inherently leading to monopolisation and concentration of power, but the practice of his Government very often belies his words. Already, openings are being devised to facilitate the entry of the private sector into such important industries as steel and oil. In fertilisers, a target of 290,000 tons has already been earmarked for production by private manufacturers. In addition, heavy electricals are being opened to them as also refractories and industrial furnaces. Foreign private capital, directly or in partnership with the indigenous variety, is also being openly invited to enter the manufacturing sphere.

ANTI-PLAN APPROACH

Thus, on all issues ranging from fiscal to State trading, and from industrial labour to the rural poor, the FICCI's has not been a blatantly partisan approach, but also an anti-Plan approach. For, notwithstanding its protestations to the contrary, acceptance of its suggestions will result in the State being left practically with no resources to undertake any schemes, except the ones which the FICCI itself wants it to develop. These being confined to transport, communications

Thus, an entire range of production, which the private sector had found it too hard, and hazardous, to take up—till the State had laid the first bricks—is not only now coveted by it, but is also being opened to it. It is here that the tocsin has to be sounded, lest the country strays into a course which the people had not willed, but which reaction now wants it to take.

—ESSEN
April 4.

and landlords to go ahead with their hoarding policies:

According to Government's own price-index, there has been an increase of 25 per cent in the prices. To be more specific, the price of second quality rice has increased by seven rupees per railway maund and that of tamarind by Rs. 45 per maund during the last ten years. The demand for fair-price shops in important cities or at least in industrial areas has been brushed aside on the plea that the Centre was not prepared to subsidise such shops. In short, the State Government has abdicated its responsibility to the people to supply rice at reasonable prices.

give 25,000 tons of rice from Madhya Pradesh. Finally, he stated in the Assembly that fair-price shops would be opened where and when the Government thought necessary.

But the line of government thinking was revealed last year when despite soaring prices throughout the State, it opened fair-price shops only in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. This performance disappointed the lakhs of consumers and did not instil any confidence in them that this Government would solve this problem.

Cooperative Movement

Anticipating the criticism of the Opposition, the Minister for Co-operation himself made a statement that the cooperative movement had become a monopoly of the vested interests, that this lofty movement had been smeared due to the introduction of politics into it. He promised to redraw the Act itself on the basis of the model

* SEE PAGE 16

PAGE SEVEN

J. P.'S NEW GURUJI

JAYA PRAKASH has, with tears in his eyes and a throb in his voice, announced time and again that he has been converted to Gandhism but alas! only after the Mahatma had achieved martyrdom. He has let loose all the non-violent abuse he can at the Communists for their godless creed of violence, which led to this dastardly deed.

That was only the first stage of his evolution, however. He soon enough tired of the Bhoodan padyatras which brought neither popularity nor publicity. Hence, the trick of the Messiah-pose of a passionate advocacy of party-less democracy.

Side by side went his ambassador's job for the Dalai Lama and his bitter anti-Nehru tirades since the Prime Minister refused to oblige—refused to accept Tibet's "independence." But after a while it appeared as if dabbling with the Dalai Lama was not a sufficiently reactionary proceeding. J.P. has to go further, find new allies in his crusade against democracy.

And, thus, the other day we witnessed the shameful spectacle of J.P. addressing a meeting of the BSS at Ghazipur—of the same body which produced the murderer of the Mahatma. He confessed that a talk with Golwalkar had impressed him and the "many virtues" of the Sangh had attracted him—"the Sangh fosters character and promotes good tendencies," he declared.

So now we get the hang of J.P.'s "reconstructed polity"—combine Gandhiji's "teaching" with RSS practice! Only J.P., that inveterate double-dealer, could achieve this miracle.

SCRAP-BOOK

FRESH FORGERY

WE were all intrigued to receive what purported to be a communication from the International Institute for Peace, Vienna. It was dated March 13, 1960, and signed by Amya Sen. That in itself was odd as the good lady in question had been back in India some months ago and so could hardly have signed any circular from Vienna only a few weeks old.

But more ludicrous was the "statement" enclosed. It appears from this "statement" that Dr. Raghun Vira, who was laughed out here, has found admirers among the cold-war experts in Europe.

It deplores the fact that the Chinese People's Government has decided to explode a nuclear bomb in Sinkiang. But it hastens to announce that this devilish game has been foiled.

"The World Council of Peace is, therefore, happy to announce that, as a result of strong representations by some of its leading functionaries, it has received an assurance from the highest quarter that the Soviet Union will not supply the necessary nuclear weapons to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, which has, therefore, decided not to proceed with its plans for nuclear tests in the Sinkiang province."

How utterly wonderful! What a windfall for Indian reaction! China is warlike and wants to explode an A-Bomb; the Soviet Union is at loggerheads with China; the World Peace

Council has rather influential links with the Soviet Government—all this can be proved from a single statement. The only trouble was that the forgery was so crude and obvious.

So most papers handled it gingerly and many a sign went up that so excellent an intention had been ruined by stupid execution. But one paper, intoxicated with anti-China hate, prominently displayed the item—the Hindustan Times, naturally enough.

JAN SANGH QUARRELS

THE Jan Sangh has always tried to carve out a reputation for itself for boldness and actually achieved a name for foolhardiness. In the same spirit, it has proclaimed that its "strength" lies in its unity achieved through adherence to dharma.

But this bubble is soon enough pricked if you talk to any of the lesser souls about the state of affairs in the Delhi Jan Sangh. What jealousies and petty bickerings, enough to make the Delhi Congressmen blush. The most recent rumpus has been about the Mayoral nominee—only the prospect of almost sure defeat has prevented a public break-up.

Worse is the developing conflict over the relationship with the Swatantra Party. It seems that the majority in the U.P. branch of Santanists are convinced that without such an alliance the election outlook is bleak. But the Punjab branch is terribly annoyed with Rajaji for his over-

zealousness in wooing the Akalis and sorely bothering about them at all. It is they who have raised the question that Rajaji has an altogether wrong approach to the question of Hindi.

It is further reported that the leaders of the Punjab branch went to all the necessary trouble and expense to contact Jan Sangh "dissidents" in the U.P., who are specially strong in Varanasi. Don't be surprised if it transpires that it is they who broke up Rajaji's meeting there on April 3.

HOUSE FOR SANJEEVA REDDY

THE last Congress President was Indra Behn. She didn't need any special bungalow for herself since she had the spacious quarters of the Prime Minister's residence. But her successor is not so lucky. At the same time he is far too fastidious to lodge in the Jantar Mantar Road office.

So, a solution has been found. He is an ex-Chief Minister and, according to a convention, these gentlemen—together with ex-Cabinet Ministers, ex-Governors and ex-Ambassadors—have the right to an official bungalow of large dimensions and low rent. Sanjeeva 'garru' has got himself just such a residence—who cares for public opinion when it's a question of creature comfort? When a President is of such a calibre lesser Congressmen can do anything.

—ONLOOKER

April 4.

TEXTILE WAGE BOARD REPORT

The Wage Board for the textile industry was appointed on March 30, 1957.

It signed its report on November 27, 1959, thus taking more than two-and-a-half years for considering the workers' demands.

The Government of India announced its resolution on the report on March 2, 1960.

So nearly three years elapsed before the workers could be told what to expect.

IN these three years, the textile industry saw big changes.

Several mills closed down rendering thousands of workers unemployed. The problem was discussed at the Naini Tal Tripartite Conference and highlighted by a general strike in Bombay on July 25, 1958.

Government lent help to the tune of several lakhs from foreign exchange for import of machinery and setting up of automatic looms—which again threw out several thousands on the streets.

Prices soared high and Government has shown its total inability to control them, despite "record" production of foodstuffs.

And finally, the mill industry, which was asking for a cut in dearness allowance and wages in the name of depression, was proved to have been so prosperous and cloth prices had soared so high and stocks so low that the Millowners' Association itself had to express "regret" for the high prices and wanted all mills, even the bad ones, to step up production to avoid a possible famine in cloth.

False Picture

The Board takes note of this situation and says that now it is approaching the question "in an atmosphere of comparative normalcy."

Who suffered all these years? Making a review of the taxes, prices, etc., the Board says:

"Having regard to the profits of the last decade, it is a fair inference that the industry in a lesser degree and the consumer to a greater extent have between them borne the burdens with fortitude."

The consumers certainly have been made to pay unjustified high prices for cloth. But what burden have the millowners carried, except to show the fortitude of evading taxes, charging high prices, denying the workers a rise in wages and asking the Government to lend them money to buy new machines and make money at the people's cost?

The working class has always maintained that the big bosses of the textile industry make profits from the industry for themselves and ask society to pay for their development. Here is their past in a few lines as given by the Board:

"The political atmosphere in the thirties had paved the way by the generation of a strong mass feeling for the exclusion of foreign cotton textiles, and the war completed the process. Fortunes were made in the cotton textiles during the war and shortly thereafter; the true

industrialist made provision for the future of the industry; others thought less of the industry, and either distributed the profits or utilised them for the promotion of other industries, with the result that the cotton textile industry today is clamouring for the purpose of rehabilitation and modernisation and the money is not easily forthcoming."

So the Government of India is lending them money and the Labour Appellate Tribunal cutting down the bonus of workers in order to provide money to the millowners for modernisation.

Thus, they made merry with their profits or used them for bigger profits elsewhere and

NEED-BASED WAGE DENIED

In the context of this picture of the past and the perspectives for the future regarding the industry, what should the workers in the textile get, as of right, from the vast wealth that is born out of their labour?

Textile workers put before the Board their just claims for a wage-increase and better working conditions. One of the tasks laid down for the Board in the terms of reference was to evolve a scheme of wages and work in terms of the resolutions of the Tripartite Conference. The Board was expected to work out the minimum need-based wage for the industry and give its verdict on them.

The question of the need-based minimum wage, which is unanimously agreed to as a national minimum for all industries in the Delhi Tripartite Conference of July 1957, has been presented to several wage boards and commissions that have since then been concerned with wage-fixation.

Need-Based Minimum

The Pay Commission, that was appointed to look into the question of the wage-structure of government employees, published the astounding fact that the Finance Ministry, when asked by the Pay Commission, denied that this Tripartite convention, to which the Government of India was a party, imposed any obligation on Government to shape its wage-structure according to the need-based minimum.

The Pay Commission, however, went in its own way to torpedo the effects of this

now tax the worker, the consumer and the State and society for giving them money so that they can "rehabilitate" themselves. That is the logic of capitalism and that, too, in a sector which produces one of the most essential things for the people—clothing.

Further on the Board says: "With no outside competitor in the field, with a consuming public which is increasing, and with a national income which is rising, this industry is well set to meet the future requirements of cloth in the country. In spite of high taxation, high Government imposts by way of duties, cess, etc., high rises in prices of raw materials of manufacture and the higher labour costs, the mills in the last decade have been able to make fair profits."

Thus the picture of depression, losses, stagnation and oppression that the millowners had put before the country in order to fight the workers' case for a wage-rise is proved to be false. That is what the ATTUC has always maintained while championing the workers' demands.

May we then know what are those minimum wages, below which it is difficult for bare human needs to go? Can we have those figures and the Board's verdict on them?

The Board's answer is a flat No. Why? The Board says: "The office of this Board has compiled figures and has worked out the different diets to ascertain the need-based wage of the resolution (vegetarian and non-vegetarian) for the several centres of the cotton textile industry. The Board, however, is of the view that no useful purpose will be served by going into the details of the calculations here, but we have carefully considered the figures."

"It is apparent that whether we take the improved or the 'balanced' diet in our calculations, or whether we take the figures of the vegetarian or of the non-vegetarian diet, there is a considerable gap between the figures found under the formula of the resolution and the existing wages; and it must be our endeavour to fill that gap. Unfortunately we find that it is not possible to fill the gap altogether in the present state of the industry and of its finances and for the reasons which will hereafter appear."

The Pay Commission denied the very principles and obligations of the Delhi agreement, because the Government as an employer denied them.

The Textile Board accepted the principles but refused to meet the obligations because the employers denied them in the name of finance. Yet all the while, as the Board itself says, they have been making profits and adding to their capital in quite a big way.

So by two different approaches, almost looking diametrically opposite, the two Boards traversed the same capitalist path and came to the same goal—denial of the workers' minimum human needs. Both "escaped" the obligation to humanity. But to save their conscience and to soften the anger of the working class, which waited patiently for years and was ultimately cheated of its proper and just dues, both have recommended some wage-increase.

"The issue of wage before us is clear. We must honour the resolution of the 15th Indian Labour Conference which has affirmed the acceptance of a need-based wage to which the lowest paid operative is entitled, and which a Board like ours is bound to recommend, unless we can show that owing to facts and circumstances which we consider relevant we are unable to increase the existing wage to the level of the need-based wage of the formula, or at all.

"We have had no difficulty in working out such need-based wages for the several centres of the industry in India; but having done that, it has become evident that the introduction of such a need-based wage would be a leap forward of a character that the industry would not be able to support (Emphasis added)."

"We refrain from going here into the details of calculations of the need-based wage, not because we have any doubts or reservations about them, but because we feel that no useful purpose will be served by referring to figures at present unattainable by labour in the industry on the basis of standardisation and region-wise. In the present state of the industry our best efforts towards improvement of wages must fall short of the need-based wage of the formula."

By a different but honest route, the Textile Wage Board comes to the same operative conclusion as the Pay Commission's: the minimum wage of the Delhi agreement cannot be given. The Pay Commission cut down the quantity of the food required by the worker as defined in the Delhi agreement and thus reduced

his just and due wage-increase. The Textile Board accepted the principles and even mathematics of the Delhi agreement but refused to give that much wage-increase as the employers refused "to bear the burden." Thus the worker lost at the hands of both.

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Board's Reasons

So it is admitted that the present wages are below the need-based minimum, that the gap must be filled. But the Board does not fill it. It has escaped from that position on the basis of its "escape clause" which it so carefully noted. It does not recommend the minimum wage for the following reasons:

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but action all the same containing just enough calories of heat to satisfy the needs of the situation! The pity of it is that the gentlemen of the INTUC and HMS line of thinking have signed their names to all this—in the name of the working class.

Millowners' Plan To Escape Wage-Rise

What is the outcome of all this travail for the textile workers?

The textile mills have been divided in two categories on the subject of wages (see para 105 of the report) and the following wage-increases are given in paras 108 to 111.

"The Board has come to the conclusion that an increase at the average rate of Rs. eight per month per worker shall be given to all workers in mills of category I from

neering services as such have not been separately discussed. Before recommending the wage increase the Board says:

"It is the first recommendation of the Board that for a period of five years from January 1, 1960, no claim for further revision of minimum wages shall be made either by the employers or workmen... (Para 101)

"And the Board expects the Government and employers to enforce rationalisation during these five years or as speedily as possible (Para 104).

The Board regrets that "even after a century's existence the industry is unable to pay a need-based wage". Yet it insists that the workmen must accept a greater workload "to lift the industry as a whole to a higher level."

The Board does not tell us how many times in that century, the workers' workload has been increased and the industry raised to a higher level and yet the worker never secured the need-based minimum.

What is the reaction of the millowners to the report? Their reaction is what it has always been for the last century of their existence. They

reject the proposed wage-increases. But they accept the support for rationalisation with the remark that it should be done without any of those obligations that are imposed by the Tripartite convention.

The President of the Millowners' Association, Mr. P. P. Thackersey, and Vice-Chairman Mr. K. M. D. Thackersey, have expressed their opinions to that effect.

A statement issued by the millowners, called an "Analysis of the Report", congratulates Finance Minister Morarji Desai for having denied the obligations of the 15th Tripartite convention in the matter of the minimum wage.

The statement also congratulates the Pay Commission (described as "a responsible

body" by these gentlemen) for having rejected the implications of the minimum wage convention. Obviously according to the millowners the Textile Wage Board has been "irresponsible" in accepting the convention, though it too behaved in the end quite responsibly (aided by the two trade union and Socialist leaders) by refusing the actual need-based minimum wage-increase in their final recommendation. The millowners do not like even the abstract or theoretical acceptance of the Delhi convention and the minimum defined therein.

Not content with this much, the Millowners' Association calls upon all the industrialists in India to see the danger to their sectors

linked to the cost of living index in all centres.

Three-fourths of the average dearness allowance as it stood for the first six months of 1959 is to be merged in the basic wage, but this merged dearness allowance will not be valid for calculating gratuity.

Where the dearness allowance is not adequate or is fixed or consolidated it should be raised and linked to the cost of living index. In Madras State, it should give full neutralisation which today it does not, with 1938-39 as base.

These are the only good features of the report, which however suffer a serious setback later on.

It is good that the wages of the clerks also have received some attention. But the engi-

from this wage-increase which, they say, is bound to prove infectious, and then it invokes the aid of the Government to fight this danger of wage-increase, inflation, and the concept of the need-based minimum to the whole national economy.

Such is the attitude of the employers to a report signed by their own representatives.

This is the result of their first analysis. They reject the wage-increases.

Then they begin to find out ways and means to avoid its implementation, if they are morally and politically forced to implement it as "an integral whole." So, there can be no question of giving the average increase and the minimum to the lowest paid or changing the dearness allowance, unless rationalisation is accepted and new workloads fixed. And as this cannot be done immediately and will require a lot of time, the wage-increases and dearness allowance need not be made effective. Such is the plan of the millowners to escape the wage-increase.

The millowners tell us that they will have to pay an increase of about Rs. 14 crores (this is an exaggerated figure) in the total wage bill of the industry which they say is about Rs. 100 crores per year. Thus they accuse the report of increasing the workers' earnings by 14 per cent. This increase being "staggering" and "unbearable", many mills will close down. Naturally they expect, the worker will prefer to be content with the lower wage as it is than be killed by unemployment and starvation. That is the logic of the capitalists of the mill industry, on which some of them are shaping their tactics.

How is it then, one may ask, that the millowners on the Board signed the report and accepted the recommendations of wage-increases, if they are so staggering, irresponsible and unbearable?

There is a reason. The sta-

tics of the millowners do not tell the whole truth. Singularly enough the Board also has kept discreetly silent on the two major questions; which are very relevant in determining the wage-levels.

The Board has refused to tell us how much rise in productivity has taken place in the last decade, how much in rationalisation and how much saving in wage-bill and costs the millowners have made. While total production has been going up, the number of employed workers has been falling, as compared to the rise in production. They do not tell us that story at all. If it were told, it would soon be seen that the present rise in wages would cease to be a rise at all; the millowners' wage-bill will not increase by Rs. 14 crores but would soon fall by Rs. 30 crores thus giving them a net saving of Rs. 16 crores even after accepting the proposed wage-increases.

How and from where will they save Rs. 30 crores? By means of rationalisation. They insist on speedy and full rationalisation, which will enable them to reduce the number of workers and their wage-bill by about Rs. 30 crores, unless the workers resist rationalisation as planned by the Board, the employers and the Government.

In exchange for this prospective saving of Rs. 30 crores per year on their future wage-bill, they would be willing to agree to an increase of Rs. five to seven crores just now. (This sum, we think, would be the maximum effect of the increase in wages and dearness allowance, if honestly given.)

To agree to give about Rs. seven crores now and later on to cut Rs. 30 crores by rationalisation and retrenchment is a shrewd bargain. That is why the two millowners on the Board agreed to this "staggering burden" on themselves. The wonder is not that they agreed but that the workers' representatives also agreed.

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TASKS BEFORE UNIONS

What should the unions do in such a situation? The increase of Rs. eight and Rs. six looks nice on paper. The increase in dearness allowance in some areas and making it sliding is an urgently needed measure, since in the last twenty years—and more so in the last twelve years—there has been a galloping rise in the cost of living as is admitted by everybody.

But the workers will not get this wage-increase unless they organise for a fight. The millowners seem to be ready to create a crisis on this issue. Their slogan is—agree to rationalise, retrench and work more and then take the increase—to help your unemployed brother on the streets.

Ground for such a tactic on their part has been laid by the Board, when it says:

"The decisions of the Board, unanimous as they are, must be taken as an integral whole; and any attempt to isolate them and apply them in parts, would be contrary to the scheme or recommendation" (Para 100). And the most important and biggest part of this integral whole is rationalisation, retrenchment

and more workload, leading to enormous savings in the wage-bill.

The workers, therefore, must formulate their demands and move into necessary action.

The report, by not giving the increase in the form of a flat percentage of wage and by making it "an average of Rs. eight" has allowed the employer to distribute the increase as he pleases, (though he is asked to do so in consultation with the workers). Thus some favourite trades or sections are likely to get more than ten or twelve rupees and some even less than four or five rupees, in spite of the fact that the "lowest paid category is to get not less than Rs. seven and Rs. five."

A worker earning the lowest wage of Rs. 30 may go up to Rs. 37 or even Rs. 38, but a worker earning Rs.

Assam Kisan Conference Demands Basic Change In Agrarian Policy

THE Assam State Kisan Conference, held in Titabor in the third week of March, ended on March 23 amidst scenes of mass enthusiasm with an open rally 15,000-strong preceded by a huge demonstration headed by four elephants.

The Conference, presided over by Bhowani Sen, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, was attended by 162 delegates representing 23,624 members—the highest ever membership figure for the Kisan Sabha in Assam.

Bhowani Sen, in his presidential address, analysed the present stagnation in the sphere of agriculture and said that with the nominal rate of progress that was being made now, no basis could be laid for the economic future of the country.

Criticising the Government for this lamentable failure, he charged the Congress Government with retreating from its Nagpur promises of agrarian reforms within the year and hanging on to a futile technical plan for raising agricultural production. Such a plan was bound to fail because no plan for agricultural reconstruction can succeed unless it is based on basic land reform and distribution to the tillers of one-third of India's total land now being held by the non-tilling exploiting elements.

Bhowani Sen said that Government's planning suffered mainly because it gave the opportunity to the landlords and other reactionary elements to mobilise for a front

tal attack on the very basis of our economic development including the vital land reform programme. This is a dangerous situation, said Bhowani Sen and he called on the mass kisan organisation to struggle for the reorganisation of agriculture.

After discussing the report presented to the Conference by the Secretary of the State Kisan Sabha, Bishnu Bora, the Conference passed a number of resolutions—

● Demanding a basic revision in the Assam Government's agrarian and land policies, proposing that the Adhar Act and the Assam Ceiling Act which the Government had failed to implement in the interest of the peasantry be amended and that ceiling be lowered to sixty to hundred bighas;

● Condemning the Government for the mass evictions from Government and private lands;

● Explaining the kisan movement's attitude on such issues as cooperatives, State trading, flood control work, etc.;

● Opposing increase in land revenue as there is no corresponding growth in production and demanding adequate compensation and alternate land for rehabilitation of kisans affected by acquisition of land for laying pipe-lines, etc.;

● Criticising the Government for failure to ensure the ballot system in the forthcoming panchayat elections and appealing to the kisans to unite their forces to obtain in the panchayats a majority for progressive, active and honest elements;

KISAN SABHA PLANS AGITATION IN AMBALA DISTRICT

DEVELOPMENT of the backward Ghar-Bet areas, provision of irrigation facilities, prevention of water-logging in the district, justice to the cane-growers of Jagadhri, the setting up of a sugar mill in Morena and other industries in the district, stopping of forcible collection of contributions by government officials—these are some of the demands on which the Ambala District Kisan Sabha has decided to run an agitation in the coming few weeks.

The decision was taken at the annual session of the District Kisan Sabha held at village Kakron, Choudhury Telu Ram presiding.

Addressing the 5,000-strong open session of the Conference, Shamsher Singh

Calcutta Varsity Students' Marxist Circle

ON February 27 last, some fifty students of the Post-Graduate classes of the Calcutta University met in the University Lawn and formed the Marxist Study Circle of the University of Calcutta. Next day the news was welcomed by all sections of students anxious to study and understand Marxism.

This interest became strikingly evident at the formal inaugural meeting of the Circle on March 3 at the Ashutosh Hall of the University. More than a hundred and fifty students attended the meeting held under the chairmanship of Dr. D. N. Sen, veteran scho-

lar and noted Professor of Political Science.

Chinmohan Shehanbis and Prof. Deviprasad Chatterjee spoke to the gathering of students extending whole-hearted cooperation to the Circle.

An Advisory Committee of the Circle under the chairmanship of Dr. Sen and with Chinmohan Shehanbis and Prof. D. P. Chatterjee as members was formed. The Circle intends to extend the Advisory Committee by contacting other noted Marxist scholars in Calcutta.

The inaugural session thus became the grand beginning of a noble venture. The Circle, guided by an Executive Committee of five

students with Bijan Purkayastha as Secretary, has been holding regular weekly meetings with an average participation of about thirty students. The interest evinced by the students in the study of Marxist classics could be found in their lively participation in the meetings currently discussing the Communist Manifesto.

With a view to popularising Marxist classics amongst the students, the Circle organised on March 17 and 18 a bookstall in the University Lawn. Hundreds of copies of Marxist classics were sold, novels and literary works were also in great demand and books worth about Rs. 350 were sold.

According to the latest figures available, for the year 1957, fatal injuries during the year were 19 in Andhra Pradesh. The number of non-fatal injuries were 3,788 and the frequency rate per 100,000 man days worked was 12.73 in 1957 as against 12.38 in 1955. The frequency rate for total injuries in factories using power rose from 12.40 in 1956 to 12.79 in 1957.

Andhra Assembly Session

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legislation circulated by the Centre. He, however, was not able to explain why there was so much delay despite the fact that this model legislation was circulated by the Centre long ago.

The way in which bridges and ancients have been washed away during the last two years is a standing monument to the inefficient administration of the PWD. Failure to construct feeder channels and distributory canal systems under major projects, resulting in non-utilisation of the irrigation potential created, was another instance of the planless manner in which projects were being constructed in this age of planning.

An identical note was struck by Opposition as well as Treasury benches in the matter of industrial development of the State. All the major industries in the Central sector promised to be located in Andhra Pradesh at the beginning of the Second Plan period were dropped on the excuse of foreign exchange difficulties.

Discrimination By Centre

On the other hand, it took over the Praga Tools Corporation saying that it would develop it, but has not invested a single naya paise till this day. The Centre cast its eyes on the Singareni collieries which is under State Government management, but had to retreat in face of the stiff resistance not only from the people but also from the State Government itself.

The Centre refused to locate a fertilizer factory which would have been in production by now but allotted it to another State where it is yet to be taken up. It promised foreign exchange to cooperative sugat

factories, but later withdrew the offer, but gave foreign exchange to many Bombay mills and to one mill in the private sector in Andhra itself. Such instances of Central discrimination can be multiplied in any number.

Why This Change?

This was too much even for Congress Ministers. Acting on the suggestion of the Leader of the Opposition, the Minister for Industries sponsored a resolution and told the Centre that he was prepared to face any consequences, if the Centre did not undo the injustice it did to Andhra during the Second Plan period.

The question that is asked everywhere is: why this change in the attitude of the Ministry? Various reasons are being given: this is a new Ministry and it has not yet found its feet and as such does not want to open a frontal attack on the Opposition.

Another interpretation is that with the General Elections coming nearer, the need to do something for the people has become urgent. Some others read the Ministers' minds thus: what we want to do we shall do in our own interest or in our party's interests. But, why should we say it openly and defend difficult positions?

The Opposition has so far made no such assessment of this change. Its attitude seems to be: The Ministers have made some promises. So far so good. Let them implement them. If they do not implement them, people will give their own verdict.

Coming months alone will tell us whether the new Government bares its teeth or not.

FACTORIES' ADMINISTRATION IN ANDHRA

RAM Chandra Reddy, the new Labour Minister of Andhra Pradesh, made his 'maiden' speech on labour problems in the State legislature on March 21, 1960.

Replying to one of the most excellent debates in the Legislature on the demand for grants in which P. Sundarayya, Leader of the Opposition, and others participated, Minister Ram Chandra Reddy "denied the allegation that the Factories Department was not functioning effectively." (The Hindu, March 22, 1960)

According to the latest figures available, for the year 1957, fatal injuries during the year were 19 in Andhra Pradesh. The number of non-fatal injuries were 3,788 and the frequency rate per 100,000 man days worked was 12.73 in 1957 as against 12.38 in 1955. The frequency rate for total injuries in factories using power rose from 12.40 in 1956 to 12.79 in 1957.

Severity rate of mandays lost per 100,000 mandays worked was 102.49 in 1957 in Andhra Pradesh when compared to the all-India average severity rate of 66.36. The average duration of disability in Andhra Pradesh (days lost per injury) was 8.73 as against the all-India average of 5.14 in factories using power. In factories not using power the frequency rate of injuries per 100,000 mandays worked was 0.37, the severity rate of mandays lost per 100,000 mandays worked was 3.15 and the average duration of disability or loss of mandays per injury was 3.50 in the year 1957.

Such is the position of accidents, injuries, loss of work and safety and health of workmen in Andhra Pradesh.

Yet the Minister feels that the working of his department is satisfactory.

The Health Department in Andhra Pradesh has no industrial health section as is reported to have been set up in Uttar Pradesh. Medical inspectors are not appointed under the Factories Department as are reported to be functioning in Bombay and Bihar.

Much has to be done in Andhra Pradesh to improve the administration and efficiency of the Factories Department.

GURUSWAMY'S POSER TO INTUC BOSS

S. GURUSWAMY, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, speaking at a rally of South-Eastern Railwaymen at Chakradharpur on March 14, 1960, offered Vasawada of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (INTUC) the cooperation of his organisation if Vasawada was prepared to fight the railway administration's "onslaughts against railwaymen."

Guruswamy criticised the INTUC leadership of railway-

men saying it was chanting the mantram of no cut in existing privileges when the holidays enjoyed by the administrative staff had already been cut.

He warned the Government that denial of a negotiated settlement, as demanded by the AIRF, will not be countenanced by railwaymen. They would go in for a strike ballot.

Threat To Close Amritsar Textile Mill

THE Dayal Bagh Spinning and Weaving Mills in Amritsar has put up a notice that it would close down the mill with effect from April 29 next.

This is an old mill having an installed capacity that will employ about 3,000 workmen if worked fully.

The mill has been running irregularly. It was three years ago that it started limited production. And again comes this threat of closure.

The workers are restive. They would resort to hunger-strike from April 8, 1960, if the notice is not withdrawn.

The union has demanded that the mills can and should continue to work and if necessary the Government should take it over and run it.

Lock-Out In Buckingham And Carnatic

THE British-owned Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras has declared a lock-out with effect from the morning of April 3, 1960, "until such time as it receives a satisfactory assurance from the workers that they are prepared to work peacefully and without interruption."

The management, according to all indications, first provoked the workers by its behaviour. Two permanent workers were suddenly removed from the Carding Department and the frames were handed over to other workers. The department representative represented the matter to the head of the department. Under the plea that the union leader was "rude", the management suspended him for a day. The workers went on strike protesting against this victimisation of the union leader on March 30, 1960. At 9-30 p.m., on union persuasion, they resumed work. However, the management resorted to further provocation by extending the period of the union leader's suspension. There was a strike again on March 31. And now comes the lock-out.

It is evident that the management has deliberately indulged

in this provocation and now wants an "assurance" from the workers that they will work "without interruption" whatever may be the injustice and insult that it chose to inflict on union functionaries.

The entire organised labour in Madras city will mobilise behind the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills workers and the bosses will have to step down. Will the State Government intervene and get the mills reopened?

Central Govt. Employees For Action

THE historic two-day session of the Central Government Employees' Convention, held in Bombay on April 2 and 3 last, jointly convened by the All-India Defence Employees' Federation, the Confederation of Central Government Employees, the National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation has set up a joint Council of Action.

The Convention has asked the Government to settle the employees' demands by May 15, 1960. In case no settlement is reached by that date they would go on strike from the midnight of June 19, 1960.

The Convention has demanded a sliding scale of dearness allowance as recommended by the First Pay Commission, a national minimum wage in the light of the principles enunciated by the 1957 Indian Labour Conference, proper determination of differentials and appointment of a Standing Board to settle disputes relating to scales of pay and other service conditions of employees.

The Convention demanded the recognition of one union in one industry based on the principle of recognising the union commanding the confidence of and representing the majority of workmen and employees.

Rajasthan T. U. Leader On Hunger-Strike

S. WAMI Kumaranand, the 70-year-old veteran revolutionary and trade union leader of Rajasthan, President of the Rajasthan State Trade Union Congress (AITUC), is on hunger-strike since March 28, 1960.

The management of the Edward Mills—a textile mill in Beawar—is out to provoke trouble in the mills.

This management is responsible for irregular and delayed payment and even non-pay-

ment of earned wages for quite a long time now. It has not, it is said, deposited the contributions to the employees' provident fund.

Suddenly it took away the cards of 50 substitute workers in January this year.

The management then suspended 40 active workers of the Textile Labour Union (AITUC) on February 23, 1960, on the amazing ground that some workers approached the management demanding the payment of wages that had not been paid in spite of express statutory provisions to this effect.

The Government of Rajasthan has not even acknowledged receipt of the memorandum submitted by the union.

The State INTUC chief is openly preaching that everything should be done to suppress the Red Flag in Beawar. The local INTUC bosses have started defending the victimisation of workers and denouncing the victimised. Thus it is the millowner-INTUC combination that has resorted to this terrorism.

The Textile Labour Union is fighting the battle heroically. Swamiji's health is already deteriorating, creating anxiety and alarm. The Government should move quickly to save this beloved leader of the working class of Rajasthan and get justice done to the workers.

Electricity Workers To Go On Strike

THE Executive Committee of the Rajasthan Electricity and Water Workers' Federation met at Kishengarh (Ajmer) on March 16 and 17 and has decided on direct action to secure the implementation of their demands already accepted by the Government as early as in February 1959.

The Federation, representing 10,000 electricity and water workers of Rajasthan, had served a charter of demands in 1956.

The Government of Rajasthan appointed a Demands Enquiry Committee including a representative of the Federation. The Enquiry Committee submitted its unanimous report in October 1958 recommending among other things filling up of vacant posts, compensation of old work-charged services, fixation of employees employed between April 1, 1949 and April 1, 1950, permanency and fixation of water works employees, leave facilities, inclusion of dearness allowance for provident fund contribution, etc.

The Government had accepted the report in February 1959 and despite all the efforts of the Federation, they are not being implemented.

The Federation will first observe a Protest Day on April 13, 1960, followed by a four-hour tools down action on April 25.

They will then meet in conference on May 15 and 17 next at Jonk to chalk out the future course of action.

Working Conditions In Road Transport

IT was about two years ago that a law to regulate working conditions of road transport labour was discussed, and its principles were approved.

But the Central Government is not likely to move the Bill even during the current session of Parliament.

This delay is inexcusable.

Transport workers and their unions—have to pick up this challenge and flood the Union Labour Ministry with protests and force it to move.

April 4

NEW AGE

Political Monthly of Communist Party of India

EDITOR: B. T. Ranadive.

April issue contains:

B. T. RANADIVE: Immortal Lenin.

BHOWANI SEN: Land Ceilings.

M. K. PANDHE: Second Pay Commission and After.

S. N. SINGH: The Central Budget.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY: Central Committee Theses.

MOHIT SEN:

Reviews "India's First War of Independence 1857-59" by Marx and Engels.

SINGLE COPY: 50 nP.

T. Madhavan (Manager)

7/4, Asaf Ali Road, NEW DELHI-1.

PAGE ELEVEN

CHINA'S ADVANCE

* FROM PAGE 5

the payments from State-owned enterprises. "This is an important sign of the solidity of the financial foundations of our country," he said.

Li Hsien-nien said that budget revenue from enterprises and undertakings amounted to 45,300 million yuan, 35.8 per cent more than last year, or 64.7 per cent of all budgeted revenue this year. He added that payments by the rural People's Communes, including agricultural tax and taxes on rural industry and commerce, were only 5.9 per cent of the whole budget revenue.

Li Hsien-nien said that organising the economic life of the people, further developing collective welfare and service undertakings and socialising household labour was an urgent demand of Socialist construction. He pointed out that "in the past two years, our national economy has undergone great development. However, for a big country with a population of 650 million, our level of production is still very low."

PAGE TEN

NEW AGE

APRIL 10, 1960

New credit curbs by Reserve Bank, while tacit admission of defeat of earlier policies, will fail to produce desired results...

In a dramatic announcement on March 11, the Reserve Bank of India sought to restrict the expansion of bank credit by a series of quantitative and selective credit control measures. The extraordinary powers which were vested in the Reserve Bank by the amendment to the Reserve Bank of India Act in 1956 have been exercised for the first time.

THE new four-pronged anti-inflationary drive consists of the following:

Four Measures

1. The minimum reserve ratio kept with the Reserve Bank has been raised by 25 per cent on all deposits accruing after March 11. This is in addition to the existing reserve requirements of two per cent against time deposits and five per cent against demand deposits.

2. Placing a ceiling on "clean advances" i.e. on loans without a specific security.

3. Prohibition of direct financing by the banks of badia transactions.

4. Prescribing a minimum of 50 per cent margin (increase of about ten per cent over the present level) on loans against equity shares.

The first two measures are of an anti-inflationary character in order to "meet the situation arising out of the substantial liquidity of the banking system, marked expansion of money supply and bank credit and their impact on the price level."

If this reasoning of the Reserve Bank is to be accepted then the proposed measures fall short of reaching the objective. Raising of the reserve ratio is to apply only to new deposits and therefore can have only a long-term effect. If the Reserve Bank was convinced of the substantial liquidity of the banking system, it should have extended this provision to all deposits.

Not Unwelcome To Banks

For some time past, the scheduled banks have been facing a glut of liquidity and were far from keen on at-

tracting new deposits. Thus the impounding of a quarter of the new deposits by the Reserve Bank—on which the Reserve Bank will pay interest—is not altogether unwelcome to the banks.

Prescribing a ceiling on clean advances at the level of the corresponding period of the last year is even more mystifying, for they show a decline from Rs. 41.9 crores on January 16, 1959, to Rs. 22.38 crores on January 16, 1960.

The other two measures are aimed at the stock exchange and the Bank Communique does not offer any convincing reason to justify them. The

which imposed no additional burdens by way of direct taxation. Some of this jubilation, no doubt, spilled over the stock market.

Also, the fact that the sharp dip taken by share prices was more the result of panic caused by the shock of the announcement rather than by its effectiveness is borne out by the substantial recovery which equities have staged after more sober second thoughts.

Even admitting that there was undesirable speculation in the stock exchange, it may be argued as to why the Government did not resort to directly remedying the situation instead of adopting the devious and far from effective method of credit control. It is difficult to understand how the stabilisation of equity prices falls within the scope of the normal functions of the Reserve Bank.

The "moral suasion" approach had long been abandoned, the stick having taken the place of the carrot in the form of "selective" credit control. The "selective" control which initially applied to the financing of foodgrains was subsequently extended to cover sugar, groundnuts and later all oilseeds. The recent announcement extends it further so as to include equity shares.

"Selective" control is now sought to be reinforced by "quantitative" restrictions by raising the margin requirements. This mechanism of control besides being cumbersome has so far proved ineffective. The ingenuity of the credit-seekers never fails to invent ever new subterfuges to obtain the necessary accommodation and the banks have willingly connived at it.

A large volume of bank credit manages to elude the none too vigilant eyes of the Reserve Bank and continues to finance the unproductive type of commercial and speculative activity under one disguise or the other. Thus while on paper, bank advances to finance the purchase of commodities subject to credit control have remained the same as a year ago, the speculative pressure on the prices of such commodities has in no way eased.

It may be asked as to why

Piecemeal Approach

It is, therefore, evident that the customary credit control mechanism is either ineffective or its outcome is not desirable. The resort to qualitative and quantitative restrictions on bank credit has been a piecemeal approach. The Reserve Bank has waited for a crisis to mature before looking out for a corrective on an ad hoc basis. This kind of muddling through a succession of crises is a sad commentary on the functioning of a key institution which is supposed to implement a dynamic monetary policy in the context of a planned economy.

The problems enumerated in the statement include questions of an adequate quota of on-site inspections, the composition of the control commission, control post staffing and voting procedure as well as arrangements for what the U.S. insists on calling "peaceful purposes detonations."

Severe Limitations

It cannot be denied that there are severe limitations on the powers of a central bank to enforce monetary discipline in an expansionary phase. These limitations are inherent in a capitalist society where a substantial part of the supply of purchasing power can be generated by private initiative. This purchasing power can certainly be directed and channelled into a desired course if the ownership and control of the banks vests in the hands of the society. There is no escape from the conclusion that private banks are incapable of functioning for the public good.

The only logical method of resolving these contradictions is to nationalise this most vital and strategic part of our economy. But that would be a "doctrinaire" and "dogmatic" idea of a Socialist society, or perhaps the banks are "just so much junk". Our "pragmatic Socialists" are content with an occasional show of shadow-boxing followed by a prolonged period of inactivity.

Conventional Weapons

As regards open-market operations (sale and purchase of securities to the public in general and the banks in particular), the February issue of the Monthly Bulletin of the Reserve Bank reveals that they are of negligible importance. The only substantial purchaser of securities offered for sale by the Reserve Bank has been the State Bank of India, mostly on account of the Rupee Counterpart Fund created out of the sale proceeds of farm products received under P.L. 480. It is therefore clear that the Reserve Bank cannot, effectively influence the liquidity of the banks through open-market operations.

The raising of the bank rate is fraught with grave and far-reaching implications. First, a dearer-money policy will materially raise the servicing charges of the public debt and will consequently raise the cost of financing the Plan.

Secondly, higher money-rates are not an effective de-

terrent when conditions of boom prevail and expectations of profit are high. Besides, with the excess liquidity of the banks, their reliance on the Reserve Bank is only of a marginal character.

Thirdly, with a large sector of the money-market still remaining uninfluenced by the money-rates in the organised sector, high bank-rate cannot serve as an effective brake on credit expansion.

... only solution that can succeed

NATIONALISE BANKING

by S. N. SINGH

only available clue is the anxiety of the Reserve Bank over the post-budget spurt in share-prices which it suspects is caused by unhealthy speculation financed by a facile bank credit.

We cannot take the rise in share prices as entirely the result of speculation. Part of the boom in equities is certainly an indication of the growing profitability of the private sector as evidenced by the rise of 14 per cent in the all-India index of variable dividend industrials.

One may add to this the sense of relief felt by Big Business after the new budget

The rather unusual course the Reserve Bank has chosen to control bank credit is an implicit admission of failure of its earlier policy. This is in sharp contrast to the boastful statement of the Finance Minister (while opposing Bhupesh Gupta's resolution on the nationalisation of the banking business) that the Reserve Bank had adequate and effective powers over the scheduled banks. Now it appears that those adequate and effective powers have failed to produce the desired results.

the Reserve Bank does not use the conventional weapons of a central bank to control credit viz., open-market operations and the manipulation of the bank rate?

Textile Wage Board Report

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

their own conditions as well as the general movement.

The working class only wants its just dues. Its claims are based on its own labour and the wealth that it produces for itself and for the people. It cannot allow a handful of millowners to run away with this wealth, by their ownership and control over a most vital commodity that all people need. It is high time to note that this industry, fed by people's patriotism, the needs of war and cheap labour of the poor Indian worker, has

not been able even after a hundred years' existence to give a need-based wage to the worker, or cheap cloth to the people or honest taxes to the treasury of the nation. That is the sorry performance of the most organised section of Indian capital.

That is where we stand after three years of waiting for the Wage Board report.

Thus even after three years of waiting, even the paltry increase is not in hand. Therefore, throughout India there must be a mighty wave of protests and action to see that

we get our dues and that none shall cheat us of them. This time, the clerks in the mills have also received some consideration. But there is a possibility that even they may be faced with disappointment as part of the "integral whole."

We hope all trade union centres will act with unity and one voice, at least to get what is recommended for the benefit of the workers implemented. But this will not happen, unless workers move from below in the factories and outside.

March 17

NEW AGE

PAGE TWELVE

Ike-Macmillan Talks

EVEN before Macmillan had dashed off to the United States there were indications enough that the U.S. President would find it impossible to turn down altogether the Soviet proposal made on March 19 at the Geneva Test Ban Conference.

It was anticipated that in face of the intense public pressure and despite the opposition of the Pentagon and the AEC, President Eisenhower would come forward with a qualified acceptance.

The Eisenhower-Macmillan Communique after the Camp David talks, while protesting earnest U.S.-British desire for the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban agreement, at the same time stressed that in the effort to achieve the early conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear tests, a number of problems must be resolved.

The problems enumerated in the statement include questions of an adequate quota of on-site inspections, the composition of the control commission, control post staffing and voting procedure as well as arrangements for what the U.S. insists on calling "peaceful purposes detonations."

Following the solution of these problems, the Communiqué said, the U.S. and British Governments would be willing to sign with the Soviet Union the proposed test ban treaty and proceed to make arrangements for a coordinated research programme for methods to control nuclear tests below a seismic magnitude of 4.75 and would be ready to institute a voluntary moratorium "of agreed duration" on nuclear tests below that threshold.

As for the duration of the moratorium, while the communique was silent, a spokesman of the U.S. State Department said the time envisaged would be "considerably shorter than the four to five years which the Russians asked for at Geneva" and the USIS said it would be one year or less. This short duration was proposed, U.S. newsmen suggested, because Eisenhower's presidential term expires in January and his declaration would not be binding on the next President.

The U.S.-British declaration from Camp David has brought their position and the Soviet position nearer than before. But the insistence on a prior solution of control problems before a treaty to ban even the above-threshold tests can be signed could serve the purpose of providing an alibi for those who want to continue with the tests in the meantime.

If the U.S. and Britain are really earnest in their desire to end the tests, one wonders why they hesitate to issue jointly with the USSR a declaration straightaway foregoing all tests above the threshold they themselves want to set and then proceed to work out the detailed treaty.

The second intriguing point relates to the unwillingness on their part to accept the Soviet-proposed time-limit of four to five years for the voluntary moratorium on tests of below 4.75 magnitude. So also is the insistence that

the voluntary moratorium will not bind Eisenhower's successor. Already as it is known the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission—with the proclaimed objective of developing smaller and cleaner bombs—has announced a plan to carry out an underground test of below 4.75 magnitude in January 1961.

There is every possibility that even after the U.S. consents to a moratorium on sub-threshold tests it will push through with these underground tests—either in the

CONTROL WITHOUT DISARMAMENT

THE other conference in Geneva, the one discussing disarmament, is faced with open intransigence on the part of the U.S. and other Western Powers. Eaton of U.S. told the Disarmament Committee on April 1 that the Soviet plan did not accord with the aims of general and complete disarmament as understood by them and hence could not form the basis of discussion.

Zorin taking strong exception to this charged the U.S. with pursuing aims entirely different from that of achieving general and complete disarmament. He recalled in this connection Secretary of State Herter's speech to the National Press Club on February 18 where Herter had dwelt on the U.S. intention of "supplementing" its defence programme through the present disarmament conference.

"Here obviously lies the true goal of the American delegation in our committee," Zorin said, "to try to canalise the disarmament talks towards supplementing the U.S. military programme."

French Communists Protest Second Sahara Test

PERSISTING in its indifference to the recommendations of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the French Government has exploded a second atomic device in Sahara, says a Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France from Paris, on April 1.

Confident that it is expressing the feelings of innumerable agonised Frenchmen at the thought of the frightful consequences of a nuclear catastrophe, the French Communist Party raises its solemn voice of protest against this nefarious act. It reaffirms its unshakable position in favour of a total and definitive stopping of atomic tests and for the prohibition and destruction of all atomic armaments.

The second explosion at Reggane will inflict new and grave injury to the prestige and interests of our country in the world, particularly in Africa. The

name of the time-limit being over or under the pretext of "peaceful purposes."

The second atomic test by France in the Sahara is, meanwhile, a grim reminder of the dangers inherent in the situation. The U.S. and Britain by resorting to delaying tactics on the Soviet proposal to ban the above-threshold tests straightaway share the responsibility for the reckless persistence of France in her criminal course.

Zorin showed how the Western plan pursued this aim. He charged that the Western plan did not provide for the full prohibition of nuclear weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of these weapons, nor for the complete liquidation of armed forces and conventional armaments, nor for the abolition of foreign military bases on alien soil, nor for the cessation and prohibition of all military activity. "Whatever aspect of this plan we take," said Zorin, "it deals chiefly and even exclusively with control, control without disarmament, control of armaments."

It seeks to establish control primarily over those types of armaments in the development of which the Western Powers, according to their own admission, lag behind the Soviet Union. The Western plan suggests, for instance, that measures should be taken to establish control over the military uses of outer space and over long-distance rockets while nothing is said

about liquidation of foreign military bases on alien soil. Zorin charged the U.S. delegate with unwillingness to hold serious, business-like discussions when the latter insisted on the disarmament talks being confined only to the Western plan and even so on only the first and second stages of that plan. (The first and second stages of the Western plan provide only for investigations and studies of various control systems).

Opposing the U.S. demand for discussion of separate, isolated measures, Zorin said that the Western Powers were obviously not ready and did not want to get down to drafting a treaty on general and complete disarmament but merely strive for endless talks on measures of control. The problem as it stood at present could not be solved by partial disarmament measures, and much less by control measures divorced from actual disarmament.

Asking the Western Powers to show by deeds their honesty to comply with the resolution passed by the U.N. General Assembly on general and complete disarmament for which they had voted, Zorin made the following proposals for the work of the Disarmament Committee:

1. Begin immediately to draft a treaty on general and complete disarmament, or at first the main provisions, the basic principles of such a treaty.

2. As the first measure, agree on total volume of measures for general and complete disarmament.

3. Define the stages and deadlines for general and complete disarmament in order to make the programme for such disarmament specific and consistent;

4. During the last two weeks or so West Germany has already entered into arrangements for bases with Holland, Belgium and Denmark.

5. On the eve of the conference, Strauss had stated in Bonn that West Germany would "try and solve the problem of military supply bases and training grounds abroad by means of bilateral agreements" if NATO failed to integrate the logistic system. He revealed that West Germany was trying to install a firing range in Greece, because NATO's range in South Sardinia was inadequate.

Strauss also demanded that the NATO countries integrate their weapons and produce them jointly.

The conference took decisions to step up cooperation in research and weapons production.

While there was agreement on the principle of giving bases to West Germany to place supplies "in the rear", there was a clash at the conference between British Minister Watkinson and Strauss on the extent to which this was necessary. Watkinson had presented a paper based on preparations for a 30-day war of a localised character.

Strauss advocating more extensive supply bases based his calculation on preparations for a 90-day war, which had the backing of NATO's military staff.

The U.S. Defence Secretary Gates combined the two ideas: prepare for a 30-day war, but also prepare for something longer, he said.

All this was being discussed and planned in all solemnity and seriousness while Mr. Eaton at Geneva was claiming that the Western plan he wanted to push sought to bring about general disarmament. (April 5)

6. Provide for effective international control to be introduced in all stages of general and complete disarmament, applicable to specific disarmament measures so that no State could evade its commitments.

Bases For German Revanchists

HIGHLIGHTING Western lack of seriousness about the disarmament talks was also the NATO War Minister's Conference which opened at its headquarters near Paris on March 31. Also highlighted in the conference was the fact that West Germany is increasingly emerging as the decisive Power in the NATO set-up.

West German War Minister Strauss presented on the opening day his country's demand for bases—for training and supply—in other countries of Western Europe and a NATO spokesman said that all the other 14 countries' War Ministers said they were willing to help West Germany—each within his country's capability. They felt that the problem was more military than political, the spokesman said.

During the last two weeks or so West Germany has already entered into arrangements for bases with Holland, Belgium and Denmark.

On the eve of the conference, Strauss had stated in Bonn that West Germany would "try and solve the problem of military supply bases and training grounds abroad by means of bilateral agreements" if NATO failed to integrate the logistic system. He revealed that West Germany was trying to install a firing range in Greece, because NATO's range in South Sardinia was inadequate.

Strauss also demanded that the NATO countries integrate their weapons and produce them jointly.

The conference took decisions to step up cooperation in research and weapons production.

While there was agreement on the principle of giving bases to West Germany to place supplies "in the rear", there was a clash at the conference between British Minister Watkinson and Strauss on the extent to which this was necessary. Watkinson had presented a paper based on preparations for a 30-day war of a localised character.

Strauss advocating more extensive supply bases based his calculation on preparations for a 90-day war, which had the backing of NATO's military staff.

The U.S. Defence Secretary Gates combined the two ideas: prepare for a 30-day war, but also prepare for something longer, he said.

All this was being discussed and planned in all solemnity and seriousness while Mr. Eaton at Geneva was claiming that the Western plan he wanted to push sought to bring about general disarmament. (April 5)

It calls upon all Frenchmen and all French women to unite and to act in order to achieve the success of this policy.

—ZIAUL HAQ

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

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PATIL'S PRAGMATISM MEANS

"It is all confusion"—Braj Raj Singh's remark during S. K. Patil's reply, sums up the general reaction to the Food Minister's mammoth reply given in his best Chowpatty style, during the discussion on the demands of his Ministry.

THE entire question of holding the price-line had dominated the discussion. What was Patil's reply which he boasts is "pragmatic" or practical (this word appears a dozen times and is a cover to avoid facing the practical problems posed by the spiralling price-line). Patil's answer, in short, is that prices will continue to rise till production outstrips demand—that is, there can be no holding the price-line in the period before the take-off.

That is his reply to those who wanted to know why even in a record year of production of 73.5 tons, imports of foodgrains instead of decreasing has increased. In 1952, we imported 3.8 million tons with a production of 51.1 million tons. In 1959-60 with 73.5 million tons production we still import 3.8 million tons, an increase over the 1958-59 figure of 3.1 million tons.

The cause he attributes for this is: "Apart from population rise, the people are now eating more and eating better food. What is the use of talking of the middle-man? We waste so much time in bringing in the poor trader everywhere, we say he makes a lakh of rupees or so many lakhs of rupees and the trader gains this thing or that. But the trade gains because we fail in our difficulties."

His solution is simple. Organise cooperatives and traders will be purged out! He does not go into the question of how cooperatives are being used by the richer landholders to actually corner the trade. State trading? He says he has not given it up—any State that wants can go in for it.

But as far as he is concerned the long and short of his rambling speech was that State trading was only to be resorted to when prices started falling and price support was needed. Otherwise his panacea is building a buffer stock, and linking deficit States with surplus ones.

People Blamed

Patil had one running thread throughout his speech and he knew that people's past experience was a fertile ground for him to get support. Regarding sugar price increase he put it down to the "wise people who make use of ration cards in their own way. That is how sugar gets into the blackmarket." To put it crudely, it is the people who create the blackmarket and so what can the poor blackmarketeers do?

A few choice quotations will make this point clear: "Controls are bad. They make our lives artificial. When there is control, it is followed by ration cards. When the ration card is given, it becomes a charter" (to create the blackmarket).

"The moment you go in for procurement, monopoly procurement and things of that sort you must come to the legitimate end of it, rationing also has to come, otherwise you cannot complete the procedure. That way the confidence in the minds of the people are shaken. In the way that we are proceed-

ing (food zones) confidence comes back..."

"We have got to have some kind of free movement so that I need not have a machinery in order to do that... Even with the little procurement that we are having... The Centre spends Rs. 20 crores annually on this unproductive managerial work... If you really want that procurement should be complete, each State putting up that type of thing it will cost about Rs. 100 crores in a thoroughly useless, unproductive, unremunerative action..."

This is pleading for a laissez-faire policy in the name of governmental inefficiency. No attempt is to be made to streamline the administration. That is why there is no reply as to what the Government is going to do regarding the Nalagarh Commission Report. Give up efforts to remove the shortcomings and corruption in the machinery so that people are not oppressed. Leave everything to market forces.

How dangerous that can be for the planned economy of an underdeveloped country undertaking programmes for which huge deficit-financing is being

till now have not improved matters.

Food production has increased though, of course, official statistics are as unreliable as before. The Food and Agriculture Ministry's report claimed 1959-60's production to be a record one of 73.5 million tons. However, the very next day after the debate, it was announced that the revised figures were only near about 70 million tons!

Only Answer

The only answer to the paradox why even so prices are going up to be found in the Market Arrivals of Foodgrains 1958-59 Season Report compiled by the Economic and Statistical Adviser to the Government of India.

Rice is the staple food for the bulk of Indians. It is also the foodgrain grown most. Although there was some variation in the disposal of rice by the growers from State to State, yet this is what the Report says of a deficit State like West Bengal, where yield had fallen considerably in 1958-59:

"The level of market arrivals up to March 1959 though lower in the corresponding period of last year was not below expectation, particularly in view of

prices and reap huge profits is the new factor in the situation. It is they who are financially strong enough to put out of gear the Levy and Price Control orders. And since the Government has no stocks capable of easing the situation, it has to surrender to them.

This happened in the withdrawal of the price control orders in West Bengal last year, as a result of which although more rice was disgorged in the market, the Report admits: "With the lifting of controls on June 24, the prices of both paddy and rice shot up tremendously."

Who gained by this? It was only the large producer with staying power, who reaped the full benefit of high prices, for by the end of June, all the produce of the smaller peasant had already passed into the hands of the bigger stockists.

Therefore, when some well-meaning people and some not so well-meaning people support the demand for lifting price control, thinking that the "poor agriculturists" will get a fair deal one must clearly realise that today the term "agriculturist" is of a wide connotation embracing within its fold from agricultural labourers without any land right up to the landowners of several hundred acres. In the Report it is admitted

setting up the Prices Intelligence Division as well as the Price Stabilisation Board should have been implemented long ago.

The need to set up an organisation to gather statistics about the cost of production for different commodities in different regions, indices of prices received and prices paid by agriculturists, ratio of prices of competing crops in different regions, are musts if price controls are to be effective.

Data must also be collected regarding market arrivals, market stocks, market sentiment from all important mandis and studied along with production and price trends. To be guided just by all-India average indices of wholesale prices can only lead to unreal assessment of the prevailing conditions.

Remedial Measures

With this information it will be possible for the Price Stabilisation Board to go into all related economic questions which will stabilise prices. It will be its job to examine food prices in relation to other consumer and producer goods, to study the various margins charged at different stages before sale to the cultivator, to ensure better coordination of the various measures bearing on food prices. It could also suggest the minimum prices for the agricultural commodities.

Thereupon the Central Food Advisory Council with representatives of the kisans, trade, industry, workers, consumers, banks, coops, leading political parties and economists should meet at least twice a year in connection with the kharif and rabi seasons to consider and advise on various aspects of the food problem, long-term as well as short-term. Its views should be placed before the Government and before the Price Stabilisation Board to help the latter in the formulation of price policies and programmes.

But the most important part of the recommendations of the Asoka Mehta Committee is the Foodgrains Organisation which must operate as a trader, with agencies of its own in all important mandis particularly in surplus areas. The Committee recommended that it should undertake buffer stock operations whenever prices tend to fall, even if such a fall is not general but is confined to a particular locality.

As the organisation starts operating from a position of strength with sufficient stocks at its disposal, it will soon find itself in a dominant position as a trader in the economy and will be able to control the market effectively.

Thus, buffer stocks should not be counterposed against State trading. Buffer stock operations will be effective if we use it as an effective weapon to replenish itself for keeping down prices. Therefore, buffer stocks and State trading are inextricably linked in the scheme of keeping down prices as also in giving price support when prices fall.

It is because no State trading has been undertaken that even the zonal arrangement in Orissa and West Bengal has failed to produce satisfactory results. Seventy per cent of Orissa's agriculturists are small producers. By the middle of January

SPIRALLING FOOD PRICES

by RENU CHAKRAVARTY

they had sold out their stocks at between Rs. 9 and Rs. 9-8-0. From then on prices continued to rise and the gain was made by the trader. They started booking 48 maunds in each of their names because there was no levy or need of licence up to 50 maunds, thereby reducing licensing to a farce.

In West Bengal more than eight lakh tons, on the Deputy Food Minister's admission, flowed in a higher amount than had ever gone to West Bengal in earlier years under price control. But this year prices in Calcutta suburbs and elsewhere are everywhere at least Rs. four per maund higher than in previous years.

Who Got The Profits?

In Calcutta, in December 1959, rice was selling at Rs. 21.60 and in February it had gone up to Rs. 24 in comparison to Rs. 21.60 in February last year! Compare the price with what the small cultivator in Orissa got—not more than Rs. 9-8-0 for paddy (approximately Rs. 15 for rice).

From this itself it is clear that neither the 70 per cent of the cultivators of Orissa nor the consumers in West Bengal have gained by the zonal system. It has failed to check prices prevailing in time of controls in the deficit State and has failed to benefit the majority of cultivators in the surplus State. It is in this context that the need becomes clear for going in for gradual socialisation of the foodgrains trade.

But in fact the process set in motion by S. K. Patil is just the opposite. Step by step after West Bengal lifted price control in June last year, on October 1, 1959, the Madras Government announced the decision to abandon procurement of short-term paddy crop during the kharif season. Mysore followed suit. On October 12, 1959, the Punjab Rice Procurement Levy Order was amended whereby the percentage of rice required to be sold to Government was reduced.

And yet stabilisation of prices is a far cry. S. K. Patil besides his twin plan of food zones and buffer stock accepted cooperatives as the means of controlling unfair practices in the trade.

We welcome his support to cooperatives. But to close one's eyes to the weakness in the cooperative movement and the causes of its shortcomings is to blindly pay lip-service to something which will ultimately fail unless these weaknesses are removed.

Disquieting Features

The National Development Council (NDC) has rightly said that State trading to be successful must be built on a widespread base of cooperatives, but if cooperatives are to be successful it will depend on how effectively State trading is pursued. If cooperatives are to be a successful instrument for State trading their present disquieting features must be ended.

It is known that coopera-

tives are being used to avoid the ceiling fixed by land reform laws, and their control often falls into the hands of the richer sections in the countryside who, as has been pointed out in the Market Arrivals Report, have been known to advance money from cooperative banks to the big producer, who in turn uses it to trade and corner the market. All this must be changed.

The U.N. Programme of Technical Assistance recently evaluated the Community Development programme. They had some very interesting things to say regarding these cooperatives. They said about loans that "they have been granted mainly to the well-to-do and the proportion used for productive expenditure is no higher than 25 per cent outside blocks and 45 per cent in blocks. The relatively small membership of the credit cooperatives is mainly confined to the well-to-do villagers who find in them a source of cheap credit."

Further, it touched the crux of the problem when it said: "The obstacles to cooperation are not merely a matter of organisation: they are also closely related to the social structure in village society. Some reduction of economic inequalities would probably help in this matter, hence the importance of land reform measures (such as 'ceilings') which on no account should be unduly delayed."

"Two major obstacles to the successful functioning of the community development programme in villages are the systems of money-lending and of sharecropping. A real community of interests between moneylender and debtor, between landowner and sharecropper, is obviously not easy to establish."

Immediate Steps

Even more to the point is their observation regarding why even the land laws pass-

ed are not observed: "There seems to be a substantial proportion of landowners among the senior administrative and political staff and, therefore, this (implementation of land laws) will not always be easy and there is widespread confusion between what is intended and what in fact exists."

But as yet our Food Minister is far from this realisation. It is for the people who have seen the way prices are spiralling and the profits of the black-market trade, to press upon the Chief Ministers' Conference to be held this month to consider measures to stabilise prices.

Not only must broad policies be laid down but concrete measures taken for setting up an organisation for fixing minimum fair prices for agricultural commodities. The Price Stabilisation Board, the Foodgrains Trading Organisations as well as the Central Advisory Food Council must be set up. Together with this, a quicker implementation of ceilings on land

ownership and distribution of land to the landless and poor peasants and a review of the working of cooperatives and an acceleration of their formation must be insisted upon in this work of price stabilisation.

Thus can buffer-stocks and cooperatives become powerful weapons in the national armoury to curb speculation and profiteering in grain. These will then strengthen State trading and not stand in contradiction to it.

Country's Peril

In a period when rapid development is desired, with deficit financing as it exists, in the prevailing conditions of marginal food production, price-control and State trading are also inevitable. S. K. Patil who boasts of his pragmatism can ignore this only at the country's peril.

Unity In Service Of Big Business

* FROM PAGE 3

Reddy have been making to Lucknow almost every week they have not been completed yet (we are told they would be finished now by May).

And, only a few weeks ago, public claims were being made by both the cliques in the columns of the local Press that they had all but finished off the other group in the elections.

The reason for these new and pious tunes is then to be sought elsewhere. From what has been going on behind the scenes for some time, the real reason for this new-born love for unity and the leader, it appears, is the crack of the whip by the hands which wield, and in the recent past since independence have always wielded, power in the U.P. Congress—the hands of the textile and sugar sharks of the State and the hands of Birla and Dalmia-Jain, who have now entered the economic scene of U.P. with all their powerful resources.

S. P. Jain is building his huge Soda-Ash Factory near Banaras for which he has already got numerous concessions from the U.P. Government, including a highly controversial "loan" of a crore and forty-five lakhs of rupees.

The Birlas were always there in some form or other and they had their place-men in strategic positions in the Government and elsewhere; but now they have come with a huge aluminium plant. The plant is being built in the vicinity of the Rihand Dam with several crores of American money. When constructed it will be the biggest single industrial unit in the State.

The Birlas have already extracted sweeping concessions from the Ministry. The power from Rihand has been almost mortgaged to them. But they will need more, and so will the others, the Dalmia-Jains and the rest of them.

The biggest carrot hanging before all of them are the allocations for the Third Five-Year Plan. The Second Five-Year Plan of the State was of the order of Rs. 253 crores; the Third Plan for the State envisages several times bigger outlay for Uttar Pradesh.

According to the figures given out so far, Rs. 400 crores are to be expended in the State sector, Rs. 850 crores in the private sector and Rs. 650 crores or so will come as contributions from shramdan, etc.

Cruel Period

Even if the proposals are not accepted by the Planning Commission in their entirety, there is no doubt that the Plan expenditure in U.P. in the period of the Third Plan will be much bigger than it was in that of the Second.

Who will control this expenditure? How will it be disbursed? Will the recommendations of the Birla Committee, which had been appointed by the U.P. Ministry some years ago to evolve a plan of industrialisation for the State, be now carried out? Will there be peace, industrial and otherwise, in the State? These and a host of other questions have led the bosses to make their will known. They can ill-afford to have such disunity at this time and they can afford even less to have their still most trusted man, C. B. Gupta, out of the Ministry.

It is during the regime of Gupta that they had received the maximum concessions, including loans running into crores of rupees. And although Sampurnanand has continued the same policy and even described the magnates as hens which lay golden eggs, still will it not be better to bring them together, their

men outside and inside the Ministry at this crucial time?

There is lot of criticism inside and outside the legislature. The "loans" which had been advanced have not been recovered. In February this year Finance Minister All Zabeer revealed in the State Assembly that nearly five crores of rupees have not been paid by the industrialists of U.P. in connection with sales-tax arrears. On March 31, Industries Minister Hemvati Nandan Bahugana informed the State Assembly that the sugar factories of U.P. owed a sum of Rs. 312.35 lakhs by way of cess to the State Government (National Herald, April 1). In connection with electricity duty, the Kanpur textile mill owners alone owe the State exchequer something like Rs. 20 lakhs. Many of the loans which had been advanced are reported to have been misused. As a consequence of all this, criticism of the Ministry is mounting. Trouble on this count is likely to grow and take more vehement forms.

Hence both to defend and keep the gains of the past and to grab the most of what is to come during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan, it is urgently necessary that all the tested servitors of the moneybags come together.

It is reported that it is mainly because of this that the moves for unity are being mooted from both sides. Sampurnanand and Gupta are both reported to have been pressurised and told this point of view: Of course, the 1962 General Elections have also figured in these discussions and they, too, have contributed to injecting sobriety in the outlooks of both the groups.

Sampurnanand gave proof of his willingness to bury the hatchet in the recent negotiations to the seats for the

Rajya Sabha and the Legislative Council. Persons who were persona non grata with the Gupta group were not given tickets and almost half the seats were given to the nominees of the Gupta clique. The leaders of the Gupta group are now reciprocating the sentiment.

Thus there should be no mistake that the "unity" that is being sponsored is, if it comes about, unity in the service of the Birlas, Dalmias, Jains and the rest of them. There is already talk of re-including Charan Singh, that inveterate opponent of cooperatives and ceilings, in the Ministry and this should tell us what would be the policy of the "united" Ministry towards the land question, the most basic question of all for the country's progress or for the fulfilment of its plan targets.

New Dissensions

But, so far as the Congress organisation in U.P. is concerned, perhaps it is not so easy to fill up all its fissures and bring about unity inside it. Even while the talks for reconciliation between Sampurnanand and Gupta is going on, other grounds for disunity are being created. If this "unity" comes about, two casualties are almost inevitable, Mohanlal Gautam and Kamalapati Tripathi.

Immediately it may not mean much loss, because the former has lost his following and the latter is under a heavy shadow of serious charges. But, when they come out of the Ministry, as they will most probably have to if Gupta comes to have his way, everybody knows the role they will play in mobilising forces against the ruling clique inside the Assembly and outside in the Congress organisation.

Essential Steps : Price Control & State Trading

resorted to, is all too clear. It is an axiom that in a situation where our food production at best is marginal to the needs of a population crushed down to levels of semi-starvation, and where speculation and cornering of the foodgrain trade is bringing in huge profits through creation of artificial scarcity, disrupting the entire distributive machinery by blackmarket operations, prices can never be kept down by this "free movement" policy.

Whether we like it or not, question of State trading and Government's control to see that no bottlenecks appear in the distribution of foodgrains at fair prices to the people, has to be tackled vigorously and efficiently if we are to hold the price-line. Otherwise even if production increases to the promised target of 105 million tons in the Third Plan, there is every likelihood that price stabilisation will not have been achieved.

Plea For Suicide

And what of the interim period? What of today? That is the question to which everyone demands an answer. That is why the really pragmatic approach to food production is to appraise the situation realistically and work out practical methods to implement the policies agreed upon. Everyone will agree that control for control's sake is bad. But to say even when with rising production scarcity is created, no controls are needed is to plead for suicide. Zones up

the low level of production. Marketings by the small farmers must have kept up the level of supplies up to this period.

"It was only from the end of April or the beginning of May that the volume of arrivals in the market began to dwindle. Delaying of sales by medium and large farmers appears to be the main reason for this."

Take a surplus State like Orissa or Madhya Pradesh. Regarding Orissa, the Report says that in view of increased production, there is large increase in volume of sales over last year. But it says: "This does not mean that all the saleable stocks with the producers have been marketed. Large producers are still holding back a substantial volume of stocks from the market."

The same is the case with Madhya Pradesh. It says: "Big producers are believed to be holding larger stocks than in the previous year."

In West Bengal the grip of the trader over the foodgrains market has been clearly admitted by the Report which says: "The large producers now occupy a position of great importance in the rice economy of the area surveyed. On the one hand they extend credit to small producers on condition of repayment in paddy and thus acquire command over paddy stocks after harvest. On the other hand, they have combined in themselves the functions of wholesale trader, in some cases even miller."

This grip of the big producers who have the ability to hold stocks, to push up

that in the big rice growing areas there is a more recent development, that is, "the entry of the very large producer and the ex-zamindars into either the wholesale trade in paddy and rice or in the field of milling of paddy."

To club all these under the term "poor agriculturist" would be wrong. This is exactly what the Swatantra Party with its cry of "no controls" and "higher prices for agriculture" would like to confuse us with. They try to hide the fact that the poor peasant and agricultural labourer who has to sell out at low prices due to his poverty later on in the season. Hence, price control saves the poorer sections from this fleeing by the richer peasant.

Fair Price For Producers

What is, therefore, needed is a fair minimum price for all agricultural produce taking into consideration the cost of production of that commodity for the year and computed on a realistic basis and declared in advance of the harvest. It is because control prices have been fixed arbitrarily that most of the trouble has been created.

After the harvest is over, there should be declaration of the retail control price, which should be in consonance with the control price paid at the time of harvest. This is why the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee Report's recommendation for

Resolution Of The Central Executive Committee Of Communist Party

April 10 To 17: Solidarity Week With Africans In S. Africa

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India which commenced its meeting in New Delhi on April 3 adopted the following resolution on the South African killings in its first session the same day:

THE Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its horror at the mass killings of Africans at Sharpeville and Langa by police firings in pursuance of the policy of 'apartheid' and aggressive racial discrimination. The Committee pays its homage to the memory of those who, in defence of human dignity, fell victims to the bullets of the South African Government.

The Committee further sends its deep sympathy to the Africans who, robbed of all human rights and

South African Government to abandon the policy of 'apartheid' and racial discrimination. But the mere passing of a resolution which is no doubt a significant step, is not going to bridle that Government and the forces of racial fanaticism it represents. The Committee would, therefore, urge the United Nations to take effective measures for enforcing the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights all of which the South African Government has cynically violated.

The worldwide revulsion of public opinion against the enormous crimes of this defiant Government must now be given expression in requisite U.N. sanctions so as to compel the racist overlords to submit to the elementary

norms and ways of civilised behaviour. The Central Executive records its appreciation of the stand taken by our Parliament and by India's representative in the Security Council and hopes that this initiative will be carried forward in creating such necessary sanctions. In this connection, the Committee cannot but deplore the moves of the U.K. Government to shield the crimes of the South African rulers and frustrate any U.N. action against them. The Committee would urge upon Prime Minister Nehru to take a serious view of this treacherous attitude of the British Government and raise the issue, with all the force at his command, at the forthcoming London meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Let it be said that this meeting would be a great affront to all Afro-Asian people and indeed to the conscience of the world if every effort was not made there to call the South African Government which is a member of the Commonwealth to book.

It is to be noted that the Sharpeville and Langa bloodbaths are now followed, again in utter defiance of world opinion, by a reign of terror against the Afri-

cans. The Africans are being arrested in their hundreds, tortured and then thrown into dungeons. White racist hooligans have been already armed 'en masse', whole army regiments, tanks and military aircrafts, including jet bombers have been mobilised, as though in a war, to completely overawe and suppress the peace and freedom-loving Africans. In this savage campaign the citizens of Indian origin and even of European descent who stand for abolition of racial discrimination are not spared.

Thus the Union of South Africa has been delivered to unrestrained violence and barbarism and all cherished tenets of civilised life continue to be outraged. The Central Executive Committee strongly condemns these atrocities of the South African Gov-



Africans burn their passes in public in the township of Orlando, Johannesburg.

★ ★

FRAUD ON ASIA AND AFRICA

* FROM FRONT PAGE

eleven million black and coloured people of South Africa are telling the world that they can beat the Africans into submission, however much the world may raise its voice in protest. They seem to tell the Africans that outside sympathy, however unanimous it may be and from howsoever high a tribune it may come is not going to help them and they have no alternative but to submit to the tyranny.

Britain, U. S. Guilty

It is here that looking back on the diluted and watered down Security Council resolution that was adopted on April 1, one has to point out the fraud the Western Powers have played on Afro-Asian countries. Britain was the arch-culprit but the U.S., too, was no less responsible.

Systematically before the discussion in the Security Council they went about threatening the Afro-Asian representatives that a stronger resolution would be vetoed by Britain and France.

The U.S. representative went about pompously proclaiming the need to create "a bridge and not a wall." Mr. Lodge in his speech at the Security Council also praised the South African Government for relaxing the Pass Laws saying that he hoped other steps were on the way which would lead to a general improvement of the situation. How ironical it sounds today!

Afro-Asian and Socialist countries were sceptical about following the Western advice to water down the resolution. The Tunisian representative, for instance, told the Security Council that world opinion looked to the U.N. with the

hope that it would take effective measures which would in fact impel the Union of South Africa to stop the terror and to revise its policy.

The Soviet representative, Sobolev, had asked the Security Council not to simply content itself with condemning the crime, but also "warn —by employing all measures at its disposal—of the consequences of a continuance of arbitrary violence against the African population." Ghana had suggested economic and diplomatic sanctions in the event of non-compliance.

Yet the Western tactics proved superior and they succeeded in confining the resolution to a mere censure and expression of a pious hope—with no warning about possible action, the U.N. might be compelled to take in case South Africa's rulers persisted in their course. No sanctions were contemplated.

The black people of South Africa in their hour of trial still look to the guardians of world order—and above all to their brother peoples of the Asian and African continents to take effective measures to stay the butcher's knife, their helpless children and women call for urgent action.

Never The Same Again

They refuse to give up their struggle. The more barbarous the repression becomes the higher the struggle is bound to rise in its form and in its intensity. As somebody said, South Africa will never be the same again.

The dark-skinned people will have their due and nothing will stop them—neither guns and sjamboks, nor Western manoeuvres at the U.N.

—ZIAUL HAQ

Nehru Urged To Raise Issue At Conference Of Commonwealth Premiers

subjected to limitless humiliation and tyranny in their own homelands, have now taken to the just path of massive defiance and martyrdom. They are fighting against a monstrous force not only in vindication of their own honour but indeed for the dignity and self-respect of civilisation itself. The Central Executive Committee is confident that in this grim but glorious ordeal the Africans will inevitably emerge victorious.

The Central Executive Committee recalls the long traditions of opposition on the part of the Indian residents in South Africa to colour bar and racialism and trusts that Indians there who have themselves suffered in many ways from this evil will give every support to the Africans.

Our people will have noted with great satisfaction that many among the citizens of European descent in South Africa, too, have been fighting with great courage the 'apartheid' policy and have identified themselves with the just cause of racial equality.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the resolution of the Security Council, calling upon the