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Enlargement of Second Plan Without Change In Approach, Policies and Methods

On March 19 and 20, the National Development Council met in New Delhi and considered the tentative Draft Memorandum for the Third Five-Year Plan. Neither this Draft nor any proper official account of these deliberations is yet available. Nevertheless, the occasion was marked by a blare of officially inspired unofficial publicity. On the basis of what has appeared in the Press one can, therefore, safely offer some observations. Any comprehensive study of the Draft has naturally to await its publication.

Vis a vis India's Five-Year Plans, the National Development Council is a high-powered policy making body with not only the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues, but all the State Chief Ministers on it. What one would expect from such an august body is not some inane, ostentatious ritual, not some rubber-stamping of what comes from the Planning Commission or the Central Government but some hard thinking and real policy-making.

It is the task of the National Development Council to draw correct lessons from experience, face realities with courage and vision and then provide the requisite leadership and direction. The latest meeting of the Council did nothing of the kind. It was a

to our national economy. Besides, industrial production has risen and we produce much more machinery today than ever before.

In the agrarian sector, too, some increase in the production of cotton, jute, sugarcane, etc., has taken place, although on the food front we remain still hopelessly down. The current yield of 73 million tons is neither adequate for the needs nor is it stable. Irrigation and power and other projects, some really big, have been accomplished or are nearly so. All this has, no doubt, strengthened our economy. But this by no means makes the whole of the picture.

The Second Five-Year Plan clearly laid down four principal objectives:

during the first three years of the Second Plan, the national income has risen only by 10.26 per cent—an average of 3.42 per cent annually. It is, therefore, safe to assume that during the entire five-year period, the rise will not be more than 18 per cent. Since population has grown at a faster rate than envisaged, the rise in the per capita income will, naturally, be lower than these figures would indicate. In fact, this is admitted by the Government itself in the Finance Ministry's latest "Economic Survey" presented to Parliament with the 1960-61 Budget papers.

As for the level of living, the less said, the better. High prices of foodgrains and other necessities, the mounting taxes on the common man and

Third Plan prospects

• by BHUPESH GUPTA

sorry, disappointing performance by all accounts.

It appears that the Development body's attention was riveted on the "broad objectives, targets, allocations and resources" of the Third Plan and these were almost as a matter of routine generally approved. Deeper into the problems the Council had neither the time nor the inclination to go. So, the tentative Draft has now emerged with the imprimatur of the National Development Council—and in a matter of a few hours of superficial, ill-informed and perfunctory discussions!

Inaugurating the meeting, the Prime Minister said India had made "remarkable and creditable progress almost in all directions as a result of the last two Plans." There has been progress—substantial in some spheres—no one will deny. Three steel plants and certain other industrial undertakings in the public sector constitute a significant gain

(i) "a sizable increase in the national income so as to raise the level of living in the country";

(ii) "rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries";

(iii) "expansion of employment opportunities";

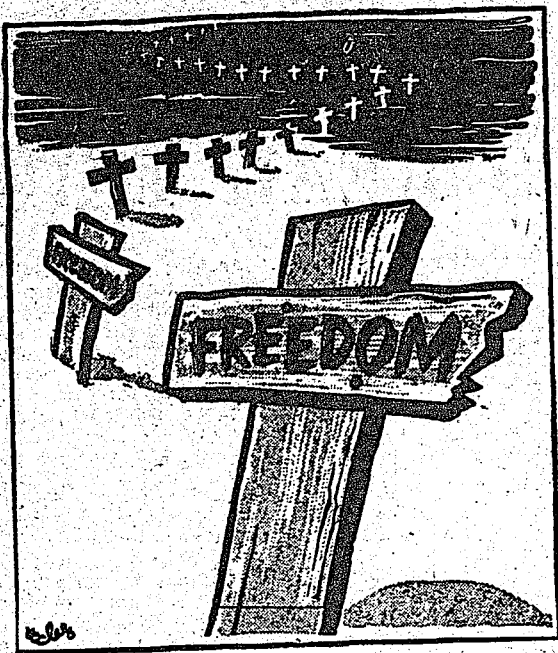
(iv) "reduction of inequalities of income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power."

While approaching the Third Plan one has to bear in mind these objectives to which the nation is committed and see how far our economy has moved in this direction. Such a stock-taking would seem inescapable in order to see where and why things have gone wrong and what needs to be done to set the record straight.

After all, the fact remains that with all its positive gains, the Second Plan has rather badly failed to measure up to these objectives. As against the 25 per cent rise in the national income,

the growth of unemployment have resulted, if anything in depression of the standard of living of the vast masses. Even in the industrial sector where both overall production and the productivity of labour have significantly risen, the real earnings of labour have, however, shown little or no rise.

The objective of "rapid industrialisation" would call for vigorous planned activity on the entire industrial sector. But the appraisal of the Second Plan would show that apart from some selected projects like the steel plants, the State has played little direct part in promoting industrialisation on the required scale. Much was left to the private sector and the public sector got toned down and slashed. Barring the three steel plants which accounted for Rs. 360 crores, the total investments of both the Central and the State Governments in the rest of the industrial sector have



"...they must learn their lesson the hard way."—Police Commander, Sharpeville, South Africa.

THE HARD WAY

INDIA'S AGONY AND ANGER

SELDOM, if ever, has the Lok Sabha stood forth as the symbol of our nation's agony and anger in the way it did on March 28. Pandit Nehru's stark phrase, "something terrible has happened," echoed and re-echoed in the silent tension of the House.

The resolution was short restrained and severely eloquent, recording "the deep sorrow of the House" and sending "deep sympathy to the Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the African people in their own homeland."

Pointing out that while the killings were monstrous enough, the Prime Minister added that what was worse was "that behind all these lies a certain deliberate policy which the South African Government was pursuing"—comparable only to Hitler's doctrine of racialism.

He referred to the African awakening as something far more sweeping than the "wind of change" which Macmillan had referred to as blowing through that continent—"that was a moderate reference to the ferments and tempests that are taking place in Africa."

He felt that this was not a matter of domestic jurisdiction alone but "in the very real sense of the phrase it is very much a matter the United Nations as an international body should consider because it involves something of the most intimate concern to humanity."

"It is an odd position that a member of the United Nations is using its State power for the assertion of racial superiority in its own territory and is doing

something which is objected to by the United Nations and its Charter."

S. A. Dange, supporting the resolution declared that the same war of liberation which had swept Asia after World War II "is now passing over Africa but as usual the imperialist rulers do not realise the strength of that wave nor do they realise the necessity of bowing down to it. Therefore, they are resisting, resisting in a big way, in a most inhuman way, but this is not very surprising. I am sure in the end the African people are bound to be victorious."

He suggested that India should move the United Nations to condemn the rule in South Africa which was opposed to its Charter. He requested the Prime Minister to bring the matter to the attention of the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference "in such a way as to move their conscience." Economic sanctions from Britain and other Commonwealth countries "could affect the events in South Africa far more than what India could do from here."

He expressed agreement with a number of the amendments but pleaded that the House pass the resolution unanimously. The leaders of each and every party represented in the Lok Sabha rose to offer homage to the African dead and their unqualified opposition to the South African Government. All urged action along the lines of U. N. condemnation, while some (Braj Raj Singh and P. K. Deo) felt that the time had come to seriously reconsider the Commonwealth link. Hem Barua (PSP) suggested India should organise relief for the dependents of the victims of the massacre. All

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Spectacular Tamasha At Patna

POMP AND RELIGIOUS FACADE FAIL TO COVER SWATANTRA'S REAL FACE

From ALI ASHRAF

PATNA, March 27.

Pomp and show, appeal to religious susceptibilities and clever exploitation of the popular discontent against Congress misdeeds constituted the main stock-in-trade of the Swatantra leaders at their party's first all-India convention at Patna on March 19, 20 and 21.

SWATANTRA leaders seem to be more than satisfied at what they consider to be the rich dividends of this line of approach. C. Rajagopalachari in a speech on March 20, during the convention itself, confessed, "I have not witnessed such a magnificent gathering in any part of the country. The organisers of the convention had not expected it. Their expectations have been more than fulfilled. The great mass response has been spontaneous."

In fact, Rajaji was so much overwhelmed by the enormity

of the gathering, estimated by the Times of India to be 40,000 and which he himself put at more than one lakh, and the spontaneity of the response that he at once recommended the local organiser of the convention for the Chief Minister-ship of the State. "A person," he said, "who can organise such a big convention is entitled to rule over the State. He deserves to be entrusted with the work of ruling this State. This person is none other but Raja Kamakhya Narain Singh of Ramgarh."

No doubt, if this work is left

to Rajaji, he would easily entrust the governance of the whole country to members of the Working Committee of his Swatantra Party. But did the gathering at the convention represent the spontaneous response of the people? Anybody who was present in the meetings in and out of the Ashoknagar in the Patna Gandhi Maidan on those days will baffle such an assertion.

Masani in his General Secretary's report bemoaned, "Unfortunately, shortage of money puts us in a vicious circle." But apparently there was no dearth of funds for the organisers of the convention. Money flowed like water.

According to one estimate, about Rs. 2.5 lakhs were spent in constructing the Ashoknagar in the huge Gandhi Maidan. The nagar was a virtual city of tents with a spacious pandal to

accommodate twenty thousand people. For decoration, artists and designers were imported from Calcutta. All hotels in Patna were booked and reserved well in advance.

While delegates came from all parts of the country in tricklings, only Bihar and Uttar Pradesh being near could muster more than three hundred each. Other States sent about a dozen or less delegates each.

But the most propagandised delegates, apart from Rajaji himself, were film star Premnath and playback singer C. H. Atma. In fact, the honour of leading the party's ceremonial torch procession on the night to March 18 went to Premnath which has called forth adverse comments from readers even in the pro-Swatantra Press like the Times

of India. Another much publicised film actress delegate Vima Dutta could not come because as it turned out later, her air passage could not be sent in time. An attempt to compensate it was made by a hurriedly called Advait dance troupe.

There was a band party from Rampur of Nawab's fame. There was a group of volunteers from the Rajaji's own Ramgarh who participated in the ceremonial parade like a marriage party in gorgeous costumes, displaying dangerous looking but really innocuous and decorative spears.

No wonder then that the crowd that turned up for the promised "tamasha", as the Urdu daily Sathi very aptly described the convention editorially, was not only "beyond the expectations of the organisers" but also beyond their discipline and control. Entry into the pandal was controlled by tickets ranging from five rupees to eight annas. But despite a mild lathi-charge, the crowd succeeded in breaking open the gates of the enclosures.

And then Rajaji's inability to speak in Hindi caused so much disorder mingled with shouts of "Rajaji go back" that the latter for some time absolutely refused to speak and all but walked out of the meeting. Later, a spokesman of the Swatantra Party blamed "a notorious Congressman of Patna, an ex-MLA (who) was found leading the mischief-makers in the maidan."

Exploiting Religion

While the pomp and show was meant to catch the eye, there was a distinct effort to exploit religion to reach the heart of the common man. The tune was set by the religious inauguration of the convention by the recital of the Gayatri shlokas in the delegates' session and the Shiv Stuti Gaan in the open session. Persistent stress was laid by Rajaji on dharma. The tune was caught by others.

Actor delegate Premnath, who was brought out every time there was disorder, considered it "the greatest blunder" of Mahatma Gandhi to put the mantle of the nation's leadership on a non-believer like Nehru. He then went on to compare Rajaji to Rama and said he who was trying to rescue mother India (Sita) from the hands of Ravana (the Congress).

"And Ranga and Masani," he said, dramatically turning towards them, "are the Hanumans" (the monkey gods who helped Rama in his mission). But the ire on their faces and the sudden bursts of laughter among the audience told him that something had gone amiss.

From dharma, Rajaji strayed into the defence of idol worship to the discomfiture of a number of Muslims whom the Raja of Ramgarh had been persistently trying to draw into his fold.

In this background Ma-

* SEE FACING PAGE

DON'T DEFEAT MINISTERS

MINISTERIAL antics go on piling up. Soon enough we shall be able to compile a whole encyclopedia of them. But antics or not, Ministers are Ministers and you can't afford to have their dignity brought in question—especially not by defeating them in elections to Congress offices.

This was something which Nanjappa Reddy learnt to his cost but, alas! too late. This worthy had for long made a living out of being the patel of Yeshvantpur, Bangalore North taluk.

When Independence was firmly secured he openly and loudly joined the Congress, exchanging his previous Union Jack loyalty for charkha devotion. He, of course, never relinquished his patel post nor did Congressmen dream of demanding he should.

Being a Congressman he participated in all his party's activities, especially by the Mandal Samiti. Ropes and he knew the ropes and was prominently on the platform when any Minister happened to drop by and decided to give his garshana to the public.

All went well till Nanjappa Reddy developed inordinate ambition. He actually had the check to oppose the honourable Minister Rachiah in the elections to the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee. Opposition could be tolerated but victory—definitely not. But the patel

defeated the Minister by one vote.

Reddy decided to celebrate his elevation in a big way. In the midst of all the festivities came the official order of suspension from the District Commissioner, Bangalore. An enquiry is to be held into Reddy's "participation in politics." Rachiah is having his revenge, despite the fact the now dispossessed patel had earlier addressed several meetings together with him.

The moral of the tale is a new definition of non-participation in politics—don't defeat Ministers.

ARTFUL DODGERS

TAX-EVASION is rapidly assuming cosmic proportions in our country. Where direct evasion is thought "immoral" certain of our big-wigs have decided to save their souls and their money by tax avoidance. They don't try to cheat the State, they just avoid paying.

So a category of untapped resources has come up—unrealised income tax. It would be a wonderful idea for the Government to step in quickly and collect these acknowledged debts. But if it did, it wouldn't be the

SWATANTRA POLICIES

* FROM FACING PAGE

sani and Ranga piloted the real politics of the convention. But they could not succeed in hiding what the Hanareg Hindi daily Aaj characterised as the "real face" of the Swatantra Party by all this pomp and the religious facade.

Ranga in his presidential address traced the history of the growth of the party after Congress Socialism had provided its bankruptcy. He referred to his relations with the old Congress Socialist Party of which he was one of the founders in 1934 in this very city of Patna.

Enemy No. 1 Communists

Masani declared: "The Communists are Swatantra Party's Enemy No. 1. While any discussion of whether or not our party should consider cooperation with other democratic parties during elections was premature, one thing was certain, that under no circumstances should any such cooperation with the Communist Party of India be considered by us. On this point, there cannot be room for any ambiguity or equivocation in our ranks."

Under cover of this anti-Communism, the immediate task was to oppose and replace the Congress. They characterised the Congress as a fascist organisation and Nehru as a dictator. Masani accused the Congress of being the party of the vested interests and harbouring "all former rulers and big businessmen (who) are to be found in the Congress bandwagon." He suggested that "the party may

consider preparing a list of maharajas and tycoons who are Congress members or supporters so that the big lie that the Swatantra Party is a party of the vested interests may be effectively exploded."

And then nonchalantly he proceeded to announce the names of his party's Working Committee members which included Tata Director Sir Homi Mody and Shroff and the Rajas of Ramgarh, Tikari and Maksudpur from Bihar, the Raja of Mankapur from Uttar Pradesh, Bilaspur from Himachal, and Patilala from the Punjab besides others.

The convention adopted a Party Constitution, the Party's Programme and resolutions which contained the usual promises that if the Swatantra Party came to power, all constitutional changes affecting the sacred right of property would be done away with (hinting thereby that erstwhile zamindars may even expect to get back their zamindaris), land ceiling laws would be annulled, the Planning Commission would be forced to go "lock stock and barrel", heavy industry would get no priority, the State sector would be handed over to the private sector, etc.

No Compromise On Ceilings

The promised annulment of land ceiling laws, however, brought opposition from the floor. Old Janata Party MLA Kanta Singh of Hazaribagh rose to object saying that this would lead to the party's unpopularity among the poorer—and consequently the ma-

Government and the Congress leaders would just refuse to run it. Unrealised taxes come to Rs. 200 crores—just too big a sum for the Congress authorities to dare to mop up.

West Bengal makes a sizeable contribution to this loot—Rs. 85 crores. It has set the model how to keep the loot—in the hands of Congressmen and their friends. Recently, the Income-Tax Department in the State somehow slipped into assessing the income of two relatives of a very VIP Congress boss of the State, who has also grabbed a seat in the legislature.

They were found to be owing Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 100,000 for 1965 and 1966 respectively. But when the department served the notice, the two gentlemen were just not to be found and they are still at large and untraced.

The "missing" persons used to stay at the house of the Congress VIP. So the department thought he would be anxious to give some information so that his two friends could be restored to the bosoms of their families. Nothing doing. He just kept mum and refused to say anything about the past, present or future of his pals. What did he care if the State lost a lakh or two?

GANATANTRA GAINS

WE had all been solemnly assured by no less a person than the Prime Minister that the Congress had moved to a coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad, because the latter had accepted the Socialist ideals of the former.

The Ganatantra Parishad leaders had never endorsed Pandit Nehru's declaration but, at any rate, they had respectfully maintained an equivocal attitude. But now Congress factional squabbles in Orissa have made them feel more powerful and less respectful.

B. Patnaik's campaign against Mahatab and through him against the coalition policy has reached a new tempo. So far, the Parishad had looked on as amused spectators—if the Congress was weakened the Chief Minister would have to even more helplessly depend on them.

Now they have begun to move in for the kill. The Parishad's General Secretary, Raghunath Mishra, in a public meeting has now openly declared that his party had never accepted the "theories of Socialism and cooperative farming" advanced by the Congress. He added, for good mea-

sure, that this had been known to the Congress and should not come as a surprise. Considerable interest is attached to the specific mention of cooperative farming. Rumour is rife that the Parishad hopes to go on ruling Orissa with a sizable section of Congressmen, who would openly join the Swatantra Party—all because of cooperative farming, of course. There are even people wicked enough to suggest that Rajaji's biggest grab in Orissa might be Mahatab himself.

THIMAYYA'S BIOGRAPHY

COLATORS are in trouble these days. It seems a well-known American author had been fixed up by you know whom—to do a fulsome biography of our Chief of Army Staff. He had done a wonderful job, uplifting the hero of his tale and down-grading his opponents.

Out of a sense of pride and fulfilment he is said to have despatched a proof copy to the Army Chief. The latter is reported to have been mightily flattered but a trifle embarrassed as well—especially at it is whispered that he is going all out to get these passages toned down. Even if he does not succeed he will have, at least, made his own position clear and safe. We are all eagerly awaiting the book.

—ONLOOKER
March 28.

Rawalpindi Talks Failure

THE failure of the Rawalpindi talks between the Finance Ministers of India and Pakistan this week has come as an anti-climax to the new climate of amity and concord between the two countries, which the recently-concluded trade pact was said to have created.

It also spotlights the difficulties involved in winning back completely the lost trust of a country whom the imperialists had once succeeded in alienating from its neighbours. For, it was for no other reason but its membership of Western military alliances, and India's aversion to the same, that Pakistan's strong ties of economic cooperation with India could not survive. And the result was wastage in freight, and very often in foreign exchanges, which import of goods from far-off lands involved.

Obviously, with India abounding in coal, and Pakistan in raw cotton, it was not economics which made Pakistan go all the way to Europe, and India to West Asia, and even to the United States, to meet their requirements of these commodities. The logic of circumstances, however, helped to rectify these abnormalities to some extent when the new trade accord was concluded. Still, Pakistan's resistance to recognise the realities was all too obvious. How else can one explain its intransigence in the matter of promoting border trade between East Pakistan and Tripura, Assam and West Bengal, and recognising it as bona fide, when it benefits both the peoples?

President Ayub Khan's regime is said to be allergic to this type of trade, because it can provide a cover

to smuggling. Still, is it not rather too damning an indictment of his all too vigilant 'jawans' to presume that they would be incompetent to locate the 'contraband' if they were to be really smuggled by the vegetable sellers and fisher folk who carry on the border trade?

Ecate Recommendations

In spite of this lacuna, however, the Indo-Pak accord is a welcome correction to the abnormal trade relations between the two countries—more so, because it has come in the wake of the Bangkok ECAFE Conference, whose keynote was development of intra-regional trade. This conference was, however, notable for making a few other recommendations as well which if purposefully implemented can go a long way in strengthening the economies of the region.

These included: exploring the possibilities of promoting economically sound schemes of regional co-operation; investigating specific projects that may be advantageously developed as joint projects, for example, industrial possibilities, surveys, including machine-tools; setting up industrial research and training institutes; encouraging mechanisation and development of small industries; reviewing national policies with a view to encouraging domestic savings and mobilising domestic funds for economic development, and initiating suitable measures to stabilise on a commodity basis the prices of primary commodities at fair and adequate levels.

The conference also urged industrially advanced countries to increase imports from the ECAFE countries, and to continue to extend economic, finan-

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cial and technical aid under multilateral and bilateral programmes of assistance.

In keeping with its quest to free the world of arms—and channel the resources so released to the needy nations—the Soviet delegate at the conference urged it to prepare a long-term report on the possibilities of accelerating the economic development of its member countries, in case a disarmament agreement is concluded.

This year's ECAFE Conference has, therefore, been significant in more ways than one. In the compass of its deliberations it surpassed its predecessors, and in its schemes of cooperation also it opened out a good many vistas before the countries of the region. All this, however, is merely paper-work, which needs to be implemented with vigour.

Here, however, 'trust' is needed—a trust, which as Rawalpindi has revealed, cannot be taken for granted. To cultivate it, however, imperialists have to be given short shrift because it is they alone who stand to gain by continuation of mistrust.

How they gain is also brought home to us this week in a United Nations document, which says that "the economic development of underdeveloped countries as a whole has been retarded by the fall in raw material prices" (The Hindustan Times, March 28). Also, while world exports as a whole reached an all-time high of about 115 billion dollars in 1959, "progress in this respect, was much greater in the industrial than in the non-industrial countries" (ibid).

Thus, both through forcing down of the prices of primary products, and reducing their imports during recession, and failure to help them pick up when recovery sets in, the advan-

ced capitalist countries make it really difficult for the under-developed countries to pay for their development. ECAFE's recommendations can no doubt considerably help the latter in this behalf, i.e. if the Governments in the region do take them up in right earnest.

Watches In Public Sector

THE decision of the Government to establish a watch factory in the public sector at Bangalore in collaboration with a Japanese firm will be widely welcomed by our people, since it will enable them to get low and medium-priced watches from a national venture.

The ban on import of watches (relaxed a little time ago) had been the most irksome of the curbs necessitated by foreign exchange difficulties. It had also given rise to profiteering—and smuggling on a large scale—which, too, ultimately affected the consumers. Now that a factory is proposed to be set up, such evil practices will surely suffer a set-back.

The decision also deserves to be welcomed as being the first which the Government has taken to establish a consumer goods venture under its own auspices. Obviously, if watches can be manufactured in the public sector, production of other goods in short supply can also be undertaken by it. It is in this context that the Government's earlier decision to allow a private company—Phenix of Bombay—to set up a watch manufacturing plant in collaboration with a French firm suffers from an incongruity, which needs to be explained.

—ESSEV
March 29.

FOR YOUR BOOKSHELF

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come to a mere Rs. 66 crores in the first three years of the Second Plan.

The total investments of all the States put together, however, amounted to Rs. 11,62 crores. The investments in the organised private sector industries, largely under the control of monopolists and semi-monopolist elements, have in the corresponding period, totalled Rs. 563 crores. Out of this again, the bulk has gone for the expansion of the Tata and Indian Iron and Steel Companies (Rs. 139 crores), for automation, modernisation and expansion of the existing units.

Moreover, the medium and small-scale industries, which have a big role to play in industrialising our economy, have received very inadequate attention and progressed at a distressingly slow pace. The anticipated outlay is likely to be Rs. 180 crores—some Rs. 20 crores less than even the meagre allocation of Rs. 200 crores.

Glaring Failure

But the failure, in regard to the creation of employment opportunities has been perhaps the most glaring of all. About the role of the First Five-Year Plan in tackling unemployment, the Draft Memorandum for the Second Plan frankly confessed: "Even so the employment position worsened to some extent during the operation of the Plan". The back-log of unemployed persons at the end of the First Plan was 5.3 million.

Big promises were made in the Second Plan and the target for new employment outside agriculture was set at eight million jobs. According to the estimates of the Planning Commission, the need was for 15 million new jobs, including the back-log of five million. But so far the public sector has created only 1.2 million jobs and the total employment opportunities, created in both sectors, are not likely to be more than five million. The Third Plan will thus start with a back-log of ten million unemployed as against 5.3 million which the Second Plan inherited.

This phenomenal rise in unemployment is also reflected on the live registers of the Employment Exchange. There are now over 14 lakh unemployed persons on the live registers, compared to seven lakhs just on the eve of the Second Plan in 1956. P. C. Mahalanobis in a speech in Agra (reported in the Times of India, Bombay edition of January 2, 1959) had said that as many as 53 million people (out of a working population of 170 million) had less than 15 days work in a month.

So, once again the same old lamentation; Employment situation has worsened. The magnitude of the problem of unemployment, of utilising the idle and semi-idle hands, and its impact on the economy as a whole is, however, played down. Worse still, the National Development Council accepts the defeatist line that unemployment would grow further in the Third Plan.

Due to the economic policies of the Government and on account of the absence of any effective measures, income disparities have gone further widening. While profits have

risen, in many cases reaching an all time peak, workers have been denied the fruits of their increased productivity.

Income Disparities

Any study of business activity would show that the concentration of wealth has grown in this period. It is no accident that 50 per cent of the people, or half the country, are in a position to spend barely Rs. 14.6 per month per head, or less than 50 nP. per day. Those who have to remain content with a monthly per capita expenditure of Rs. 31.8 or less constitute 90 per cent of the population.

Look at it from another angle. According to the Draft Report of the AICC Planning Sub-Committee, presented at the Ooty Seminar last year, 45 per cent of the people have annual incomes which are below the per capita national average. Here is another sure indication of extremely unfair distribution of our national income which continually goes on making the rich richer.

One should have liked the National Development Council to probe into these above negative features; but these seem to be of very little worry to the Development body. So, the tentative Draft turns out to be a mere enlargement of

for the development of industry and minerals in the public sector will be enough to fulfil the projected targets for steel, machine-building, fertiliser and other industries needs, however, to be gone into more thoroughly."

Projects and targets are not known; but it is plain enough for all to see, that if the public sector was to play anything like its desired role in bringing about rapid industrialisation, this allocation would seem inadequate.

Compared to Rs. 575 crores under the Second Plan to the private sector, the allocation under the Third Plan have been almost doubled to reach Rs. 1,000 crores. This would underline heavy bias in favour of private sector or to be precise, Big Business.

Appeasing Big Business

The faster rate of growth for the public sector in industry which was originally envisaged in the Second Plan stands now all but repudiated. The rate of overall outlay between the public and the private sectors in general and in respect of industries in these two sectors in particular is being altered and adjusted to meet the claims of the latter.

Incidentally, Big Business's quarrel now-a-days is not with the size of the Plan.

Rs. 568 crores. Now, in the Third Plan, another public outlay of Rs. 550 crores in the public sector is proposed. Similarly, as against the revised allocation of Rs. 820 crores for irrigation and power, public investment of Rs. 1,590 crores (Rs. 690 crores for irrigation) are earmarked under the next Plan.

Not that the importance of irrigation, fertilisers, etc., is denied. On the contrary, such facilities have to be extended on a much larger scale. But experience has shown that the commensurate results do not follow from mere heavy investments in the absence of real land reforms of which the distribution to agricultural labourers and poor peasants of surplus land over effective ceilings must constitute the decisive step.

But even the past declarations about ceilings are missing in whatever has thus far been revealed of the tentative Draft—not to speak of reorganisation of agriculture. Has the Planning Commission and the National Development Council then given up ceilings on land?

Yet they expect food production to reach 105 million tons by the end of the Third Plan. Favourable seasonal variations plus the use of the above methods may no doubt raise yields, but it is very much open to question whether production will stabilise even at this figure in the next

to culpably scuttle it. The NDC which laid down this policy of State trading in 1959 preferred to just look on.

Would the Government change its monetary and fiscal policies and take other necessary severe measures to curb the operations of Big Business and the big wholesalers? Without such steps, the price line can never be held. We have our doubts, for inflation, like unjust indirect imposts, is a favourite mechanism of the capitalist class to fleece the masses and make them pay for the purposes of the capitalist economy.

Additional Taxation

But the mailed fist of the NDC was particularly shown in its general endorsement of the tentative Draft's staggering proposals for additional taxation. Under the Second Plan already Rs. 975 crores have been raised through additional taxation, whereas the target is less than half this amount, Rs. 450 crores. For the Third Plan, another sum of Rs. 1,650 crores is proposed to be raised through such additional taxes and the State Chief Ministers are reported to have assured that they would raise Rs. 500 crores. One can now see why high taxation is regarded as the "keynote" of the tentative Draft.

That it is the masses who are going to be heavily pounded upon is not left in any doubt either. In fact, at an earlier meeting the NDC had already okayed the proposal for raising substantial resources from the rural sector. Suggestions were made for not only raising sales taxes, but even prices of products of the public sector. At the latest meeting of the NDC, the scope of rural taxation, betterment levies and electricity duties attracted special attention.

And of course, the line is further given in Finance Minister Morarji Desai's budget speech where he takes credit for "widening the base of taxation" for the Third Plan and bluntly says that the "bulk of the expansion in taxation will have to come from indirect taxation." In the same speech, the Finance Minister promised reconsideration of certain other taxes in the interests of the rich.

However, here is an unmistakable announcement of the coming fresh and severe onslaught on the living standards of the masses. This is how by further cutting consumption of the poorer sections in the community they propose to raise domestic savings and investments: from the present eight per cent to 12 to 13 per cent of the national income. This is clearly a policy of denial and oppression which, in the final analysis, can only bring harm to the country's planned development. However, the last word in this matter does not rest with the Government and the National Development Council. The coming period will surely witness broad-based policy battles over this vital question.

State-owned undertakings are hardly viewed as a big and sure source of revenue. So, in the entire Third Plan period, credit is taken for a

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SECOND SHIPYARD

In the recent mid-term election campaign in Kerala, Congress leaders were liberal with the promise of locating the second shipyard at Cochin.

DEPUTY Union Food Minister A. M. Thomas, addressing an election meeting near Ernakulam, said polling day on February 1 would decide whether the soil of Kerala was good enough for building the shipyard in the State. Anybody could understand this for what it was—a promise of the shipyard if the Kerala people voted for the Congress-PSP-Muslim League coalition and a threat that they would not get it if they were foolish enough to return the Communist Party again in a majority.

When the charge was made during the campaign itself from Communist platforms that wires were being pulled in top Congress circles to take the shipyard away from Cochin and locate it in Kandla, S. K. Patil told a Calicut gathering that the shipyard would be definitely located in Cochin and Dhebar's answer was that it was a habit with the Communists to make such misrepresentations and wild allegations.

The elections were over, the Congress-PSP-League coalition was returned in a majority, the Congress and the PSP formed the State's Government. Whatever else has happened or might happen, the people thought, we will have at least the second shipyard now.

Their peace of mind was shattered when one day the news suddenly appeared that the project for the second shipyard might not be included in the Third Plan at all.

An adjournment motion was tabled in the Lok Sabha by A. K. Gopalan and other Communist members and though the Speaker gave his consent to the motion, it fell on technical grounds—only 40 members standing up in its favour instead of the 50 required. No Congress member elected from Kerala stood up in favour of the motion.

Congress M.P.s Criticised

About this behaviour of the Kerala Congress M.P.s, the Deepika, Catholic daily, wrote the next day that it would be foolish for the people or the Government of Kerala to follow the same line as the Congress M.P.s. The Kerala dhvani pointedly asked: "Does it mean that the Congress M.P.s from Kerala are not at all anxious about this matter?" The Mathrubhoomi, Congressite daily, used much sharper language in its criticism while another Congressite daily, the Malayala Manorama charged there was a conspiracy to take the shipyard away to Gujarat.

The Kerala Assembly later unanimously requested the Union Government and the Planning Commission to include the second shipyard in the Third Plan. The resolution moved by the Leader of the Opposition, E. M. S. Namboodripad, was supported by the ruling side of the Assembly though its spokesmen said they did not share Namboodripad's apprehensions in this matter.

CARRY ON THE CAMPAIGN

—Communist Party's Call

The Secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party says about the statement of Dr. Subbarayan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, with regard to the second shipbuilding yard in Lok Sabha on March 18, 1960:

WE are glad to note that Dr. Subbarayan has categorically stated that the decision to locate the second shipyard at Cochin was final and that there was no going back on it. It is also good that the project has been included in the Ministry's proposals for the Third Plan.

But he says that the matter was still under the consideration of the Planning Commission. Actually the reports that appeared in the Press were to the effect that the Planning Commission had rejected the proposal of the Government of India to include

the second shipyard in the Third Plan. And the Union Minister's statement that the project was still under consideration by the Planning Commission does not allay the fears of the people of Kerala that the project may be after all shelved.

What the people of Kerala demand is that the project should be included not formally and nominally, but with sufficient priority to guarantee immediate starting of work, in the Third Plan. That demand has yet to be realised.

Hence the Communist Party feels that a sustained and united agitation by the people of Kerala and their political and mass organisations must be organised and continued till there is definite guarantee that the construction of the second shipyard at Cochin will be taken up in the Third Plan. (March 19)

Marriage Without Bride

But what does the second part of his statement say? It is just like the story of the man who after sending invitation cards giving the murtam, etc., tells the guests when they arrive that he had decided about the marriage and was in search of a bride but so far had not been able to get one.

The Minister says that there will be a second shipyard, but then he says that external resources, internal resources, technical personnel and other things will have to be looked into. That means either there was no earlier decision or if there was one, it was taken without looking into all these things.

A. K. Gopalan then went back to the whole story of this second shipyard.

The talk of a second shipyard has been there for the last two or three years. The report of the Estimates Com-

missioner has given a promise. He has said that the second shipyard will be built and it will be at Cochin.

A NASTY TRICK ON KERALA PEOPLE

been included in the Ministry's proposals for the Third Plan and the matter is under consideration of the Planning Commission."

Where then was the rub? The Minister continued: "It will, however, be appreciated that the Planning Commission has to consider each project on its own merits and allot inter se priority to each project, having regard to the available resources, both internal and external. It is also obvious that before the execution of the project can be undertaken, it will be necessary to carry out technical investigations to prepare a detailed project report and plans and designs in consultation with suitable consultants and also to procure financial assistance as far as possible to cover that part of the expenditure which has to be incurred in foreign exchange."

"If the production is to begin at the end of the Second Plan period or latest by the beginning of the Third Plan, the Committee is of the opinion that the Ministry should give their most anxious consideration to this project and finalise the preliminaries like site surveys, hydrographic and industrial suitability, etc., and come to a quick decision about selection of site and commence work with the least possible delay.

Promises Made, But ...

What are the people of Kerala to understand from all this? That lavish promises were made to them to get their votes but now everything depends on very big IFs and BUTs.

A. K. Gopalan, speaking during the debate on the Transport Ministry's budget demand, made a devastating exposure of the way the Government has been playing with the question of the second shipyard.

About the Transport Minister's assurance, he said: The

yard, there was the British expert's mission which had gone into the question. Afterwards, an official committee had also been appointed. The soil had also been examined. After all this, the Government had also said that it would not go back on the earlier decision and that the second shipyard would be located at Cochin. But in the Plan, it says, it has made only a proposal.

Why did the Government not make any move after the Estimates Committee's recommendation? The Government now says that the project was included in the Second Plan, but nothing was done afterwards.

What Of The Future?

Will the Minister say that there is a provision in the Third Five-Year Plan for a second shipyard? It is said that the project will cost about Rs. 55 crores. If the money is there, well and good. Or it may be that in the Third Plan, some other work will be taken up, and afterwards it will be said, "now that there is foreign exchange difficulty, top priority cannot be given and so, the shipyard will not be there."

In November last year, there was a report in the papers that the proposal for the second shipyard would be dropped. A little later, towards the end of the same month, there was a statement by the Minister that the Government

had decided to have a shipbuilding yard at Cochin and that work would begin on it and that some work had already been begun.

Then in answer to a question, the Minister said on December 21 that it had been decided to locate the shipyard at Cochin subject to the results of soil investigation. This meant that if the soil was good, work would be begun there.

After that, during the time of the elections, there were about twelve Union Ministers and Deputy Ministers in Kerala and they all said in their speeches that this was a burning problem as far as Kerala was concerned and they had decided to have the second shipyard at Cochin.

When it is said either in Parliament or outside, that the Government has decided to locate the second shipyard at Cochin and at the same time it is stated that the Government has not decided to build a shipyard what is the man in the street to think about it?

"What the Minister now says boils down to this: "The Government has a proposal but it is subject to internal resources, external resources, as well as technical and other things that are necessary for that." So the Government has a proposal and if there is a shipyard—the decision of building a shipyard is not yet taken—that shipyard will be at Cochin.

That is by no means the end of the story. The Esti-

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KERALA BUDGET

Presenting the Rs. 1.99-crore deficit budget for Kerala State for the coming year, Deputy Chief Minister R. Sankar made a hundred-minute speech—perhaps the longest budget speech in the Assembly. But one waited in vain through this long speech for some indication of the policies the Congress-PSP Coalition Government intends to pursue.

The Second plan is coming to a close, the Third Plan is being finalised. Price-rise is a phenomenon whose impact is being felt in every part of the country. Kerala has its own chronic problems of food scarcity and unemployment. But no awareness of all this could be seen in the budget speech.

While members from the Treasury Benches rose one after another to press the claims and demands of their constituencies, it was the Communist members who raised the general debate to the level of policies and passionately championed the cause of Kerala's all-round development.

Deputy Leader of the Opposition C. Achutha Menon said in the course of his speech:

The problems of our State are complex. No solution to these problems is possible unless we work hard, uniting all the forces in the State irrespective of political differences, on the basis of a long-range programme. If we approach these problems in a light-hearted manner, no solution of these problems is possible. The approach evolved by the Government has to be such as to get the hearty cooperation of not only those who are in the Opposition but also of those who are not represented in the House. When we discuss the problems of the future of our State, there should not be any difference of opinion.

The ruling party of today, said Achutha Menon, which was in Opposition when we were in the Government had sharply criticised our budgets and put forward certain counter-proposals and policies which they wanted us to implement. Have they formulated their policies accordingly?

Achutha Menon referred to the appointment of eleven Ministers in the Pattom Cabinet, the withdrawal of cases connected with the "liberation struggle" etc., and said that the present ruling parties when they were in the Opposition had attacked the Communist Government for similar actions and yet they were themselves doing it.

Double Standards
In economic matters also, said, Achutha Menon, he could point out the same policy. During the debate on all the three budgets introduced by the Communist Ministry, the Opposition had demanded the nationalisation of forests. Now that they were in office, there was not even a mention of this question in the budget proposals or speech.

The Communist Government had extended the nationalisation of bus transport, but because of financial difficulties, it had said that this could only be a slow process. The Opposition was not satisfied, its leaders charged that the Communist Government had surrendered before the private bus-owners. And now that they have come to office they have not increased the allocation for transport nationalisation, in fact they have decreased the amount. In all the previous budget debates, the Opposition had spoken a lot about controlling

administrative expenditure, though it was by no means a creation of the Communist Government. But in the present budget there is not a word of suggestion for cutting down this administration expenditure.

Coming to the contents of the budget, Achutha Menon examined whether they were capable of solving the two basic problems of the State—food deficit and unemployment. He said: we have to import from outside seven to eight lakh tons of rice. In such a situation, the price in this State will always be higher than outside.

Inadequate Subsidy

The Government has in this budget set apart Rs. 107 lakhs towards subsidising rice distribution. If the Central Government is not willing to give us 50,000 tons rice more than what it is giving us now, we will have to purchase rice in the open market to meet our deficit. We certainly will not get rice at Rs. 31 per bag in the open market. If the deficit rice is to

be purchased from the market at a higher rate and distributed at the present rate (Rs. 23.25 per cent bag), the present subsidy of Rs. 107 lakhs will not be sufficient. Tracing the food policy pursued by the Communist Government Achutha Menon said: If there is price-control on an all-India basis, if we are not in a position to get rice from the Andhra market at a fair price, we won't be able to solve our problem, whatever other measures we might adopt. Without doing this, we will not be able to bring down the prices in the open market in Kerala, however much we might spend on subsidy.

Industrial Sector

Turning to the industrial sector, Achutha Menon said: the budget does not mention any new policy regarding industrialisation. We have absolutely no quarrel if you introduce new industrial policies to start new industries in the State.

There are two methods of starting new industries—investing large amounts in the public sector, encouraging small-scale industries in a big way by giving facilities and help and expanding the private sector by giving help and encouragement to individual industrialists.

The budget speech mentions some new industries but it should not be forgotten that the Communist Govern-

ment, while in office, had done all the preliminary work in relation to all these industries. The present Government is only carrying forward what had been begun by the previous Government. Congress leaders used to say that industrialists from outside were not coming to Kerala to invest their capital in industries because they were afraid of workers indulging in unnecessary strikes. This is against all facts.

If man-days lost every year in industries due to working class struggles are considered then in Kerala, compared to the other States in India, it is much less. What is evident from this is that strikes are comparatively fewer in Kerala and that workers should not be blamed for industrialists from outside not investing their money in our State.

No Capital Formation

The reason lies deeper. The main impediment before capital formation here is our poverty. This poverty is much more so in Kerala than in any other part of the country, as is evident from the figures of national income in our country. Our income is mainly from agriculture and even here it is mainly from the cash crops exported to other countries. Since 1953, the price of commercial crops has fallen considerably and our income has also fallen. In such a situation industrial-

isation is possible only with the support of the Central Government. But the Centre is not only not fulfilling its task, but is even denying its most legitimate share to Kerala. In the First and Second Plans, Kerala did not get any industries worth the name.

In the matter of issuing licences for setting up new industries also Kerala had been discriminated against—Kerala getting only 19 licences against Bombay's 183, West Bengal's 143, Madras's 92, etc. considered. If facilities are considered, there are certain industries which can be started in Kerala—for instance, a heavy electrical factory. We were given hopes that Kerala would get this project during the Second Plan. But it was not given. Kerala has very good clay for high tension insulators, but that clay is being taken to Bangalore to be processed into insulators there.

No Basic Approach

We have to examine this budget, continued E.M.S., against the background of the economic situation prevailing in our country. Then only can we assess the direction of our progress and its rate, then only can we say whether we are having returns commensurate with what we have spent, then only can we decide what changes we want in the Third Plan.

E.M.S. regretted that the budget did not contain any such basic approach. What changes have occurred as a result of the implementation of the First and Second Plans? What new changes can be expected? How big will our Third Plan be? What will be the capital investment proportionate to the increase in the national income? The time has come, said E.M.S., when we have to be clear about all this.

Planning is not just listing the needs of our people, it is a science and we need a scientific approach to it. If what is reflected in the Finance Minister's speech is the type of scientific approach the Government has towards planning then, E.M.S. said, he took strong exception to that approach.

In his speech, the Finance Minister laid greater emphasis on agriculture and cottage industries than on heavy industries. While one can agree that cottage industries and village industries and the ambar charka had their place in today's economic development, it is only through the building up of heavy industries that our economy can develop.

It is not enough, E.M.S. said in conclusion, to make platitudinous statements about winning people's cooperation. The people have to be convinced before they can be asked to make sacrifices. At the same time, steps have to be taken to force the rich also to make sacrifices.

And in this connection came up the question of the cooperative movement, attitude to labour and the relations between the ruling party and the Opposition.

Offer Of Cooperation

The ruling party should not forget or ignore the fact that as many as 44 per cent of the electors had voted for the Communist Party. Its duty, therefore, was to convince the Opposition and take the Opposition along with it in any major policy it evolves.

"You can then expect," assured E.M.S., "our wholehearted cooperation to improve the lot of our people and our State. But we will oppose all measures that you introduce which will hit the interests of our people."

RAJASTHAN: Agricultural Income-Tax Abolished, Surcharge Imposed On Land Revenue

One of the proposals made by Finance Minister Haribhan Upadhyaya of Rajasthan, in his budget speech was that the Government had decided to abolish the Agricultural Income-Tax from April 1, 1960 and to impose a surcharge on Land Revenue.

When this measure was sharply criticised in the Assembly, Chief Minister Sukhadia rose to defend it and said that those who had the capacity to pay should be made to pay for the development of the State. Trying to mollify the Opposition, the Finance Minister also stated that the surcharge would be levied only on those who are paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 50.

In Morarji's Footsteps

A closer examination of all these statements and claims will show that they are all meant to deceive the people. The Rajasthan Government, on the one hand, is impelled by the questionable desire to placate the rural rich. On the other hand, it is out to "create" resources by passing on the burden to the ordinary man, whose economic position is already precarious. In this respect, the Rajasthan Government is following in the footsteps of Morarjibhai by giving relief to the higher income groups and taxing the lower income ones.

The proposal to enhance Land Revenue by the imposition of a surcharge is not as the Chief Minister claims, taking from those who have the capacity to pay but an effort to increase the share of the State. The State wants to take a greater share out of the produce of the tiller. The essential character of this proposal is just predatory.

The announcement that this surcharge will be levied only on those paying Land Revenue of more than Rs. 50, too, is a misleading proposition. It gives the impression that a large number of people will be freed from this. But the facts are just to the contrary.

Take the least productive western region of Rajasthan, say the Jodhpur or the Nagaur Districts. The rate of Land Revenue even for barani (unirrigated) land is about twelve annas per bigha, which works to two rupees per acre. For the well-irrigated land, Land Revenue would be about ten rupees per acre. Even in the Alwar and Bharatpur areas, where settlements were made long ago, Land Revenue is about three to six rupees per acre and for tenants who have just been given khatadari rights, it works out to twice this figure. The average figure would come to four to five rupees per acre.

In the princely States which were merged together to form Rajasthan the system of land tenure was such that the major part of the land, more than three-fourths, was under the system of jagirdari and biswedari—intermediaries who paid only a nominal sum to the State but who extorted whatever they could from the tenants.

In the biswedari areas, the system of cash rent was in vogue. The biswedars used to charge from the tenants as much as three, four and five times the amount of land revenue and, finally, the State had to issue an Ordinance in 1952 pegging the maximum rent that could be charged from the tenant for agricultural land as twice the land revenue.

Legalised Sharecropping

In the jagirdari area, the system was of collection of a share of the produce, the share varying from one-fourth to even half. In 1951, the State had to promulgate an Ordinance fixing the maximum share of the produce at one-fourth and later in 1952 this was further reduced to one-sixth of the produce.

With the abolition of the jagirdaris from 1955 onwards and the biswedari and zamindari systems from this year, the legal position has changed. The rent has become Land Revenue. What the tenant was paying to the intermediary, he is now required to pay to the State as Land Revenue.

Land Revenue in Rajasthan, thus, is not some scientific amount worked out taking into account the cost of production, etc., and taking only a part of the surplus production for the society, but it is a sort of legalised share cropping. The State taxes at least one-sixth the produce irrespective of the financial condition of the tiller.

APRIL 3, 1960.

Retrograde Measure To Placate The Rich

★ FROM H. K. VYAS

would fall under the category of those who have to pay the surcharge. This means that virtually all the middle peasants and a major part of the poor peasants will be covered by this measure.

Misleading Suggestion

Have these people the capacity to pay as stated by the Chief Minister? When the question was examined some years ago for purposes of allotment of land to the refugees, the income from a holding of say ten acres was computed at Rs. 1,200 per year or Rs. 100 per month. Similarly a land-holding in the barani area yielding this income was calculated under Section 180 of the Tenancy Act as 15 acres of absolutely unirrigated dry land. It thus works out that a family having an income of Rs. 1,200 per year will also have to pay this surcharge on land revenue. It is difficult after this to accept the Chief Minister's claim that he wants only those who have the capacity to pay.

The contention that the Agricultural Income-Tax Act would now be redundant when ceilings are enforced is equally misleading. The suggestion is that ceiling has been worked out at a figure of income less than this. However, the facts are to the contrary.

The committee appointed by the State Government to examine the question of ceiling had recommended that ceiling should be imposed on the basis of an annual income of Rs. 2,400. But that is only what it had recommended. The actual law when adopted was drastically changed as compared to the original Bill.

In the original Bill ceiling in the canal-irrigated area was proposed at 15 acres. The final figure is 30 standard acres (with the stipulation that it would in any case be 30 ordinary acres). An ordinary family has been reduced from seven members as originally proposed to five. Well-irrigated land has been equated for this purpose to unirrigated.

Thus apart from the many loopholes that exist for evasion even if the law is properly and honestly enforced, the proposed ceiling would provide an income of at least Rs. 5,600 annually. This means that all those who come under the pur-

view of the Agricultural Income-Tax Act would continue to come under it even after the imposition of the ceiling.

The trouble with this taxation measure is not that it is improper or that it cannot yield returns. The trouble is that the possible tax-payers are situated at great distances in the countryside. The staff for levying tax under this Act is reluctant to go that far. There is also widespread evasion. That is why the returns from this tax are much less.

It would have been more proper to hand over collection of this tax to the panchayats and the samitis with the stipulation that 25 per cent or say 33 per cent of the tax collected would be allotted for local development work. The State would thus have got much more than what it at present gets without spending any amount for the collection machinery. Besides, the panchayats would also have a source of revenue without hitting the average peasant.

Instead of doing this, on the plea of ceilings being fixed, this tax has been abolished. This is surrendering to the pressure of the rural gentry, the jagirdars turned big landed farmers carrying on cultivation with rural labour and machinery, or the big landholders who command influence. The number of such persons in the rural areas may not be many but they are influential. At the same time taxing them would yield an income without hitting the ordinary peasant. But the State Government wants to leave them free and seeks to burden the middle and poor peasants.

Peasants' Opposition

The proposal, therefore, to drop the Agricultural Income-Tax and the proposal to impose a surcharge on land revenue is a retrograde step. There is no doubt that it will be stoutly opposed outside as has been done inside the Assembly during the debate. The peasantry is not going to be mollified by sweet words. It is proper that the State Government reconsiders its decision, else it will have to face determined opposition from the peasantry to this retrograde measure.

Peasants' Opposition

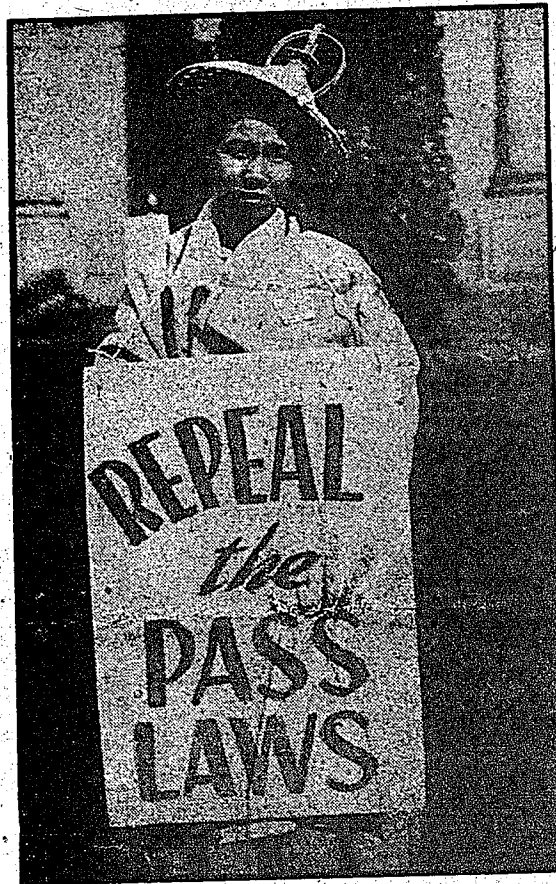
Peasants' Opposition

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The GREAT BLOOD PURIFIER regulates digestion, increases appetite and forms fresh and pure blood.

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RACIST CHALLENGE TO HUMANITY'S CONSCIENCE

South Africa Fights The Battle With Death-Defying Heroism



A woman demonstrator against the South African Pass Laws.

The conscience of humanity has rarely been so shocked by racial oppression as it is today over the brutal killings in South Africa. Hundreds of Africans, including women and children and old people, were brutally murdered in just two days, March 21 and 22 for the "crime" of peacefully protesting against the racist pass laws which have reduced them to absolute misery and starvation.

SHARPEVILLE, an African township near Johannesburg, was the scene of the worst massacre when on March 21, Verwoerd's armed forces opened fire with machine-guns and ran armoured cars through a peacefully demonstrating crowd of some 20,000. About 200 were killed there alone and some 400 left wounded and maimed.

The people in Sharpeville, as in other places had come to the police station to tell the authorities that they carried no passes and they shall no longer do so. "Africa," "Africa," they chanted. And then U.S.-built Sabre-

jets appeared overhead to terrorise them. They refused to budge. They were then fired upon with rifles and sten-guns and British-built "Saracen" armoured cars were sent forcing their way and running over the crowd.

Armed "Skiet Commandos", white civilian apartheid gun mobs organised by the military defence force, also came on the scene. "Mangled bodies lay sprawled on the roadway in the square" and a Press photographer said he "took pictures of more bloodshed than I have ever before seen in South Africa."

It was indeed a repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre—after a lapse of 41 years.

Arrests all over have followed in hundreds and thousands. All meetings have been banned till June 31 and the all-white Parliament of the Union of South Africa has now been asked to legislate a ban on all African popular organisations.

Strictly as a "temporary" measure and only till the time a certain relief is brought about in the present tension, police have been asked not to insist on the Africans carrying the passes.

African Reply

To this the African reply has been given by Chairman of the African National Congress, the exiled ex-Chief Luthuli, who has burnt his own pass and called upon all Africans to make a bonfire of these hated documents. The whole of South Africa faces the prospect of being paralysed by a general strike unless the South African Government, even at this late stage, agrees to a complete abolition of the pass system for good.

What are these passes against which the Africans have finally decided to revolt? Incidentally, it was against these pass laws that Mahatma Gandhi launched his first passive resistance campaign in South Africa in 1906. They, in fact, constitute the framework of present-day serfdom in South Africa. The first pass law was introduced as long

ago as 1760 to control the movement by the white settlers of slaves brought from outside. Its first extension to the indigenous African was in 1809 when the Hottentots were required to carry passes when moving from one area to another.

The system today requires the Africans to carry travelling permits, monthly contract entries (lack of such entry gives rise to the presumption that the person is a vagabond), and passes for day labourers. It includes permits to enter locations to visit friends, special passes for use after curfew hours (with slight variations, there is a general curfew throughout South Africa for Africans after 10 or 11 p.m.) as well as a series of permits under the Urban Area Act.

In addition to these documents, one is required to produce poll-tax receipts—every African male over the age of 18 has to pay a poll tax of one pound per year irrespective of whether he has a fixed income or not.

Any contravention of the various passes, however, slight and technical, is a criminal offence. If you are an African, the fact that your passes are in order but not on your person when trapped by the police, is a criminal offence! In 1950, 217,387 Africans were convicted under the curfew, location, registration and other pass regulations. In 1955, the figure was 337,603. On every working day in 1955, more than 1,000 Africans were sentenced in the courts under the pass laws. Some 1,740,392 men were detained under the pass laws in 1957.

Thousands who are caught in the pass law dragnet do not appear in court. Shunted through the network of labour bureaus in the country, condemned by passes that won't meet the savage requirements of the law, they are bamboozled, threatened, stampeded and kidnapped to work on white-owned farms rather than face prosecution or be finally expelled from the cities even though they may have fixed jobs.

Forced Labour

From their inception, the pass laws have been an instrument of the creation of a forced labour system. Africans are rounded up continuously, night and day in everlasting raids. They are dragged from their homes at night, stopped in the streets, seized in so-called "sweeps against crime". From these scoops, the underpaid, underfed, maltreated labour for the farm is raised.

Passes are thus one of the most important techniques for maintaining the system of forced cheap labour, and also of the migratory labour system. Every worker is in fear of losing his job, his pass, and the approval of his employer. They seek to make the African cowed down and docile labour without the right to bargain for a better job, or to compete in any labour area other than the one to which he is pegged as a work seeker. This is the system regulating the economic relations between black and white.

This system is used effectively, as a weapon of intimidation, and to put the African in the grip of the police State. "Every man is indexed, numbered, finger-printed, photographed and kept in his place and regimented."

The pass laws are, therefore, not only just one of the Verwoerd Government's oppressive measures, but are fundamentally a slave measure deeply rooted in the economic system the white racials have established in South Africa. The struggle against the system is at the same time both political and economic, against white domination and against rapacious exploitation.

Since 1955, the Government

has extended the pass system to cover women and children as well. And ever since the struggle against it has assumed ever-growing sweep and dimensions, bringing the women to the forefront. Women's demonstrations against the pass laws since then have been numerous. In October 1958, 2,000 women demonstrators were arrested and a mass trial started against them.

Hundreds of African women have bravely fought the repression that has followed. Outstanding is the case of Elizabeth Mafekeng, who hit the world Press headlines a few months ago. President of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, mother of eleven children (the youngest only three months old), Mrs. Mafekeng was banished from her home in Paarl where she had stayed and worked for 32 years. She had no option but to flee the country and take refuge in Basutoland.

It is as a culmination of these persistent though comparatively smaller struggles of the last several years that the current fight for the final abolition of the pass system has developed. South Africa's black people, constituting 70 per cent of its 14 million population, along with Asian and coloureds (who together constitute another ten per cent) are resolved to put an end to this tyranny once and for all.

As for Verwoerd and the South African Government's constant propaganda that the Bantus (Africans) aim at eliminating the whites, it is nothing but a smokescreen of falsehood raised to deprive the Africans of the tremendous sympathy that their cause has gathered among the ordinary and decent people of the Western countries.



LEFT: President-General of the African National Congress, exiled ex-Chief Lutuli who burnt his pass.

RIGHT: Selwyn Mali, arrested under Pass Laws and forced into farm labour and lost the middle finger of his left hand following beating with a hosepipe.



CIVILISING MISSION -WITH HOSEPIPES

FORTY-THREE year-old Selwyn Mali of Orlando East had no pass so he was "sold" to a farmer in the Oogies area for six months. His contract only half completed he is minus the middle finger of his left hand and has a large, ugly wound on the back of his head as a result of beatings with sjamboks by bossboys on the farm.

For weeks the farmer watched Mali's injured finger swell to an enormous size and then turn black. Eventually he devised some home "treatment" and Mali's hand was soaked in salt water each evening.

But by day he was ordered back into the fields together with the other labourers to dig potatoes with his hands.

Then came the day when the farmer realised something was amiss.

He put Mali into his car, drove him away from some distance had been covered, told him to get out of the car. "There," he said, pointing over the veld, "go that way and you will find a hospital."

Mali started to walk and

eventually reached Ewendale Hospital. There his finger was amputated.

He had worked as a gardener but his pass was not in order. After his arrest in Orlando he was detained for some time at the Newlands Police Station, and then sent to the Native Commissioner's Court. There he was offered work as a gardener.

He thought he would be doing flower gardening, he said. He was told that if he did not accept the job he would be sent to the Fort, and if he did take it, his pass would be fixed up at the end of the contract.

On the farm Mali found he was locked into a small, windowless cell by night and was at the mercy of brutal bossboys during the day.

"I can't remember a day when there were no beatings," he said.

The men were lined up in the fields and ordered to dig out potatoes. As they moved down the lands the bossboys were behind them, armed with lengths of hosepipe.

"If you leave a potato behind you, you are called.

The bossboy asks: 'Why was this potato left?' You say: 'Sorry I did not see it, bossboy.' He says: 'If you do not see it, who's going to see it?' Then he calls the other bossboys. He says, 'Pick up this potato.' As you try to, they land on you with their hosepipes."

This is how Mali's head injury was received, also the crisscross of scars across his back, and the injury to his left hand. As he was being beaten, he said, he raised his hands above his head to protect it, and the hosepipe injured his finger.

Each time he complained about the pain he was suffering he got another beating, said Mali. "You must have burnt your finger in the fire," he was told by the bossboys.

Mali described yet another torture used against the workers.

A man would be told to turn his back away from the bossboys. As he stood there a belt would be swung around his neck and pulled tight till he dropped in a faint in the field. There he was left lying till he came round.

The leading organisation of the African people, the African National Congress, declaring is not directed against any race or national group."

This declaration has been repeated year after year. And the entire course of the struggle has brought conviction to more and more people of its correctness. The South African Government has, meanwhile, sunk deeper and deeper in its racist policies, intensifying apartheid at every step and going to the extent of plan-

ning the absurdity of a total separation of the two races by creating a so-called Bantustan by removing the entire black population to barren and arid lands in the interior.

The Africans, however, are no longer prepared to put up with this devilry. The death-defying heroism of the anti-Pass Law fighters has served notice to that effect on all white supermajorities everywhere.

—ZIAUL HAQ

(March 28)

End Violence Against Africans

—SOVIET STATEMENT

Statement released on March 24 by TASS, official newsagency of the Soviet Government, on the killings in South Africa reads:

THE bloody events in the Union of South Africa are the consequence of the policy of racial discrimination against and oppression of millions of Africans which is pursued in that country.

The policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa towards the African population has been denounced by the United Nations Organisation for several years. And yet the authorities of the Union of South Africa, systematically ignoring the opinion of the United Nations Organisation and world public opinion, not only carry on the policy of racial op-

pression but have now taken up racial genocide.

No wonder, therefore, that the actions of the South African police which resulted in the tragic death of hundreds of Africans have been approved by Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa Verwoerd in his Parliament speech.

The policy of discrimination practised by the South African authorities with regard to the peoples of Africa and Asia cannot but arouse legitimate indignation as it leads to gross violation of the elementary rights of man, to glaring acts of violence, to the fanning of racial hatreds and hostility and jeopardises peace on the African continent.

The Soviet people have always denounced racial discrimination in all its

forms. It was with a feeling of great indignation that broad sections of the Soviet public learned of the brutal killing of innocent people in the Union of South Africa who pressed for the recognition of their legitimate human rights.

The official quarters of the Soviet Union share the indignation of the Soviet people and denounce the actions of the South African authorities which constitute gross violation of the generally recognised human rights. It is believed in these quarters that measures should be immediately taken to stop and prevent in the future similar acts of violence against the African population and to grant them all the rights in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the General Declaration of Human Rights.



THUMBS UP—That is how these women, participating in a boycott on the goods produced by the colonial-supported corporations, show their determination to resist racial prejudice.

A GRIMACING FARCE

Full Circle—The Memoirs of Sir Anthony Eden. Cassell, London. Price 35 shillings.

IT is a real feat of intellectual endurance to wade through the 584 pages of Anthony Eden's turgid prose. Actually it is an even greater feat for anybody to sustain boredom for this great stretch and that, too, as a narrative of compellingly interesting events.

The high point of interest is the purblind imperialist attitude so nakedly expressed. The vicious circle of failure and desperation of an imperialist statesman par excellence in the period of colonial collapse—that is the unconscious motif of these memoirs.

Anthony Eden felt he had secured a grip over the emerging realities of the postwar world by making submission to American tutelage and action. He had quite early in the day accepted Churchill's Fulton 1946 speech as the new wisdom—the advance of Britain as the junior partner in the American crusade against the Soviet Union.

It is dull and even pathetic to see how hard he tried to accommodate himself to this new role for the once paramount British Power. It is not only a question of the incidents of the Suez "folly of grandeur" but of a whole series of events. Take the grovelling at the time of the Gaulemala crisis. When the United States peremptorily announced that it would search any British ship that it pleased, Eden's only hurt was that he had not been consulted before the announcement was made!

The same feeling of frustration runs through the pages describing the former Premier's handling of the European situation. Time and again he tried to build up some sort of a European Defence Community which would be under American hegemony but with a measure of British overlordship as well. Each time his neatly constructed schemes fell apart at the seams—through one or another American verbal and calculated indiscretion.

Inglorious Adventure

In this account of the European developments in the past decade one fact clearly emerges. The British and the Americans had one single objective—to undo the anti-fascist advance of the war, which had laid the real possibilities of a Europe at peace.

The rebuilding of West German militarism, which is now the 'avant garde' of the forces of war, is entirely the responsibility of U.S. and British policy. Anyone with the slightest doubt would do well to read the

chapters entitled "The Fangs of E.D.C.," "The Berlin Conference," and "Diplomatic Preparations."

The possibilities and potentialities of making a break from this frustrating tension, of asserting independence within the over-all tutelage, were made evident to Eden. He had his chance to achieve an hour of glory. The Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the 1955 Summit Conference showed the alternative—detente with the Soviet Union and coming to terms with resurgent nationalism.

At the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, Britain was able to play an independent role and help towards check-

ing the American plans for a joint war against Vietnam—with the prospect of world conflagration—only because Eden cooperated with Molotov, Chou En-lai and Pham Van Dong. Of course, an important role was played by Mendes-France, who showed genuine intelligence.

The new pattern showed its promise even more strikingly at the 1955 Summit. In spite of all his aristocratic disdain Eden cannot help being impressed by the "plebian" toughness and remarkable resilience of Khrushchov. Anyone with the least measure of flexibility would have known where Britain's interests lay—even as an imperialist Power. Macmillan learnt but Eden failed to unbend.

Thus, came the final catastrophe of the inglori-

BOOK REVIEW

ous Suez adventure. Right to the end Eden believed that American support would be available. And the documents he quotes show that he had good reason for this belief. This massive documentation destroys the myth of the U. S. as the friend of Egypt—its notorious pressure tactic over the Aswan Dam sparked off the trouble in the first place.

When the U.S. cracked the whip, this time Eden refused to obey—the last straw for the ageing camel, sick in soul and body both. But the occasion he chose for a display of independence was singularly unfavourable. He decided to defy the U. S. by simultaneously engaging with the Soviet Union and the forces of national independence. And he broke his neck.

There are stretches here of bewildered writing. How could Nasser cock a snook at Great Britain and get away with it?

Eden's failure to understand this is the central failure of imperialism. Soviet strength protecting national resurgence represents an irreversible trend of history. Adjustment and manoeuvre are possible but not frontal assault.

The exit of Eden, therefore, marked the end of a phase of British policy and his personal failure represented the breakdown of a paradoxical unity of servility to America and rampage against the Socialist world and the newly independent States. Macmillan attempts a new course for imperialist Britain.

Yet this defeat by impersonal forces is no tragedy but a grimacing farce. There was no breakdown of strength in the face of overwhelming odds but only a raging lack of intelligence on the part of a mediocrity.

—MOHIT SEN

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

World Marxist Review—Problems of Peace and Socialism. March 1960. Price Re. 1.

THE March issue of World Marxist Review contains a great variety of articles on a number of ideological problems as well as on the experience of the Communist movement in different countries.

Taking ideological questions first, mention must be made of the article of A. Sazanov on "Socialism and Property," which gives a historical account of the rise of different forms of property, making a correct distinction between personal and private property. The author strongly rebuts the fashionable revisionist critique of State ownership of the means of production in Socialist countries.

Jean Kanapa has very illuminating remarks to make about the apologist role of Catholic social doctrine 'vis-a-vis' capitalism. His analysis of the Papacy's obiter dicta on the sanctity of private property and class collaboration will be of great use to all those who have to engage in ideological work against the reactionary Catholic propaganda.

In the section containing articles on the movement in different countries we have Tim Buck on the perspectives of work in Canada, Li Chong Ok on the path of Socialist industrialisation in Korea, and V. Teitelbaum on the growth of revolutionary literature in different countries of Latin America, specially Chile.

Situation In Finland

H. Kuusinen writes on the struggle of the democratic forces in Finland. She stresses the point that "a feature of postwar Finland is the un-

animity manifested by the vast majority of the people in the sphere of foreign policy. Our people want peace. They want to cooperate with their Socialist neighbour—the USSR. Even those who find this main line thoroughly distasteful publicly express agreement with it, since the last thing they want is total isolation."

The Finnish Government, headed by Premier Sukselainen, consists of members of the Agrarian Union, which is the largest party in the Parliament after the People's Democratic Union, formed of the Communist Party and its allies. In the Agrarian Union, there are many who support peaceful coexistence. But the fact is that "the Sukselainen Government . . . is making concessions to big capital and to Right-wing circles." It is against this that democratic forces have to mobilise.

Split In Social Democracy

The Social Democratic Party is badly split and two groups exist—one moving closer to democratic unity. In the 1958 general elections, the Communists and other members of the People's Democratic Union secured over 23 per cent of the votes and secured the largest number of seats—this is the nucleus of Finnish democracy.

The Central Committee of the Party in a recent meeting "pointed to the need for united action by all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country" to counter the plan of the monopolists to drag Finland into the Outer Seven—a grouping led by Britain in competition with the European Common Market.

It stated that "the workers,

small farmers, small businessmen and all whose interests would be endangered by entry into the Outer Seven, should unite to repel the monopolists."

S. Lakos has contributed a tremendously rich article on problems faced in mass work by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He begins with an analysis of the mistakes of the previous leadership resulting in rents in the Party's relationship with the masses, which provided fertile soil for the revisionists and other enemies of the People's, Democratic system.

He makes, in this connection, an extremely significant formulation: "The relations between the Party and the masses whether good or bad, largely depend on the situation in the Party itself . . . Clearly the process which, before and during the counter-revolutionary 'putsch', led to the weakening of the Party's contact with the masses and to the temporary loss of confidence in the Party, began with the deterioration of the situation inside the Party."

Since then the Hungarian Party has vastly improved its methods of mass leadership and the author goes into the details of this advance, sector by sector—workers, peasants, intellectuals and inner-Party work.

Methods Of Party Work

He puts the whole question of the Party's methods of work in the following perspective: "Our people have not yet lived under Socialism. Our experience shows that the new society can be built only if the ways and means suggested by the Party are acceptable also to the non-Communists . . . if they find the Socialist way attractive."

March Issue

"The workers in our country have only a faint idea of Socialist society. That is why they draw conclusions about Socialism from our daily practice and methods. . . . Hence the special importance attached to the methods of Party work."

The issue under review devotes a special section to the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day, comprising a number of articles. Hajrah Begum has contributed a comprehensive and informative article on the problems facing Indian women, the state of their organisations and the level of their movement.

—EDITORIAL BOARD



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HUNGARY—FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION

A Free People In A Liberated Country

★ by **ISTVAN DOBI**
President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.



★ A special music school in Hungary where first graders receive instruction.

TWO CAREERS OF A MAN

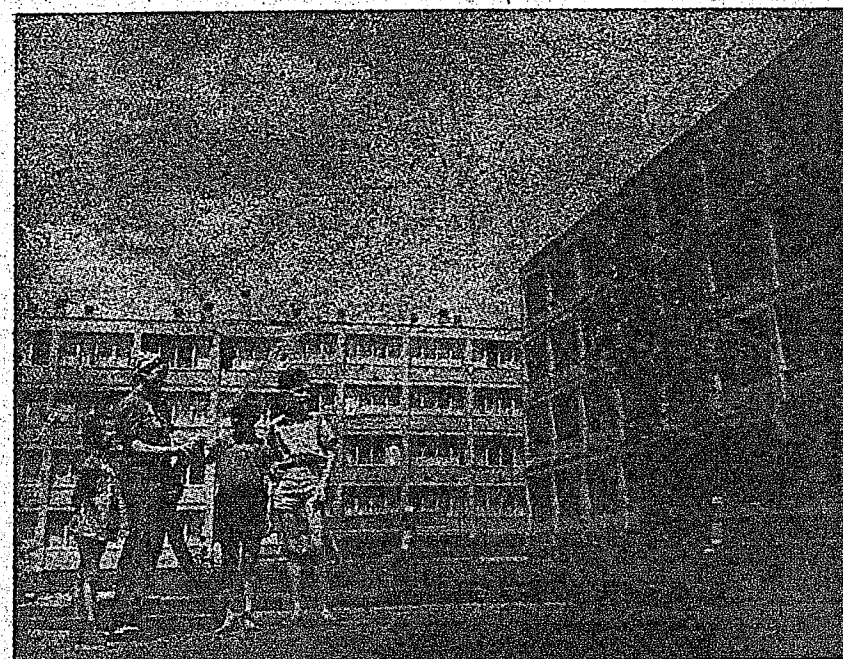
★ THE first started in 1923. It was then that Denes Varga bought a small, puffing petrol-engine circular saw, climbed on it and rode round the town with it, offering his services. He was 24 at that time and did not consider this undertaking a very hopeful one, but it was his individual way of showing that he wanted to live. He had just finished his studies and for a young engineer going from house to house with a circular saw did not seem a very promising future,

even if the machine was his own. But luck is unpredictable. Many of his friends and acquaintances who began at the same time as Varga and had large sums to invest in their undertakings and expected to make big money, lost everything and had to shovel snow in the winter and work on the fields in summer. But Varga continued to saw wood throughout the own with his small, puffing machine and, frightened by the example of his many ill-fated friends, he lived sparingly and saved every penny for a rainy day.

His modest enterprise flourished, however, and when he had saved a certain sum, he daringly began, in 1926, to sell building materials. He seemed to be one of fortune's favourites. He tidied over all the financial difficulties of the 1930s and even opened several new branches in different parts of the town. His enterprises and ventures prospered and his income increased. He became a capitalist, a recognised man of means. "I was a self-made man,"

★ SEE OVERLEAF

★ The fifteen-year construction plan of Hungary calls for more than one million new living quarters. Picture shows new living quarters in the outer area of Budapest.



WE are celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the Liberation of Hungary. The Soviet Army ousted the last Hitlerite troops from our country on April 4, 1945, and this gave our people the chance to start a new historic epoch in their lives. Until 1945 we had lived the life of an oppressed and enslaved nation.

After the Habsburgs, the fascists and their allies came to power in Hungary and it was they who brought the sufferings of the Second World War upon the Hungarian people. Admiral Horthy, the leader of the Hungarian fascists, who preceded Hitler and Mussolini in introducing his brand of murderous fascism, had the large landowners, the nabobs of industry and finance for his allies in oppressing the people.

Before 1945 fifty families controlled Hungary's economy. On nearly half the arable land large and medium-size landowners exploited the agricultural workers and, on about the same area, a million-and-a-half peasants farmed with backward, out-of-date methods. Industrial wages were low and the people of the villages were kept in political subjection and cultural obscurity.

On the eve of liberation, the retreating Hitlerite hordes plundered our country. We commenced life again amidst the ruins. And we are particularly proud of the results we have achieved since 1945, because we often had to struggle and toil under fantastically difficult circumstances for every single brick of the edifice of the new Hungary.

In 1945 our bourgeois politicians could not imagine reconstruction and the resumption of production without large foreign loans. The Communists, however, focused attention on tapping our remaining home resources, on the talent and diligence of our people, and guided developments towards Socialism. We divided up the large estates. Gradually the working people took over the power of the State. The mines, the factories, the banks, transport and wholesale trade became the property of the people.

Thanks to the selfless, friendly aid we received from the Soviet Union, that was later to be supplemented by the advantages of mutual economic co-operation among the Socialist countries, we were able to develop heavy industry, and our light industry was able to satisfy the everyday needs of the population more abundantly each year and on a more up-to-date level.



ISTVAN DOBI

Alongside the old industrial centres, we built up Szalinvaros, Komlo, Varpalota and Kazincbarcika. We set up industries in agricultural areas. We appeared on the world market as sellers of the most modern machinery, of special instruments, of ships, cranes and of the work of our industrial designers and bridge-builders. We thus outgrew the traditional limits of our former foreign trade and today successfully compete on a much broader front with even the big industrial Powers.

The work of our agricultural research institutes is up to the highest world standards. We have advanced the modernisation of agriculture by enormous strides, through the organisation of cooperative farms. The village has been furnished with machinery, up-to-date agricultural technique, with electricity and social insurance.

All these results have been achieved by means of Socialist economic construction, by a national effort that was nurtured by the ideas of Socialism. The fact of liberation in 1945 and Socialist development since then have opened the gates to opportunity for the tremendous energies of the people. The great political and economic changes were also accompanied by the beginning of a cultural revolution in the country. And we can look back upon the results it has brought with the same satisfaction as upon other accomplishments.

We have expanded our school system. The number of secondary school students has risen fivefold, and there are three times as many college and university students as there were in the Horthy period.

Workers and peasants regularly buy books and practically every locality in the country has a library. The cultural advancement of our people is one of our greatest achievements and the source of further successes in building our country.

AN AFFRONT TO PEOPLE

Growing protests against nomination of Lucknow Vice-Chancellor

The nomination to the highest executive post in the Lucknow University of a professor, who has been charged with serious personal lapses both by students and the public of Uttar Pradesh, has shocked even those sections among the people who would have liked to wait for the findings of the demanded enquiry before giving their final verdict about the man.

NOT many weeks have passed since the University and the whole city of Lucknow were convulsed with a wave of anger, full of revulsion against the reported misdeeds of this gentleman. Scores of resolutions were passed by students, guardians, citizens and others demanding a full and merciless probe into the alleged charges of corruption and moral turpitude in the university.

All the five dalles of the State's capital and all the Opposition parties in the State Assembly had supported the demand for impartial inquiry, even if to save the honour and fair name of the great institution and its good staff.

The reply to this demand of the power-drunk Ministerial clique in the University had been to launch unbridled repression, close the university, drive out the boys from the hostels, rusticate the leaders of the students' agitation; and, when even all this failed to kill the demand for enquiry, the University was handed over to the Provincial Armed Constabulary and over one hundred and fifty students were clamped into jail.

The powerful reaction that followed this utterly unjust-

From *****
RAMESH SINHA

From *****
RAMESH SINHA

From *****
RAMESH SINHA

boys would not be able to do anything against this preposterous imposition. Partly they calculated cleverly. Beyond holding a mass meeting of several thousands to protest against and oppose the nomination, hoisting black flags in the university, wearing black bands on their arms and bringing out a few leaflets the boys could not do anything. By all their well-wishers they were rightly advised to desist from starting any agitation at this time.

Rabi Crop Laid To Waste

Dark Shadows Over East U. P.

ONCE again a heart-rending cry is going up from the poverty-stricken and neglected districts of Uttar Pradesh and is filling the State's people with sorrow and anxiety. An untimely rain and ferocious and repeated storms of hail have practically laid the flourishing rabi crop to waste. The mango crop, too, sole hope of lakhs of people in this vast hunger region, has been all but destroyed.

Describing the scene of devastation in the afflicted areas, a kisan leader has said: "In thousands of villages the standing rabi crop has been destroyed. In some vil-

But the people could not sit silently while the future of their sons and daughters was being thrown into jeopardy. They have taken up the challenge.

The Guardians' Committee, which has played an important part in persuading the boys and in bringing about an amicable settlement, has come out against this atrocious nomination. In its resolution dated March 20, it says that "the appointment of the new Vice-Chancellor who could not command the support of even the majority of the members of the (packed) Executive Council present in the meeting, was bound to cause further dissatisfaction amongst students and their guardians and was not likely to be conducive to the smooth working of the university..."

The Guardians' Committee

has reiterated its demand for appointment of "an enquiry commission to go into the affairs of the university..."

The Secretariat of the State Council of the Communist Party has strongly criticised the nomination and asked the authorities to reconsider it. The District Council of the Communist Party has asked all Party members and citizens to mobilize all their strength to get the nomination cancelled.

The decision has been criticised inside the State Assembly. Adjournment motions have been sought to be repeatedly moved. Twenty-five members of the U. P. Vidhan Sabha have submitted a petition to the House, urging the Governor-Chancellor, to rescind the appointment of Prof. Kall Prasad as the university's Vice-Chancellor.

lages the loss is up to sixteen annas in the rupee... Looking at these areas one is reminded of an area which has been bombed."

First the rains and hailstorms came in the first and second weeks of March. Subsequently they have been repeated. The reports tell that in Azamgarh District the extent of destruction varies from six annas to sixteen annas in the rupee; in Deoria, six annas to twelve annas; in Ballia from twelve annas to four annas; in Basti, from six annas to twelve annas. Similar destruction has taken place in Varanasi, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Jaun-

pur and Mirzapur. Some of the districts of Bundelkhand, such as Jhansi, too, have been affected in the same way.

In Deoria the heavy stones pounded the crop, smashed the tiles on the roofs of huts and houses, broke branches of trees. Over a big area the peasants have become homeless and shelterless and conditions of famine prevail. Whatever is left of the crop looks black as if someone has poured ink over it.

In Basti, not only the crop has been destroyed, but, according to unofficial but realistic accounts, four persons and about 450 animals, too, have been killed as a result of the hail-storm.

In this region of the east, populated by nearly two-and-a-half crore people, the pressure on land is so heavy and poverty so terrible that literally lakhs and lakhs of people depend on mangoes to keep their body and soul together. Due to continued undernourishment, countless men and women cannot see in the evenings; only during the mango season, when they have their fill, they get back their sight for some months. The near-complete destruction of the mango crop has, therefore, blighted their hopes of recovering their sight, albeit only for a few months.

Moved by the pressure of public opinion, the State Government has suspended realisation of land revenue in the affected area. But it is hardly sufficient to meet the serious situation. Practically all the parties, including the Congress Party in many places, and the State's newspapers are demanding that the land revenue for this year should be remitted, not just suspended; realisation of all other dues and arrears should be forthwith stopped; kisans should be given takkavi loans and good seeds so that at least they can work for the next crop; and a network of test-works should be started to provide work to the victims of the calamity. Starting of cheap grain shops with adequate supplies of food is also essential to save people from starvation.

He rubs his oil-stained hands: "Golly, that'll be the life..."

He rubs his oil-stained hands: "Golly, that'll be the life..."

He rubs his oil-stained hands: "Golly, that'll be the life..."

INDIA'S PROTEST

* FROM FRONT PAGE

amendments were withdrawn.

Renu Chakravarty's suggestion that the resolution should not be treated merely as a condolence resolution, as the Speaker had earlier stated, was accepted. So was S. A. Dange's idea that "in view of the character of the resolution, we may adopt it standing."

And thus it happened.

WORLD-WIDE PROTESTS

NEVER since the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt has world opinion been so incensed as over the current wholesale attack on African lives and human rights in South Africa.

BRITAIN: Right from the time the news was still coming in, non-stop vigil and demonstrations continued night and day in front of the South Africa House in London. A good number of people were arrested by the police and later produced in court and fined. Among them were Ministers from British Guiana in London for constitutional talks, Cheddi Jagan, J. N. Singh and L. F. S. Burnham.

The high point of protest was reached in Sunday's 10,000 strong rally called by the Labour Party in Trafalgar Square. Protest rallies were simultaneously held in other towns. Earlier, the Labour Party Executive and the TUC General Council had gone on record to condemn the South African Government demanding end to apartheid and Pass Laws.

Among the numerous delegations refused admittance to South Africa House was one led by General Secretary John Gollan on behalf of the British Communist Party.

NORWAY: Foreign Minister Halvard Lange said on March 23 that the "recent terrible incidents in South Africa have shocked the Norwegian people". March 28, the day of mourning in South Africa, was marked in Norway by State flags flying everywhere at half mast in sympathy with the massacred Africans.

CANADA: Premier Diefenbaker declared his Government had "no sympathy for policies of racial discrimination." He deplored the loss of life in South Africa.

NEW ZEALAND: At Premier Walter Nash's suggestion, delegates to the annual conference of the U.N. Association stood in silence as a mark of sympathy for the families of those killed in South Africa.

AUSTRALIA: A huge demonstration in Sydney on March 26 called by the Eureka Youth League and young trade unionists repeatedly clashed with police who were seeking to break it up. Several people were knocked down and two were arrested.

NIGERIA: Western Nigeria's Premier and Opposition leader jointly called on the Federal Government to repatriate forthwith all South African whites from the Nigerian Federation which becomes independent in October. They called for measures to ensure boycott of all South African goods.

MALAYA: Premier Tunjku

The minute of silence resounded with all of India's passion of sorrow, holy wrath and brotherhood with Africa's anguish and fight which yet will cleanse the earth and the sky of their beloved country. Towering above its normal concern, South Africa's struggle brought to the Lok Sabha—and to all of us—the message of Man's crucifixion and his redemption.

H. S.

Abdur Rahman cabled Macmillan deploring the "inhuman brutality" and demanding the question be taken up at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference.

GHANA: The Foreign Affairs Ministry expressed shock and the ruling Convention People's Party condemned the "brutal conduct" of the South African Government. It decided to open a relief fund for the victims.

KENYA: Tom Mboya said there was no difference between South Africa and Nazi Germany, and the Union should be treated accordingly. All Commonwealth Premiers must be asked to vote South Africa out of the family.

WEST GERMANY: A call for U.N. intervention was given by Welt der Arbeit, official organ of the six million-strong Confederation of Trade Unions. The small European group terrorising the South African people had placed themselves outside the community of nations, the paper said. They were "setting the African continent afire and threatening world peace." The Government of the Federal Republic has, however, maintained a shameful silence.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: A spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in a statement told the ADN news agency on March 25 that the GDR Government strongly condemned the massacre by the police and army in the Union of South Africa and stood by the side of the persecuted people fighting for their equality.

LIBERIA: States Secretary Rudolph Grimes said on March 23 that "the Government of Liberia seriously opposes and abhors this systematic, cold-blooded and ruthless murder and vile massacre of helpless Africans in such a manner."

ALGERIA: The Algerian Provisional Government on March 25 called on all African peoples and Governments to take effective measures to end racialist barbarism and to throw off the imperialist yoke.

AFRICA GROUP AT U.N.: Condemning the "barbaric acts" of the Verwoerd Government, the nine-member Group (Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the UAR) appealed "to the conscience of the world" to join in this condemnation.

THE AFRO-ASIAN GROUP of 29 nations at the U.N. unanimously called for a Security Council session.

CHINA: Peking People's Daily in a commentary said on March 24 that the Africans who constituted three-fourths of the population in South Africa

WESTERN HYPOCRISY

THE equivocation and hypocrisy of leading Western Governments over the South African events is limitless and knows no bounds. Before these lines are in print, we will have had a full-dress display of these at the United Nations.

It is claimed as a great advance for them that they are now prepared to let this matter of apartheid and the consequent killings be discussed by the Security Council. But even before that discussion, they have made it clear that no proposal for any sort of action—not even of a censure—against South Africa will be countenanced by them. The most they are prepared to let the U.N. do is to express "regret".

And if one is to go by the pattern that Macmillan's Tory Government has set in the British Parliament they might as well ask the U. N. to sympathise with "all the people of South Africa"—with the murderers as well as the murdered!

Even the traditional enthusiasm of equating Suez and Hungary, cannot help noting the difference. A Reuter despatch from U.N. Headquarters reports "lobby sources" as saying: "While the U. S. Administration speaks for U. N. action when it condemns events in Hungary and Tibet, there is nothing like the same unanimity when it comes to concrete action to restore the rights of the oppressed Africans."

The U. S. State Department, in fact, was among the first to come out with a statement on the South African massacre. While it was more concerned with preaching "peaceful means" to the victims and not to the perpetrators of violence it did very promptly express regret over "the tragic loss of life." A "deliberate gesture" according to New York Times, it was a move "to gain the goodwill of the rising number of independent African Governments."

It was admittedly a cold-war move. As Himmadu's Balamaram put it, the "unprecedented step" of commenting on "domestic actions of a friendly

Government" was taken because the U. S. felt that the South African Government's action "does not help the cause of the West, especially at a time when it is engaged in winning the friendship of the African people against the strong challenge posed by the Soviet." The fear was that the South African action might "lead to a wave of indignation and revulsion against the West as a whole in all of Africa."

Despite this realisation and the move prompted by it, the inherent contradictions started manifesting themselves immediately. For one thing, Dr. Verwoerd was quick to remind the U. S. that his Government was the one and only reliable ally the West had in Africa that would stand by them till the very bitter end.

Secondly, the explosion point in South Africa has been reached at a time when the U. S. Negroes' struggle for full citizenship rights is reaching a new high. Hundreds of black people are being arrested and sentenced in the U. S. South for demanding equal treatment. The Ku Klux Klan is burning crosses and threatening a war of extermination against the Negroes.

The central Government of the U.S. watches these developments with studied indifference. The President says he "sympathises" with the aspirations of any group to enjoy equality; he deplores violence; but he is in no position to "pass judgment." He says he is "not lawyer enough or wise enough in this area to know when a matter is such as actually to violate the constitutional rights of the Negroes."

Negroes who far outnumber whites in a whole so-called Black Belt in the South have all this time been effectively denied, through threats of violence, their right to vote in that much-lauded democracy of the U.S. And yet, after a long filibuster, the Bill that is passed and boosted so much will, according to New Statesman, "hardly touch the problem of voting rights," still leaving that paper right "hollow" as ever. The struggle of the South

Africans and the American Negroes gets inevitably linked in the minds both of the U.S. Negroes as of their racist enemies. The white segregationists in the U.S. are openly identifying themselves with the upholders of apartheid in South Africa. One of them, a columnist in the New York Herald Tribune blames the African demonstrators for the Sharpeville and Langa massacre.

Arguing that the Pass Law is after all the "law of the land," he writes, "To organise citizens to defy the law and participate in mass demonstrations comes close to conspiracy by small groups of citizens to incite others to riot."

It is no accident that nowhere else in the world today is the barbarism of South African rulers being openly supported with such impunity as in the USA.

The U.S. Government which started with such gushing sympathy for the Africans has since changed its tune. Its spokesmen have tried to plead their own helplessness and have been advising moderation to others, saying that they have their own share of similar problems. For these they blame ordinary white Americans who have come out in their thousands in active support of their black compatriots, while, in fact the responsibility for continuing racial discrimination in the U.S. is primarily that of the Government itself.

They refuse to follow up their words with deeds to put matters right in their own country. Outside they are incapable of looking at the issue except from the cold war angle, and the angle of jockeying themselves into a position where they will continue to manipulate the destinies of Africa.

Hence the dichotomy which inevitably leads to sympathising with both the murderer and the murdered and the persistent blocking of U.N. action on an issue which even they have to admit is no mere domestic issue but one which threatens international peace.

—ZIAUL HAQ (MARCH 30)

The protests have also stimulated the campaign for Negroes' right to vote. The weekly National Guardian reports that in the Fayette county, Tennessee, more Negroes than ever before (mostly farmers) have registered to vote, although an ordinance prohibits non-whites from voting in the Democratic primary.

In an interview with U.S. News & World Report, Reverend Martin Luther King, who led the Montgomery (Alabama) bus boycott five years ago, said on March 21: "The Negro is no longer willing to accept segregation in any area of life." There is "a strong revolt," he said, "against the whole system of segregation on the part of Negro people all over the South and all over the nation," remarking that the current struggle of Negro Americans "is really a part of the worldwide movement for freedom and human dignity."

Despite over a thousand arrests, countless fines and various attacks by racists, the movement has not been stopped. Sit-downs, picket lines and meetings took place in more than 50 cities of ten Southern States protesting against Jim Crow in eating places and library facilities, segregated public houses and movies.

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NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

TWO CAREERS OF A MAN

*FROM PAGE 11

he says. "I had not inherited a penny from my parents, and I was always proud that I had only myself to thank for my success. Anyone, who in that social order, in the struggle for existence, the great battle of life and death, managed to come out on top, takes a different view of the situation and is less afraid to lose his fortune. So I was not heartbroken when I lost my business after 1945."

He had to take a job in 1947 to make a living and was employed in the shipyard of Obuda, where he was allocated to the maintenance section of the works.

"I knew I had to start from the beginning," he said. "And I even thanked my fate for having to do so. Those who dropped out from beside me in the twenties, when I set out with that circular saw, landed in the gutter, on the verge of starvation. And I? I obtained a good job, had not to be afraid of unemployment and had my health insurance. I won't say that all the social changes made me happy, but on a realistic estimate of my prospects, I accepted the new situation and tried to live accordingly. I was always, as I

say, a realist, and have remained one to this day."

So he worked diligently, at his maintenance job and nobody blamed him for having been a capitalist, though his fellow workers at first teased him sometimes: "Please, sir, take the other end of that beam," or "Boss, be so good as to help us." "But they meant no harm," Denes Varga says, "and we laughed together. I found more good friends during that short period than during the twenty years before."

The management saw that he did his work well and as he was an engineer, after two years he became a foreman.

"There were some among the workers who did not like it. 'Shall we again have a capitalist boss, telling me what to do?'—they said but it was only jealousy and they would have shown it towards anyone who was given that job. I knew I had to show patience towards them. When they saw that I liked my work and had the ambition to do it well, they finally all accepted me. Since then I think I have lived very contentedly."

The maintenance section of the shipyard under Varga has to maintain all the electric

installations and transport machinery of the shipyard.

"How much do you make?" "Mostly over 2,300 forints a month."

"Where do you live?" "I live in my own house. I also have a plot of ground, from the past."

"Don't you reflect sometimes what you would be today if the world had not changed in 1945?"

"I do. Often, and it always makes me worried."

"Because lots of things might have happened to me. True, I might have become a very rich man—if my deals had all been brilliantly successful and I had succeeded in weathering crises, bankruptcy, cut-throat competition and the rest. Well, suppose I had amassed a fortune, would I be as calm and self-respecting as I am now and would I have as many dear good friends as I have now? And would I have such a secure future as I have at present?"

"What do you mean?" "Well, since I took up work here I have learned how to enjoy those quiet afternoons, after working hours, when I have no cares and can live to enjoy the many pleasant little activities of life. There

MINERS DEMAND NATIONAL TRIBUNAL

THE Executive Committee of the Indian Mines Workers' Federation met at Dhanbad on March 12, 1960. The Executive discussed the problems facing the miners, specially the coal workers, on the basis of a report by General Secretary Kalyan Roy.

The miners were anxiously awaiting the arbitrator's award but were not very happy when it actually came in January 1960.

In the case of daily rated workmen, the award has conceded a meagre increment of three naye paise annually for six years. Dearness allowance has to be computed at 150 per cent of the basic wages. There is some slight wage revision in the case of ayahs, midwives, peons etc.

The award has granted a sick leave of only 14 days at half pay.

Some increase is granted in maternity benefits. But this is nothing because women workers constitute only five per cent of the big labour force of 3.75 lakh miners.

The biggest injustice that has been perpetrated by the arbitrator's award is, however, on the loaders who constitute 25 to 33 per cent of the labour force in the mines.

The demand raised by the unions was that the loaders were suffering a wage-cut due to short supply of tubs for which the responsibility rested entirely on the managements. They, therefore, wanted that they should not be paid less than the minimum wages. The Labour Appellate Tribunal Award guaranteed minimum wages computed at 75 per cent of the emoluments. This had caused great dissatisfaction. The arbitrator's award has now rejected the demand of the workers.

The arbitrator has also

WAGE-RISE IN LANCASHIRE

NEARLY two lakh textile workers of Lancashire have secured a 7 1/2 per cent wage rise with effect from March 7, 1960.

The unions were demanding a ten per cent rise in wages because (i) the margin between the wage rates in textiles and those in other manufacturing industries had widened; (ii) the cost of living had gone up from 147 in 1957 to 152 in 1959 with base 1949=100; and (iii) the prosperity of the industry had increased.

According to this bipartite settlement men workers will get an average increase of 18 shillings a week and women workers ten shillings.

The employers have thus to shell out a sum of six million pounds (approximately Rs. eight crores).

summarily rejected the demand for gratuity under the pretext that it might necessitate a rise in coal prices.

Twenty thousand workers in the Singareni collieries are enjoying gratuity since January 1959 and no need for raising coal price had ever been felt.

The Indian Mine Workers' Federation Executive took note of the wide-spread dissatisfaction against the arbitrator's award and its causes.

The General Secretary's report to the Executive described the "utter inefficiency of the industrial relations machinery" in settling disputes and avoiding deadlocks.

He reported to the Executive that the unions affiliated to the Federation had been facing serious difficulties from the side of the employers and the Government. Nevertheless, their membership had increased and their work had expanded.

The Executive Committee has decided to launch a

Scandalous Delay In Extending E. S. I.

ON March 21, 1960, Communist M.P. T. B. Vittal Rao raised a discussion in the Lok Sabha concerning the failure of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation in extending the benefits to the families of the workers, specially in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

It was in February 1959 that the Deputy Labour Minister had informed Vittal Rao that the "Governments of Bombay and Madras have agreed to the extension of medical care to insured workers' families during 1959. The matter is being pursued with the West Bengal Government who have not so far taken a final decision."

More than a year after this answer solemnly given on the floor of the Lok Sabha, the Minister told early in March this year that "due to shortage of personnel and accommodation, the State Governments could not complete the necessary arrangements for extending medical care to workers' families in Bombay and Madras."

The situation was evidently deplorable. The Labour Minister, replying to the discussion, tried to only pass on to the House the excuses that the State Governments had been advancing. He agreed that lack of accommodation was a serious impediment in the way of extension of these benefits and keeping to the schedule.

"Therefore, in consultation with them (the State Governments—R.B.G.) a fresh phased programme" has been chalked out, said the Union Labour Minister.

About Madras, he said, that they would cover the remaining centres in another few months and the extension of benefits to families would start in Coimbatore to begin with from October this year.

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BHADUR GOUR, M.P. SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

SISIR ROY

Sisir Roy, General Secretary of the United Trade Union Congress, died in Calcutta, due to a heart attack, on March 23 at the age of 48. "New Age" mourns the death of this brother trade union leader.

campaign for the following demands: a national tribunal for the coal industry; introduction of a gratuity-pension scheme; abolition of contract system and increased dearness allowance of Rs. 4.75 from April 1960.

By another resolution, the Federation condemned the victimisation of 83 workmen of the Assam Railway and Trading Corporation even after the strike was called off and requested the Central Government to intervene in this dispute.

The Indian Mine Workers' Federation has requested the Government to reconsider the decision to close down the Giridih Collieries and take administrative steps to improve the efficiency of the National Coal Development Corporation.

per cent more than the employers. The funds of the Corporation are swelling. They stood at Rs. 16 crores at the

BANK STRIKE ENDS

THE State Bank of India strike has been withdrawn and the employees have joined duty from March 25, 1960.

The heroic strike of the State Bank of India employees and the glorious national token strike of March 19 by all bankmen have demonstrated the unity, solidarity and depth of feeling of the bank employees.

S. M. Joshi, President of the State Bank of India Staff Federation, was right when he pointed out that the Government action in appointing the tribunal and banning the strike created a situation involving a direct conflict with the State. The Central Government's role in the dispute had been the most deplorable.

In spite of the fact that the employers were very unreasonable from the very beginning in refusing negotiations and in demanding a tribunal to prolong the dispute, and in spite of the Labour Ministry's commitment for finding a machinery other than a tribunal to find a speedy settlement, the Central Government deliberately indulged in double-talk and double-dealing. The result is the National Tribunal.

And Ahmedabad will be able to get these facilities only in April 1962.

West Bengal, according to the Union Labour Minister, has raised more fundamental objections. That State thinks it is "illegal" to give only out-patient facilities to families. There could be no discrimination, according to this highly conscientious West Bengal Government, between the worker and his family with regards to facilities afforded under the ESI. The Union Labour Minister has referred the matter to the Law Department for expert opinion. Such is the fun to which the problem has been reduced in West Bengal.

The "hope" of extension of benefits to families of workers was expressed as early as in 1957. The ESI Corporation report for 1958-59 began with the enthusiastic declaration that the year saw the fulfilment of this hope. In Feb. 1959 it was said that it would be done during the year. In March 1960 we are told that Bombay will have it in January 1960, Ahmedabad in April 1962 and Calcutta—no one knows when.

D. A. Up For Jamnagar Workers

AS a result of a bipartite settlement between the AITUC union and the management, the workers of Digvijay Woollen Mills in Jamnagar would get a bonus equivalent to 4 1/2 days' wages for the year 1958-59 and dearness allowance has been enhanced from Rs. 43.00 to Rs. 58.50.

end of 1958-59. This year they are bound to be higher. Yet facilities are being denied to workers.

TEXTILE MILLS TAKE-OVER IN M. P.

THE Labour Minister of the Madhya Pradesh Government is reported to have told the State Assembly in reply to the points raised by Homi Daji, Communist MLA and General Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh Trade Union Congress (AITUC), that the State Government was ready to take over the textile mill at Rajnandgaon and the Kalyan Mills at Indore and run them.

The Sorani Committee, appointed under the Industries Development Regulation, to enquire into the affairs of the B N C. Mills at Rajnandgaon is reported to have submitted its report to the Central Government.

The mills were closed down in September 1959 when the workers refused to accept a cut in wages and the State Government, too, found no reason to do so.

Now the Central Government has notified to the management on March 17 to reopen the mills within a fortnight. But the State Government is prepared to take over the mills also and has so informed the Central Government.

With regards to the Kalyan Mills at Indore also the State Government has suggested to the Government an enquiry while expressing its readiness to take over the mill.

Now the choice lies with the Centre. Will it come forward with courage and funds to enable the State Government to proceed with the taking over?

March 26, 1960.

Neglected Kerala Must Have Shipyard

FROM PAGE 5

That there is discrimination between one part of the country and another. By dropping some schemes that are already there, this feeling will develop and that will disrupt the unity of the country.

During the second Five-Year Plan, Kerala was refused project after project.

An aerodrome was promised at Calicut, two or three sites were looked into, but now it is said due to financial difficulties the proposal has been dropped. But if you look at the report of the Ministry for 1959-60, you will find there was no difficulty as far as beginning and completion of aerodromes were concerned.

In the First Five-Year Plan, a survey was made for the Tellicherry-Coorg railway. Afterwards it was dropped because it was said there was no finance.

There were some consultations between the Kerala and Mysore Governments about the Varapuzha Project and some kind of agreement was also reached, but now that project has also been given up.

There was the promise of a Central Fishing Institute to be established in Kerala. Now it is said it has been taken to some other place.

WEST BENGAL

From J. B. MOITRA CALCUTTA, March 25
The deep resentment of different sections of the people against the policies of the West Bengal Government found expression in a series of mass deputations to the State Assembly in the past week.

ON March 22, over 1,500 primary school teachers went on a mass deputation to the State Assembly to present a memorandum, signed by 60,000 teachers and prominent citizens, supporting the demands of the primary teachers. The processionists were stopped by the police at some distance from the Assembly. A deputation of the demonstrating teachers then passed on the memorandum to the Chief Minister.

The issues facing the teachers were so acute that they came from every district to participate in the mass deputation.

Teachers' Demands

The demands made in the memorandum were: fixation of the minimum salary at Rs. 100 per month, additional allowance of Rs. 25 in urban areas, stoppage of large-scale transfers of teachers, regular payment of salaries, repeal of the Primary Education Acts of 1919 and 1930 and enactment of a comprehensive legislation, and the setting up of an Education Board with a view to speeding up the implementation of the programme of compulsory primary education.

Next day, another procession of over 5,000 workers, office employees and school teachers marched towards the Assembly to submit a memorandum to the Chief Minister, demanding immediate withdrawal of the Bill which seeks to control meetings and processions throughout the State.

When the processionists

were held up by the police, they squatted on the road and demonstrated there for an hour.

Meanwhile the matter was raised in the Assembly. There was no reply from the Treasury Bench. A deputation on behalf of the processionists also met the Chief Minister and submitted the memorandum to him. He was stated to have agreed to meet representatives of the committee of workers and employees which, along with the central organisations of office employees, the All-Bengal Teacher's Association and the West Bengal Primary Teachers' Association, had organised the mass deputation.

Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, said that in the face of strong public opposition the Government had decided not to introduce the Bill in the current session of the legislature. But the people should not rest content at that, they had to mobilise their forces on a bigger scale to compel the Government to withdraw the black measure.

Three days later, on March 25, about 3,500 refugees from camps and colonies in Calcutta and neighbouring districts held a rally at the Calcutta Maidan and then went in a mass demonstration to the office of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry and from there, to the State Assembly, demanding a radical change in the Government's rehabilitation policy and resignations of the Union and State Rehabilitation Ministers.

The demonstration, which was organised by the United

MASS DEPUTATIONS TO STATE ASSEMBLY

Central Refugee Council (UCRC), was stopped at both places by police cordons.

A copy of the UCRC's memorandum was handed over to an officer of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry.

When the demonstrators were stopped near the Assembly, Samar Mukherjee (Communist MLA), and Surhid Mallik Chowdhury (Marxist F.B.M.L.A.), General Secretary and the President respectively of the UCRC, went to the Assembly.

On being refused permission to speak on the subject, they handed over to the Chief Minister and the State Rehabilitation Minister copies of the

memorandum including demands against closing down of the Rehabilitation Department, for the right of the refugees to decide freely whether they should remain inside the State or not, continuation of the doles, immediate implementation and drafting of new schemes for resettling refugees in West Bengal itself, steps to improve conditions in refugees' colonies, regularisation of squatters' colonies, restoration of the cuts in educational grants to refugee students, etc.

Three days before the protest demonstration, Samar Mukherjee told a Press Conference in Calcutta that in

view of the colossal failure of the Government's rehabilitation policy, "a new rehabilitation policy should be formulated in close cooperation with organisations working among the refugees."

But since there was no indication as yet of any change in the Government's policy, he pointed out, the UCRC had decided to build up a State-wide movement to make the Government see sense. Preparations for the movement would begin with the observance of March 25 as All-Bengal Protest Day and mass hunger-strike by camp refugees on March 31.

Convention Plans Mighty Food Movement

THE food position in West Bengal has been worsening over the past few weeks. From indications now available, it is justifiably apprehended that the crisis this time will be far more serious than in any previous year.

At this time of the year, when the prices of medium rice usually stand at Rs. 21-22 a maund, it is already selling at Rs. 25-28. With practically no purchasing power, the overwhelming majority of the people cannot just buy rice at these exorbitant prices. Little wonder that distress is very widespread, particularly in the rural areas.

Meeting in this background, the State Food Convention pointed out that the policies of the West Bengal Government and the anti-social activities of dishonest traders were primarily responsible for the deterioration in the food situation.

The convention, which was held in Calcutta on March 26 and 27, was organised by the Food Movement Committee (of the Communist Party, Forward Bloc (Marxist), Socialist Unity Centre and the Revolutionary Communist Party) in cooperation with the Krishak and Khet Mazdoor Federation and the BPTUC.

About 509 delegates from different districts and representing various organisations participated in the convention.

At the outset, the convention adopted a resolution paying its respects to the sacred memory of the eighty persons who had fallen victims to police savagery in the food movement of August-September 1959.

In his inaugural speech, Communist leader Jyoti Basu stressed the point that the demands of the food movement this year were of a fundamental nature inasmuch as an integrated programme of food production and distribution and increase in the purchasing power of the people was being put forward for a solution of the recurring crisis.

The main resolution, which was moved by Subodh Banerjee, MLA (Socialist Unity Centre), and seconded by Harekrishna Konar, MLA (G.P.I.), analysed in detail the causes of the chronic food crisis in West Bengal, suggested concrete measures to overcome it and outlined the stages and forms of the mighty mass movement that had to be launched in order to force the Government to undertake these measures.

The resolution pointed out that instead of taking the necessary steps to solve the permanent food crisis and ensuring food to the people at reasonable prices, the Government had been pursuing a pro-hoarder policy and had shirked even the minimum

responsibility of feeding the people.

Pointing out that the chronic and acute character of the crisis has brought the question of production, distribution and prices to the fore, the resolution emphasised that it was possible to solve the crisis partially even within the present economic set-up if concrete measures regarding production, distribution and prices were energetically undertaken.

The resolution, therefore, put forward, among others, the demands as regards production of government waste land, stopping of evictions, undertaking of small irrigation schemes, reduction of water rates, staying of realisation of arrears of rent and their total remission in flood-devastated areas, disbursement of Rs. ten crores as agricultural and cattle-purchase loans, etc.; as regards distribution and increasing of purchasing power (levy on rice mills, procurement in the open market, building up of a buffer stock of five lakh tons, stern measures to curb hoarding and profiteering, reduction of prices of essential commodities, test relief operations, modified rationing, etc.).

To implement these measures expeditiously, the resolution pointed out it was necessary to combine the departments of Agriculture, Land Revenue and Food into a single department.

The resolution also said it was necessary "to build up a mass democratic movement, broader and more militant than in previous years," and that the movements for land, for food, against high water-tax, etc., had all to be integrated into one single, mighty movement of the entire people of West Bengal.

The resolution emphasised the need to mobilise the broadest sections of the people behind the demands through a series of meetings, demonstrations and conferences all over the State and the setting up of a network of committees to guide and conduct the movement.

SUCCESSFUL INDIAN CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

IN the atmosphere of hopeful expectations ushered in by the recent trends of relaxation in the international tension, in the spring of this year promising the long overdue Summit meet, came the Indian Conference for Peace and Disarmament convened by the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, in India's capital between March 27 and 29.

The broad character of the Conference was manifested by over 280 Indian M.P.s signing in its support, and by the large number of messages from ten Governors, two Chief Ministers, seven Speakers and a number of MLAs, of various States of India.

A tribute to India's peace efforts was the fact the messages of greetings to the Conference came from over 19 countries — Algeria, Britain, China, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Italy, Lebanon, Soviet Union and USA—were present and greeted the Conference.

The inaugural session of the Conference opened with the welcome address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Chaudhry Brahm Prakash, M.P. To thunderous applause, he declared: "For too long have the Afro-Asian peoples been kept in darkness and now that they are awake, they insist that world affairs be no longer decided only in the capitals of Europe and North America, but equally here in our continents, in our capitals."

The Presidential Address was delivered by the Chairman of the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, Diwan Chaman Lal, M.P. In his characteristic colourful style, he presented a forceful and lucid exposition of the aims and objects of the Conference.

On the second day, the Conference broke into four commissions for discussing and preparing the draft resolution. Prominent in the deliberations in the commissions were: in the Disarmament Commission, N. Sivaraj (President), Diwan Chaman Lal, Prof. N. R. Malkani, General Cariappa, Ranbir Singh Chaudhri, Nagi Reddy in the Non-Alignment Commission, Dr. Syed Mahmud (President), Mathura Das Mathur, Parvati Krishnan; in the National Independence Commission, Dr. Anup Singh (President), Lala Duni Chand, Mrs. Bertha Braganza, Renu Chakravarty; in the Writers' Commission Dr. Mulik Raj Anand (President) Ismat Chughtai, Gopal Haldar, Fazlur Rahman.

Alive to the strong feelings of indignation aroused among the Afro-Asian peoples, and throughout the world, by the massacre in South Africa, the Conference adopted a resolution (moved by Prof. N. R. Malkani) condemning the firing at the inaugural session itself.

Other resolutions of the Conference, prepared by the commissions, were placed before its plenary session on the last day and were carried unanimously.

The resolution on World Conference of Parliamentarians for Disarmament, moved from the chair, "appeals to parliamentarians in all countries of the world" to use their influence "for the creation of

public opinion in favour of early agreements for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons."

The resolution expressing support for "the foreign policy of peace, based on Panch Sheel and non-alignment, pursued by our Prime Minister and the Government of India," was moved by Sardar Hukum Singh, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and was seconded by Parvati Krishnan.

The resolution calling for an immediate ban on nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and their tests, for a ban on the introduction of nuclear weapons into countries which do not possess them, and for the abolition of all foreign bases for the use of nuclear weapons and missiles, was moved by Prof. N. R. Malkani and was seconded by General Cariappa.

SUMMIT WELCOMED

The resolution welcoming the Summit meeting, moved by Bahadur Singh, M.P., and seconded by Congress M.P. Krishna Chandra Sharma, also put on record "its hope and confidence that Asia and Africa will be associated with the future Summit discussions on disarmament and other important world issues."

Moved by Venkat Raman and seconded by Srinivas Lahoti, the resolution on Disarmament Fortnight called for its observance from May 1 to 15, on the eve of the Summit meeting.

Dr. Anup Singh was the mover of the important resolution on National Independence, expressing "the whole-hearted support" of the Conference, "for all peoples still subjected to colonial domination, in their struggle for national independence," saluting the brave people of Africa, and fully supporting "the demand of the Provisional Government

of the Republic of Algeria that the implementation of the principles of self-determination and the cessation of hostilities should be assured by UNO." It sent the Conference's "warm greetings to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference being held at Conakry in Guinea in April."

GOA AND ALGERIA

Renu Chakravarty, M.P., seconding the resolution, denounced the French Government for the colonial war in Algeria and referred to Goa's struggle for liberation. Cheriff Guellal and Mrs. B. Braganza forcefully and convincingly championed the cause of Algeria and Goa.

A separate resolution on the Sahara test condemning the Government of France and demanding measures to make any further tests by France or any other Power impossible was moved by C. N. Malaviya.

On the role of writers and artists "for the creation of public opinion in favour of early agreement on disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapon tests," the Conference adopted a resolution moved by Gurmukh Singh Musafir and seconded by Pandit Sunderlal.

The closing session of the Conference was addressed among others by D. N. Pritt of Britain, Albert Norden of the German Democratic Republic, Lucio Luzzatto, Italian Socialist M.P. who was also representing the World Peace Council and Bradford Smith of the USA.

Albert Norden, representative of the people on whose land military revanchism has repeatedly raised its head, made a brilliant exposition of the dangers of the armament race, of the cold war policy, of the revival of militarism in West Germany and of the paramount

necessity of the struggle for the consolidation of world peace.

Lustily was the speaker cheered when he declared that in the GDR "we have applied your famous formula of Panch Sheel to our German conditions and taken over your five principles in

word and meaning." With standing ovation—called for by the Chairman—was the speaker greeted when he ended his speech with a line from the National Anthem of his State: "Never again a mother should mourn for her son."

Pandit Sunderlal read out the theses on Gandhism and Disarmament, which had been prepared by a special Commission. And on that note the Conference concluded its fruitful labours.

—RAZA ALI

Negro Struggle In U. S. South

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ment continues to spread. At Petersburg, Virginia, more than 600 Negroes have formed an association to rid Petersburg of every vestige of segregation.

Fortyone Negroes—36 students and five journalists—sat in two "all-white" public libraries in Memphis, Tennessee. They were arrested on charges of "disturbing the peace" and were released only after fellow Negroes paid 14,350 dollars of bail money.

Demonstrations have been reported in the last few days to have taken place in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia.

The NAACP last week launched a nationwide boycott of all chain variety stores that have branches in the South which refuse to serve Negroes at lunch counters.

Sixtytwo Negroes and white legal experts on civil rights concluded on March 20 a three-day conference in Washington to discuss ways of defending the thousand and odd Negroes ar-

rested in Southern lunch counter demonstrations.

There were pickets in five Northern cities as well as before the White House protesting racial discrimination.

But the U.S. Government still turns a deaf ear to all these demands for equal rights for the Negro citizens, while giving tacit permission to Southern Governments and the racists to go on persecuting Negroes with fascist tactics.

The Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins said in a televised interview on March 20 that the civil rights issue was a "really great social crisis" affecting about 45 million people, but that "the Federal Government has acted as though it were some sort of a blight on the peanut crop."

In a letter to the Secretary of the State, Christian Herter, denouncing the mass killing of innocent Africans in South Africa, Roy Wilkins has asked the U.S. Government to sever all relations with the Government of the Union of South Africa.

THE THIRD PLAN

* FROM PAGE 4

total amount of Rs. 470 crores—less than even Rs. 100 crores annually! as matters stand, it is extremely doubtful whether even this target will be realised. There is no indication of any nationalisation. The only explanation for this is submission to the narrow sectional interest of the ruling classes.

After having exceeded the deficit finance target of Rs. 1200 crores in the Second Plan, the Tentative Draft at long last displays some little cautiousness. Deficit-financing is put at Rs. 550 crores for the next Plan period, but the look of things would suggest this to be rather an eye-wash.

Since our exports can hardly do more than service our imports, for the entire foreign exchange requirements of Rs. 2,100 crores (excluding repayment liabilities of Rs. 500 crores), the Third Plan will have to rely on foreign assistance.

What is amazing is that the NDC is not much concerned about reducing this reliance

through exertions at home and by better adjustment of our external trade to the country's development needs. Rather new opportunities are being offered even for foreign private investments together with repeated assurances against nationalisation and for remittances of profits, interests and earnings abroad.

It should be remembered that foreign private investments in India today are around Rs. 600 crores compared to Rs. 256 crores in June 1948. The perennial drain on India's resources under this head is thus going to be increased. To link the building of a self-reliant economy to such investments and penetration of foreign private capital is fraught with very harmful and even dangerous potentialities.

So the problems and policy issues of the Third Plan cannot be left to the Government and the NDC and their Planning Commission alone to decide. These need to be taken up by all democratic forces in the country.

FACTS ABOUT FANS



Chinese carved ivory fans are used extensively by men and women of every rank in China. The sticks of these fans are usually carved on both sides with intricate designs.

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