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# ALL EYES ON U. N.

## NEW AGE

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25 nP.

### JAI PRAKASH SENDS MISSION TO SIKKIM

\* FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

While Acharya Vinoba Bhave has expressed an almost public disapproval of, and his helplessness at, Jai Prakash Narain's exploitation of the sarvodaya movement for his kind of politics which is opposed to democracy, opposed to India's policy of peace and non-alignment with Power blocs, opposed, in fact, to everything that is good and decent in our public life, few people yet know the extent to which J. P. has gone down the drain.

His trips to Western Europe, of course, are made openly, apparently to discuss with like-minded people his plans after the failure of democracy in India. He visited Pakistan, also openly, to offer his patronage as well as parentage to the still-born idea of 'Basic Democracy' being worked out by the Pakistani Dictator.

But few outside his own circle know that recently Jai Prakash Narain sent a mission to the small Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim, and from there on the one hand, to Kalimpong, that hotbed of international espionage by the Prime Minister's own admission in Parliament and on the other hand, to Nathula Pass on the Sikkim-Tibet border.

What was the purpose of his mission with this tell-tale itinerary? Does the Government of India know of it?

#### Behind The Sarvodaya Cloak

## WHAT WAS THE GAME?

HAS the Prime Minister who is so fond of suspecting and attacking the patriotic bona fides of the Communist Party of India, ever taken the trouble to enquire about the activities on our borders of Jai Prakash Narain, whose opposition to our foreign policy and whose international contacts with the enemies of Indian democracy and freedom are well-known?

The mission which Sri Jai Prakash Narain sent to Sikkim was under the auspices of the Shanti Sena, an organisation launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave and dedicated to constructive work and social service. In Bihar, however, it has passed completely into Jai Prakash Narain's control, and his exploitation of it for his political ends has virtually led to a crisis among the Sarvodaya leaders in Bihar. In fact, complaints have been sent to the Acharya.

The Sikkim mission consisted of four trusted 'Shanti Sainiks', Vidya Sagar Singh, Gokhale Chowdhry, Gyaneshwar Singh and Ghuran Jha. They left for Sikkim on June 16, 1960, from Patna and on return submitted a confidential report to Jai Prakash Narain, which runs to 15 closely typed pages of foolscap size, in Hindi.

Reaching Gangtok on June 18, says the report: "We met the same evening the Indian Political Agent, Sri Appa Sahab Pant, with a letter of introduction from Sri Jai Prakash Narain. Accidentally, the Chief of the Indian Army, General Thimayya, also arrived there at about the same time."

The Political Agent "advised us to establish contact with some of the prominent leaders of Sikkim, with the Maharajakumar, the Indian Diwan and others. At the same time he gave us a brief outline of the political situation there and warned us that the people will look with suspicion even at our non-political, sarvodaya propaganda and the constructive programme of work."

#### Favourable Atmosphere

How thin and undisciplined is the veneer of sarvodaya and constructive activities—a measure of the utter cynicism with which it is used to beguile the people!

The report goes on to describe how "a favourable atmosphere had already been created for our peace mission. It was based on three factors: first, the Afro-Asian

Convention organised by Sri Jai Prakash Narain against the Chinese enslavement and oppression of Tibet; secondly, the successful anti-dacoity campaign led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the Chambal Valley in Madhya Pradesh; and thirdly, the favourable campaign conducted by certain newspapers."

The authors of the report, obviously, seem to have been warned that it may fall in the hands of the Acharya, and there must be in it some sops for the poor old man, too. How else can be explained the absolutely irrelevant reference to the campaign against the Chambal Valley dacoits?

The Report is quite candid about the anti-Indian feelings prevalent among the people of Sikkim.

It says that "strangely enough, despite these potent factors for their love and admiration for India, (e.g. Chinese aggression against Tibet, the sanctuary accorded to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees on Indian soil, Indian aid to development projects in Sikkim, the programme of road construction and the defence agreements), anti-Indian feeling is most widespread here. We were shocked to learn from the Political Agent,

by cable from MASOOD ALI KHAN MOSCOW

The eyes and hopes of the world turn towards the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Soviet liner Baltika with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov and heads of other Socialist Governments on board once again determined to show the way of sanity, the way out of the jungle of conflict and cold war. Everyday papers here bring news of more and more leaders of Asia and Africa joining this great peace bid and people here ask "What about India? What about Nehru? Is he also going?"

SOVIET people have great admiration for India's role in world affairs and her foreign policy. Nasser, Soekarno, Sekou Toure, Nkrumah and even Tito, the list goes on increasing as American diplomacy panics even before the session has begun.

Appa Pant, that from Ladakh to NEFA all over the Himalayan border areas, the same anti-Indian feeling runs everywhere."

There were frequent interviews and discussions with the Political Agent, the more important ones being those after the return of the mission from Kalimpong and then from the 14,200 feet high Nathula Pass between Sikkim and Tibet where Indian forces are bravely fighting the rigours of cold. The mission was in Kalimpong between June 26 and July 1 and visited Nathula Pass on July 4, 1960.

The mission then again met the Political Agent "and recounted our experiences. He was highly pleased by our work. He then advised us to see the Diwan and acquaint him with our experiences."

The Diwan, Sri Baleswar Prasad, is a gentleman from Bihar.

"We met him on July 6... We recounted to him some of our important experiences. He was greatly impressed and advised us to seek an interview with the Maharajakumar."

"The Maharajakumar looks after the administration of the State in place of his ageing father, the Maharaj. He has had the advantage of modern western education. He has toured round the world. He is acquainted with the modern political trends and the situation obtaining in the various parts of the world. His efforts are directed towards consolidating his political rule in Sikkim. He does not want the growth of democracy there... He is afraid of the Government of India that after rendering large-scale aid to the development of Sikkim, she will extend her political control over the kingdom."

But this anti-democratic, anti-Indian ruler of Sikkim "created an entirely different impression on us. He seemed to be thoughtful, open-minded and progressive."

Opposition to democracy is certainly progressive to these trusted followers of Jai Prakash Narain. But what about the Maharajakumar's attitude of suspicion and animosity to the Indian Government? On this plane what was the common bond between the Maharajakumar and Jai Prakash Narain's mission?

In any case, the bond was strong enough for the Maharajakumar to request the mission to ask Jai Prakash to send a band of his Shanti Sainiks for permanent stay and work there.

The report is vaguely silent about the real nature of the mission's activities which so enamoured the Maharajakumar. Will the Government of India ask its Political Agent to throw some light on this?

Pravda pointed out on Saturday (September 10) that the American voting machinery which was invented during the first years of United Nations was breaking down again and again. Those who used to raise their hands automatically at Washington's orders now refuse to serve foreign interests. Many new States have come on the scene after defeating imperialism in their struggle for independence.

All this confirms once more, Pravda points out, the obvious truth that in the world today a correlation of forces is emerging which offers real possibility of averting any aggression, defeating the plans of enemies of peaceful co-existence and forcing them to reckon with the will of the peoples who place great hopes on the next session of the U. N. General Assembly.

It can play a historical role if representatives of nations express the real aspirations of the peoples for peace and fruitful co-operation between States. Our age can and must become the age of realisation of great ideals, the age of peace and progress, the Pravda editorial concludes.

African affairs continue to be in the centre of public attention here. President Sekou Toure of Guinea who was here last week pointed out the great inspiring role of Socialist countries in the struggle for African independence.

#### FOCUS ON AFRICA

"African people look with great confidence at the mighty progress of Socialist countries," he declared, "because this progress is a historical contribution and changes the correlation of forces in favour of the oppressed peoples." He drew attention to the dangers facing the newly independent States of Africa. If neo-colonialists get a chance they will again entrench themselves in Africa behind new masks. Therefore, he declared, the factor of time was also an effective element of help to the African peoples. That

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# MORARJI GOES WEST

NEW AGE has promptly and persistently highlighted the seriousness of the foreign exchange position on which depends the soundness of the Indian economy and the future of the Third Plan. Indian reaction, however, is utilising the foreign exchange crisis to create a scare atmosphere and thus dull the nation's vigilance and quietly offer more and more concessions to the Western monopolists.

LET us go by facts. The foreign exchange situation is no worse at present than during the earlier years. The following figures about the balance of trade during the last three years, about this time of the season, makes this clear:

Period:	Imports:	Exports:	Balance of Trade:
January—June 58	390	262	-128
January—June 59	481	266	-215
January—June 60	459	301	-158

The deficit this year is not more but less than last year. The deficit this year is more than during 1958, but then both imports and exports are also higher and on the whole it is necessitated by our development needs as they are under the existing set-up. There is obviously no need for losing nerves. What is needed is calm and serious thought.

## Way Of Indian Reaction

The way of Indian Reaction, however, is different. As we write, the meeting of the so-called "Aid India Club" is on in Paris. Knowledgeable circles in New Delhi very widely report that before despatching his advance-guard B. K. Nehru to the meeting, the Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, insisted that during these negotiations and his own later negotiations with the Western bankers and businessmen, the Prime Minister make no major statement on foreign affairs and that this explains Pandit Nehru's initial hesitation to go to the U. N. and the Indian U. N. representative, Rajeshwar Dayal's passive and timid role in Congo.

The crisis is being used not only to put India's independent foreign policy in cold storage but also to seek a revision of India's basic national policies on planning. The latest example is the World Bank delegation, the Hoffman Mission's report which the Planning Commission and the Government of India are currently discussing. The Indian Government will take final decisions after the Finance Minister comes back.

The various debates in the recent Parliamentary sessions brought to the forefront wide criticism of the growing concessions that the Government has been making to the private sector and to foreign private capital. The battle is not over, if anything it has really grown.

The present foreign exchange crisis is undoubtedly serious and the heavy dependence of the Third Plan on foreign aid to the extent of about one-third of the total resources needed, clothes Morarji's attendance at the Commonwealth Finance Min-

isters' Conference in London, followed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund meetings in New York, with great importance.

The World Bank is not only the main "aid" but also the chief organiser of the West-

ern foreign aid for our Plans. When the Indian representatives are going abroad for long, complicated and serious negotiations with the Bank and with other agencies under its guiding role, it is very necessary to be really clear about the role of the World Bank and its policy towards India's economic development. It is necessary to go back a little to recall what advice it has been pressing upon the Indian Government and what followed thereafter and then finally analyse what is its advice in the present crisis and for our future development.

## On The Eve Of Second Plan

Indian public opinion reacted very indignantly to the World Bank Chairman, Eugene Black's notorious letter to the then Indian Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari. It is necessary to recall and digest the contents of that early letter which embodies the considered and basic advice of the World Bank to the Indian Government, on the eve of India's Second Plan, which proudly proclaimed its big targets for Indian industrialisation, but for which the Congress Government could not find appropriate internal and external resources, hide-bound as it was by pragmatic capitalist conceptions and the big weight of the vested interests inside its own party top.

The World Bank Chief offered the traditional bouquet with the words that he was "impressed with the broad outlines" of the Second Plan. That this was only formal was made clear in the very contents of his letter. He referred to "certain aspects" of the Second Plan which gave the Bank "cause for concern". And he set out "to state our views frankly." He did not mince words.

The key point he made was "in so far as the public sector is concerned the programme is too large to be completed within five years." He forcefully stated his "conviction that India's interests lie in giving private enterprise, both Indian and foreign, every encouragement to make its maximum contribution to the development of the economy, particularly in the industrial field." His main

advice was that "every effort should be made to secure technical cooperation and financial support of foreign private enterprise in carrying out the development programme."

He welcomed the concessions that had already been made but did not consider them enough. "The Bank welcomes arrangements that have been made to associate foreign firms with construction and operation of major undertakings both in the public and the private sector but hopes that more positive measures will be taken to facilitate foreign investment."

There was a sizable foreign exchange component in the Second Plan and Mr. Black made it clear that the World Bank could help only if his above advice was heeded. "Our disposition to lend would be favourably influenced by the amount of external financial assistance which India obtains without incurring the fixed foreign exchange obligations." In other words, we can have a few foreign loans provided we accept plenty of

foreign private investments.

Mr. Black offered to become the Super-Planning Minister of India in case continuous aid from the Bank was wanted. "I hope that we may contemplate development of close cooperative relationship between your Government and the Bank in which, from time to time, we shall mutually review the progress being made in the execution of the Second Five-Year Plan and consider together future loans which the Bank may be able to pay."

## What World Bank Wanted

After the above, it should need no more arguments to come to the conclusions:

- i That the World Bank is against the very basic pattern of Indian Planning and the leading role of the public sector.
- ii That the World Bank is the protagonist of the private sector and wants it to develop as the main sector of our national economy with the public sector playing only a subsidiary role.
- iii That the World Bank is not even the generous and selfless aider of Indian private enterprise but the propagandist and the ramm-rod for the penetration of foreign monopoly capital into our country.
- iv That the World Bank wants to have its say on an equal basis with our Government before it would agree to aid India's Plans.

Indian newspaper readers are broadly familiar how the crisis of the Second Plan grew from almost its very inception and how it was faced with a

serious foreign exchange crisis in 1957-58. Indian Reaction made every attempt to rush the Indian Government into making very serious concessions which the foreign monopolists, their bankers and their Governments were demanding. These foreign aiders in return tried to make it easy for the Indian Government to do so by pretending to honour India's world status and holding the annual session of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund conferences in New Delhi during October 1958.

## After Second Plan Crisis

Mr. Black, during the conference, talked a tougher language than in the letter quoted earlier and just like when President Eisenhower came to our country and played the same trick, he had to be answered back by the Indian Prime Minister. Undismayed, West Germany's Finance Minister Erhard went round the country

preaching the virtues of foreign private enterprise and advising Indians to stick to small industries for themselves and learn to do better farming and leave the rest to foreign "aiders" like him.

The then confabulations in New Delhi were followed by the establishment of the "Aid India" consortium of the U.S., U. K., West Germany Canada and Japan, which has held regular annual meetings thereafter to consider and decide the quantum and mode of their 'aid' towards Indian development.

The practice that followed is best described by The Economist, London, in its August 27 issue. It is the mouth-piece of the top echelons of British monopoly capital and carries great weight with the British Government.

"While the Indian Government has always been careful to insist that foreign capital is welcome, and while India's record in compensation for nationalised enterprises is creditable, too many Indian politicians have indulged in anti-capitalist speeches which, although primarily aimed at winning domestic elections, scare foreign investors into passing up India in favour of others in the world-long queue of the capital-hungry, who make more friendly noises.

"Faced with a visible drop in the rate of inflow of foreign capital, the Indian Government plunged in at the deep end in August 58, when it issued a plucky announcement which paid tribute to the 'substantial part' that foreign capital had 'acknowledgedly' already played in 'building up the present economy of the country.' This statement hammered home the 'important role' that foreign capital

has to play in India's Five-Year Plans."

It is easy enough to look back and see how the August 1958 statement was only meant to give those policy assurances to the World Bank and the Western consortium which Black had demanded from T.T.K. earlier and the Government of India had then refused. This policy statement was further meant to clear the hurdle for the Bank-Fund conference to be held on Indian soil, after a few months.

Let us pursue the developments in the very words of The Economist: "Policy towards foreign investors was liberalised, notably by allowing exceptions in 'suitable cases' to rule that the Indian interest must have the majority control of a company.

"The statement reiterated explicitly that there would be no restrictions on the repatriation of investments after taxes have been paid. These brave words then translated into deeds.

"In the 77 new ventures involving capital issues inside India since then, three foreign firms have been allowed to set up wholly foreign-owned subsidiaries, and 25 to take between 50 to 99 per cent of the total capital in their enterprises.

"New Delhi followed this up in April of this year by cutting out some of the red-tape covering sanctioning of new ventures in a wide field, including the manufacturing of machine-tools and many types of industrial manufactures.

"The foreign investors' response has been striking. Whereas in the very years before August, 1958, foreign private investment (from all sources), in projects with a capital of more than £37,500 millions had dropped to an average of £ seven million a year, in 1958-60 they jumped to £ 15.4 million, and it looks as though the rate of increase may continue to gather speed.

## British Investment

"The full repercussions of the 1958 announcement must inevitably take time to work themselves out. New ventures do not materialise overnight. Enquiries have to be made, plans drawn up, funds found,

"Britain remains the biggest single foreign investor in India; out of the 77 foreign ventures previously mentioned, 31 (or 40 per cent) are British; West Germany comes next with 15 and U. S. third with 13.

"In 1948 British private investment in India totalled about £ 155 million. By 1958 this climbed to about £ 328 million, an average inflow of £ 17 million a year. Since much British capital was also repatriated, these figures represent an even greater gross inflow. That British capital in India more than doubled it-

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NEW AGE

# World Bank's Demands

self in so short a period looks impressive at first sight; no doubt it was swollen by ploughed-back profits. However, it looks less when seen against the perspective of the global total."

The Economist has headlined its above feature under the tell-tale title, "India's Virtue Rewarded"! British monopoly capital invested in India has grown more than double in the last five years and confidently looks forward to its tentacles growing stronger and longer in the coming years.

## Their "Aid" - In Return

The above is a fairly objective statement of what Western foreign capital squeezed out of the Indian Government during the last foreign exchange crisis. Let us now examine what these foreign 'aiders' concretely promised and did in actual practice to aid India.

The first thing to recall is that the World Bank, Western monopolists and the leading Governments of the capitalist world exploited the crisis of the Second Plan to enforce its "reappraisal" and also its "pruning". It is necessary to remind ourselves that in this process it was the basic and heavy industry projects that got pruned out of the Second Plan.

The Indian Government was forced to come down to what was called the "hard core" of the Plan. It demanded foreign assistance of the order of \$ 1,050 million to implement this remaining core. These foreign "aiders", however, slashed the above figure by another \$ 100 million. During its first meeting in Washington, the Western consortium under the World Bank pledged itself to assist India to the extent of \$ 950 million. Let us pursue what followed.

"On the basis of this assurance, India has been placing orders and taking all other steps to implement the 'hard core'. It is now found that the assurance is not being further carried out.

"Firstly, the formalities and documentation required for giving credits have been so cumbersome that they have largely defeated the object for which the credits are being advanced.

"Secondly, in terms of money, the credits authorised so far are short by nearly \$ 200 million.

"The third point is that India has been financing development expenditure not from loans but from her current export earnings and resources leading to the rapid depletion of her foreign exchange resources."

## "Aid India" Club's Aims

The above is not from the columns of any angry nationalist paper, nor from any anti-west Communist organ but from the September 1 issue of the Capital, the organ of British Big Business in Calcutta. The above was writ-

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ten by its New Delhi Correspondent who was familiar with what it was all about and also the worries besetting the Indian official world.

What the Capital has written above is being feverishly discussed by India's planners and the officials concerned. But these facts are confined to the knowledgeable few.

These facts irresistibly lead to the following conclusions about the aim and methods of the members of the "Aid India" Club.

- They agreed to aid the Second Plan only after the Indian Government had agreed to cut major heavy industry projects. In other words they are out to hinder and slow down Indian industrialisation.
- They have not even paid what they solemnly promised, the promised credit is lagging behind by about \$ 200 million. They have thus sought to slow down the rate of development of our economy.
- Their "aid" methods and procedures are such as to keep everything on our side unstable and on tenterhooks.
- Their default on the promised credits and the delay following the cumbersome methods they adopted

## DEMAND NOW -

# NO SURRENDER!

compelled the Indian Government to pay for the already ordered capital goods and industrial raw materials from its own scarce foreign exchange resources instead of their promised loans and credits. This inevitably led to the foreign exchange reserves of the country reaching an all-time low.

In short it is the very members of the "Aid India" Club who are primarily responsible for producing the present foreign exchange crisis. The final outcome of this crazy pattern of aid is to make India even more dependent on their aid.

They have "aided" us during the Second Plan in a manner as to get into such a strategic position in the Indian planning set-up as to be able to dictate still taller and bigger demands on the Third Plan.

## Demands On Third Plan

The above is not our analysis and forecast alone but it stands writ large in the Report of the Hoffman Mission which visited India on behalf of the World Bank earlier this year and which has only recently been submitted to the Indian Government and meaningfully enough on the eve of Morarji's aid-quest abroad.

The Hindustan Times and a few other Indian papers have published a very brief summary of the Hoffman Report

and the reasons are understandable. If the common newspaper readers get to read the full report, there will be such nationwide indignation stirred against the World Bank that the selfish plans of the Indian monopolist reactionaries will get into real soup.

The Capital, September 8, alone carries large extracts from the Hoffman Report. Again the reason is obvious. The Capital has not to fear Indian opinion but only strengthen the confidence of British businessmen, their personnel and their Indian partners.

## Foreign Private Capital

Hoffman notes the growth of and conflicts within Indian economic development in the following words: "India is struggling against heavy odds to achieve a revolutionary change in economic conditions by non-revolutionary means. Change is in the air. No one can say for certain how deep its impact is."

The Hoffman Mission has rightly caught that central point in Indian planning which his patrons of the World Bank are out to seize to muscle their way into in-

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Secretary to the Union Ministry of Mines and Fuel flying to London and New York to discuss oil exploration in India by the foreign oil companies. An India Press Agency despatch of September 9 reveals that 13 foreign companies have approached the Union Government for securing oil exploration rights in India. Among these nine are from the United States, two from Britain and one each from West Germany and Italy.

## Proposals For Coal

As regards the coal industry, the Mission states its view that the Third Plan targets for coal cannot be reached "unless there is radical change in the Government's policy towards the industry." Once again it demands a change in the existing policy of the Indian Government. "The expansion of the private sector has been restricted as an act of Government policy which has reserved the opening of new areas to the public sector. The private collieries should, therefore, be encouraged to raise all the coal they can, restrictions on the issue of new mine leases should be lifted."

## Basic Industries

The World Bank Mission then goes on to make demands upon one basic industry after another and it concentrates upon the key and basic indus-

tries and argues against their being built or expanded in the public sector.

The big Indian hope was that just as the Second Plan was a steel plan, the Third will be an oil plan and the country will be able to control and keep the three foreign refineries in their place. The Hoffman report demands a clean break from the declared Government policy objective: "The policy pursued by the Indian Government over the past few years of excluding private capital from further investment in oil exploration and refinery has added very considerably to the immediate pressure on India's foreign exchange resources."

The argument is childishly simple. It is, that if India is suffering from an exchange crisis, why add to the burden by starting this expensive industry in the State sector? Let the experienced foreign companies come in with their trained personnel, equipment and all they will do the job! The only point is that in that case it will remain foreign oil in the Indian market and we already know its consequences.

The World Bank pressure is powerful enough to send the

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It runs down the need for a fourth steel plant for, it cannot frontally oppose it in view of the positive policy declaration of the Indian Government. The case for the construction of a fourth steel plant in the public sector is much more debatable and must rest in the last resort on the arrangements made for running it when it is completed.

If the Fourth Indian steel plant cannot be killed it must be kept in their own hands. "The shortcomings in the organisation of the existing Government plants anyhow suggest that special arrangements might with advantage be made to secure foreign management for the fourth steel plant."

The Mission argues its case against the fourth steel plant in the public sector in the following way: "Nor do we feel that the case for having the plant in the public sector can be established until alternative possibilities of obtaining a further expansion of production in the private sector have been thoroughly explored. This does not yet appear to have been done."

Their aims have been stated clearly enough with all the alternatives neatly worked out. First, prevent the expansion of Indian steel. Second, if it is expanded, keep it confined in the Tata-owned or Biren Mukherjee-owned private sector steel plants and enforce Western partnership upon them. If, however, the fourth steel plant does get started in the public sector, get hold of it under cover of supplying expert foreign management.

The Mission Report also

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# INDIA AT THE U. N.

## Editorial

IT IS REAL GOOD NEWS that India's Prime Minister is also going to the U. N. Khrushchov's master stroke

set in motion such a chain reaction that most heads of State have already announced their decision to follow suit and the few leading Powers of the West are finding it very hard to hold back, stay at home and carry on their own way. Here is living evidence that the world balance has already shifted against the forces we hate and seek to get rid of and in favour of these we respect and love and want to live and work with in a world at peace.

The peace hungry world is wide awake and is getting aroused more and more.

The change for the much-desired better is in the air, in all the continents of the globe and we welcome that our Prime Minister has smelt it and responded in time. The colonialists resist abdication. The warmongers do not want to listen to reason. The Herbers are alive and kicking, soiling the air, pulling every country and plotting with every reactionary lot and preparing for the holocaust, for all they are worth. They know they are fighting a losing battle and their desperation can be read in all their activities against accepting the independence of nations and outlawing war as the policy and practice of any civilised Government, irrespective of the political and social system it chooses to live under.

The world struggle is reaching a critical turning point. The wise and peace-loving statesmen of the world fully realise that this session of the U. N. General Assembly will be as crucial as the first foundation session itself for, it is the very principles and purpose for which the U. N. was formed that are at stake and they are being openly challenged repeatedly by the present rulers of the U. S. who with the selfishness of their monopoly groups and the false pride of their top brasshats and the day dreams of their reactionary politicians have lost all sense of proportion and refuse to accept present-day realities.

India's role would be truly crucial and matter a lot in deciding the fate of issues on which depends our own future and that of the rest of the world.

The great issue of key import will be disarmament. Nehru in the past has given full support to Khrushchov's proposal for universal and general disarmament. The vital question now is how much and how far disarmament can be actually enforced and the war-makers camp headed by the USA made to recognise with due guarantees the noble urge of mankind for a world without war.

The whole issue of liquidation of colonialism hangs around the fate of Congo and the role of the U. N. there. The U. N. Secretary-General is functioning in blatant violation of the Security Council decision itself. The Governments of the U.A.R., Ghana and Guinea have announced that they will withdraw their troops from under the U. N. Command and place them instead at the disposal of the Congolese Prime Minister against whom traitors and separatists are being let loose.

The Soviet Government has announced its support to all such measures that help save the independence and integrity of Congo.

While the colonialists are using the mask of the U. N. to cover up their criminal designs, the U. N. representative in Congo is an Indian diplomat, Rajeshwar Dayal. His silence, and still worse the silence of the Government of India, are disquieting.

The whole world expects India to go against the colonialists when the Congo issue comes up before the U. N.

With Congo is tied up the whole issue of colonialism and the future of the U. N. itself. We earnestly hope Pandit Nehru will do everything that will raise high India's prestige, by doing all he can for Congo, Africa and the cause of colonial liberation.

The Prime Minister will go to the U. N. with the best wishes of his country and great expectations from the rest of the world which wants peace in our time, which wants the right to independence of every nation respected and the chance to live and labour according to one's own light and desire. Let him do his best; our country's honour and people's welfare also depends upon what he will do abroad during this month.

(September 14)

# GREETINGS TO VISWESWARAYYA

NEW AGE conveys warm greetings to M. Visweswarayya on his 100th birthday and wishes him many more years of life in the service of the country and the nation.

## Resolution On Assam Of West Bengal State Council Of The C. P. I.

THE West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting on September 8 and 9, adopted a resolution of the Assam situation which reads:

The recent Parliamentary debate and the decisions of the Government of India announced in Parliament while indicating that the Government has been forced under pressure of democratic opinion in West Bengal and other States to modify its earlier attitude of minimising the significance of the Assam events and of hushing up the whole affair can, however, by no means be considered adequate to meet the needs of the situation.

The amendment sponsored by West Bengal Congress M. P.s leaves plenty of scope to the Government to evade the whole issue of a judicial enquiry because no definite date has been laid down, nothing has been specified as to who would appoint the enquiry, the Central or the Assam Government, and whether the enquiry would be conducted by a Judge of the Assam courts or a Supreme Court Judge. The decision announced that a Central Minister would supervise rehabilitation arrangements does not explain what exactly would be the function of the Central Minister and whether he would be able to supervise the law and order situation also.

The West Bengal Council, therefore, feels that the democratic movement of West Bengal and other parts of India cannot afford to sit idle after having scored some initial and partial successes.

### Campaign To Continue

The West Bengal Council, therefore, resolves to continue the campaign for the fulfilment of the following demands:

- 1. The early setting up of a judicial enquiry within a month or two to be conducted by a Supreme Court Judge with terms of reference that clearly indicate that the purpose of the enquiry is to find out the causes of the recent disturbances, the role played by the Assam Government and the ruling party in Assam,

the responsibility of the Central Government in the matter and to suggest measures for prevention of such recurrences in future.

- 2. Steps to see that refugees are rehabilitated in their homes as early as possible and for this the necessary financial aid, not merely loans, are given by the Assam Government as well as by the Central Government.

The West Bengal Council must be improved and administration overhauled in such a manner that a sense of confidence is restored among the refugees.

All these steps should be taken under the direct supervision of a Central Minister.

The West Bengal Council resolves to call a convention in cooperation with other Left parties and other progressive individuals and organisations to discuss concretely the steps that could be taken to ensure speedy rehabilitation of the refugees and the restoration of normalcy in Assam.

### All-India Convention

The West Bengal Council also considers that in cooperation with other democratic forces an all-India convention should be held to go into the question of rights of linguistic and other minorities in India and to devise ways and means to see that minorities throughout India feel secure and a repetition of the Assam events becomes impossible in the future.

The West Bengal Council further decides to carry on the campaign to force the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal Congress to do their duty in this matter. The passing of a unanimous resolution in the West Bengal Assembly was undoubtedly a great success for the democratic movement of West Bengal but now that the Central Government has failed to accept fully the eminently rea-

sonable demands embodied in the Assembly resolution which was also unanimously supported by the West Bengal Legislative Council, the West Bengal Government must be forced to put due pressure on the Central Government to see that the demands embodied in that resolution are accepted. In fact now that all Opposition parties and even a section of Congress and Independent M. P.s have supported the demands raised in the West Bengal Assembly resolution these demands can clearly be said to be the demands of the entire democratic movement of India.

The West Bengal Council further resolves to send a delegation to Assam to study the situation, to find out the difficulties in the way of speedy rehabilitation and to prepare conditions in cooperation with the democratic forces within Assam for the return of refugees to their homes.

### Relief To Refugees

The West Bengal Council also resolves to carry on a serious campaign among the minorities within West Bengal to mobilise their support on this issue and to make them realise that the movement that is being carried on in connection with the Assam events is a movement to safeguard the rights of minorities throughout India including those in West Bengal.

The West Bengal Council notes with concern that refugees from Assam in West Bengal are being kept under inhuman conditions and demands that adequate financial aid and relief be given to them and that they are kept in decent conditions.

The West Bengal Council considers that the language issue in Assam should be settled by a round table conference of all concerned.

The West Bengal Council resolves to ask all Party comrades to contribute to the fund to be raised for the purpose of this campaign.

## Relief To Famine-Stricken Rayalaseema

—AIKS President's Appeal

A.K. GOPALAN, M. P., President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on September 10, 1960:

About ten million people in Rayalaseema and the surrounding area in Andhra Pradesh have been seriously affected by drought this year. After the first week of June there has been no rain at all. The crops which were sown in June have died completely. Not a single tank in the four districts of Rayalaseema has any water. The situation has become so alarming that even drinking water has become scarce in a number of villages in the area. The problem of fodder for cattle has become so serious that in the event of failure of immediate supply of fodder they face the danger of perishing in thousands as in the years 1945 and 1952.

For the last two years, rains have failed in this area. As a result, this year also, the situation has become alarmingly grave. Not only the mass of peasants have no foodgrain, but even the well-to-do passants and landlords also have no food stocks. The people as a whole, the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in particular are faced with starvation in the absence of any work and food stocks in the area. The price of foodgrains has shot up.

The urgent and pressing need of the hour is that the Government should lose no time in tackling this problem. The measures so far taken show that they have neither realised the gravity of the situation nor its extent and depth. I, therefore, urge on the Government to take immediately the following steps:

- 1. To provide famine relief works for all able-bodied persons;
- 2. To establish fair price depots with adequate stocks in every panchayat village;
- 3. Take immediate measures for deepening old wells and digging new wells for providing water to the people, and
- 4. Establish fodder depots in every taluk centre.

I urge upon the Government to appoint a high-power commission to devise ways and means for relieving this area which is prone to famine once in every five years, since temporary measures are not likely to solve this chronic problem.

I appeal to the Central Government to immediately give help to the State Government and see that the above measures are implemented within a matter of days, before the situation grows still worse.

## OPERATION SABOTAGE

IT seems that Food Minister Patil is busy working his brains how best to carry forward his sabotage activities against State trading in foodgrains. The arena for this particular display of diabolical skill will be the National Development Council.

The Prime Minister had rather queered his pitch by coming out strongly in favour of State trading in his intervention during the Plan debate in the Rajya Sabha. Nehru had been quite forthright in declaring that as regards State trading, "it is true, we have not succeeded in doing what we intended to do, partly for lack of apparatus and partly because we asked the very people who were opposed to it to do it." He did not specify whom he meant by "we" but it is reported that Sabdoba's ears started burning.

So the wily Patil has hit upon a "pragmatic" argument. He is believed to be preparing a case that it is bad enough that State trading will antagonise the rich landowners in the surplus areas. Now if the trading operations are to be handed over to co-operatives or direct Government agencies, the small traders will also be up in arms. And he has painted a picture of "millions of village grocers" turning away from the Congress. How is this wise when the General Elections are only a bare 14 or 15 months away?

And, if State trading is to be conducted through these "millions of grocers", then this is precisely "asking the very people who were opposed to it to do it" against which the Prime Minister had warned. So the vicious circle is complete—State trading is sabotaged since Congress interests demand that saboteurs alone can be "trusted" to handle it!

This is the trouble when "pragmatic" Prime Ministers decide to damn "doctrinaire" Socialism and get hoist with their own petard.

## NEHRU AND U. N.

THERE is any amount of rumours and speculation about whether the Prime Minister will attend the General Assembly of the United Nations. Apart from the leaders of the Socialist countries a good number of Afro-Asian statesmen will be attending. It is only natural that men of goodwill expect that Pandit Nehru will also be there. Last-minute reports indicate that he will go.

A powerful lobby, however, was organised against the idea of the Prime Minister's personal presence at the U. N. All manner of arguments were being raised. Some wiseacres advised that Nehru can be useful only when the disarmament discussion—the main

# SCRAP-BOOK

Item on the agenda—has reached a stage where a compromise formula is possible. And this is likely to take several weeks.

Some others said that since Herter has openly come out against the idea of any top-level negotiations at the United Nations, the very fact of Nehru going would be a partisan act and a deviation from non-alignment. They said that it would be far better to wait till the U. S. Presidential rat-race is finished, overlooking the fact that Premier Khrushchov has publicly announced that he will be in Korea in October.

When these arguments were demolished which was easy enough to do, the big trump was played. Morarji-bhai is setting off again and will be in Washington towards the end of September. It would be quite disastrous, the pro-West lobby argued, for the Prime Minister also to be there and taking sides with the Soviet Union. How then will dear Morarji get his dollars?

This, too, was sought to be countered by the sane argument that if Nehru's presence would help disarmament talks, this would make available such enormous sums for aid to India and other underdeveloped countries that our Finance

Minister need never go begging again. And, in any case not to respond in some way to Khrushchov's invitation would be ungracious, especially as so much Soviet aid has already come and more is in the offing.

To this the reply was the joke of the century. Why should Nehru go running to New York? Morarji will be there. He can attend the General Assembly and raise the status of the delegation! This would not displease the Americans and yet show the Soviets that India wanted to meet her wishes also! But it is most likely that the tables will be turned on the jokers and Nehru will be at the United Nations.

## OILY MANOEUVRES

THE big foreign oil monopolies are rather upset at the trend of developments in India. The nasty Soviets are offering oil—and refineries, too—at prices which make mincemeat of their own profit-hungry price policies. On top of it all the oil glut has made things more difficult than ever before.

They are trying all the tricks they know but so far

nothing has succeeded. They have thrown the bait that they would help to find oil in India. They have managed to attract the Government enough to induce it to send a high-power mission abroad, headed by S. S. Khera, Secretary of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel. But no more than a mission won't satisfy them.

So now they are trying to work up the Arab oil-producing countries against India. They are going around West Asia spreading the lie that India was insisting that prices be lowered by cutting oil royalty payments. Simultaneously in New Delhi they have opened the campaign of asking the Government of India to pay heed to "Arab sentiments" which are being hurt by Indian demands for reduction of oil prices.

It would be as well if the Government of India took the bull by the horns and opened direct talks and negotiations with the oil-rich West Asian countries. It could explain how the oil companies were robbing them all and India. Why not send Malaviya to the Arab East simultaneously with Khera's going West?

—ONLOOKER

September 12

# ANTI-DOWRY BILL

## Women Demand Early Enactment

A deputation of representatives of women's organisations from Punjab, Rajasthan, U. P. and Delhi, under the auspices of the National Federation of Indian Women, met the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Sri Anantashyanam Ayyangar, on September 5 to press on him the need for the early convening of the joint session of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha to discuss the Anti-Dowry Bill.

The memorandum submitted to the Speaker by the deputation recalled that the Federation of Indian Women, with one lakh membership, had been carrying on "a constant campaign" for the enactment of laws for combating the evil custom of dowry, through countless meetings, conferences, etc. A deputation had met Sri Asoke Sen, Law Minister, and presented forty thousands signatures supporting the demand.

Renu Chakravarty, Vice-

President of the Federation, had withdrawn her Bill on Prohibition of Dowry "on the express assurance from the Government that such legislation would be speedily enacted."

When the Anti-Dowry Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha, the memorandum continued, "our Federation supported it through numerous meetings, conferences, letters to the Prime Minister and telegrams to Sri Asoke Sen. We are, therefore, extremely concerned at the continued delay in passing a measure for which the women of India have been striving so hard.

"In the interest of millions of parents, and thousands of men and women who suffer untold misery and shame due to the pernicious custom of dowry, we appeal to you to do your utmost to see that this Bill is passed.

"We appeal to you to try

your best to see that a joint session of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha is convened at the earliest date to discuss this measure."

The memorandum demanded the retaining of Clause 4, which had been omitted from the draft of the Bill by the Rajya Sabha, the exclusion of ornaments, cash or property from gifts, appointment of special courts or officers to enquire into any report of dowry being demanded, given or taken, and punishment for contravention of the law by imprisonment and fine.

Later a public meeting was held in Old Delhi where Renu Chakravarty, Krishna Mehta and other members of Parliament spoke on the Anti-Dowry Bill and the demands of the National Federation of Indian Women. The meeting elected a deputation to meet the Law Minister, Asoke Sen.



# STATE LANGUAGE FOR ASSAM

—COMMUNIST PARTY STATE COUNCIL'S PROPOSALS

THE resolution on State language, adopted by the Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting held from August 29 to September 1, reads:

The Assam State Council of the Communist Party of India deplors the heated controversy and passions generated over the question of State language of Assam.

The Communist Party of India has always stood and campaigned for the replacement of English by the respective language of the States as official language of the State, i.e., language of administration, of courts and of the legislatures. The Party is convinced that this alone would enable the fullest participation of the common people in the administration and in the political life of the State, which is very essential for the democratic development of the country.

The difficulty in Assam has arisen because of the fact that there are large areas in which people

speaking Bengali and tribal languages are in a majority.

The State Council, however, does not consider this such an insurmountable difficulty. The problem can be solved provided it is approached from the standpoint of the interests of the mass of the people of Assam whatever language they may speak, and provided the paramount necessity for taking such steps and measures as would ensure the fullest participation of all the people in the administrative, social and political life of the State is recognised.

Motivated solely by such considerations, the State Council of the CPI is firmly of the opinion that Assamese, being the language of the majority of the people of the State, should be the State language of Assam.

At the same time, Bengali and the language or languages chosen by the Hills people should be given their rightful official status and used for such official

purposes as would ensure the minorities due opportunities and rights in the cultural, administrative and other spheres of public life.

The State Council believes this can be done by providing that Bengali and the language chosen by the Hills people should be the language of administration and other official business, up to and including the district level respectively in the Cachar and the United Khasi-Jaintia, the Garo, the Mizo, the North Cachar Hills Districts, and by providing opportunities for the use of these languages as the media of education up to the university level for the people of these areas. As regards the State Public Service examinations, naturally provisions should be made for the candidates to choose as medium of examination that language which was the medium of their university education.

The State Council of the CPI places these practical proposals before the people of Assam with the earnest desire to solve the contro-

versy in a manner that would guarantee the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the Assamese as well as the non-Assamese people of the State.

By the acceptance of the Assamese language as the State language and its usage in all spheres at the State level as well as at all levels in all the districts except in the districts of Cachar, the United Khasi-Jaintia, the Garo, the Mizo, and North Cachar, the Assamese people will secure the fullest opportunity for the development of their language and culture.

The provision for the use of the minorities languages for administrative purposes including publication in those languages of important Government decrees, orders and enactments where the minorities are in a majority, together with the continued implementation throughout the State of the obligatory constitutional provisions as regards the rights of minorities such as the right of petition and education up to the secondary stage in their education and cul-

tural institutions without discrimination, and guarantee of equal opportunity and no discrimination in the matter of State service, are ample safeguards that should overcome any doubt in the mind of the minorities about their future in the State.

The CPI welcomes the decision of the Government to hold a round-table conference to find a satisfactory solution to this question. It appeals to the people of Assam and to those representatives who would be participating in the conference to approach the question in the democratic spirit with which the Communist Party has put forward its proposals and to come to an agreement on the basis indicated in this resolution. Thereby they will be serving not only the cause of Assam but also the cause of the entire country, for such an agreement will lay the foundations for the joint and cooperative endeavours of all the people of the State for building a prosperous and democratic Assam.

## RAJYA SABHA DEBATE ON ASSAM

The Rajya Sabha debate on Assam very largely covered the same ground as the earlier discussion in the Lok Sabha. The marked difference, however, was that the Government was more effectively put on the mat by the Opposition and lost heavily in moral-political prestige. One reason, perhaps, was that the Prime Minister did not make his usual marathon interventions and left matters in the pettier hands of Pant. The Home Minister struck the posture of a chowkidar who had helped a burglar by a family member.

He protested too much and, instead of looking inwards at the doings of his party and Government, quoted distorted extracts from the policy statements of other parties. His particular target was the Assam branch of the Communist Party of India but Bhupesh Gupta's energetic repartee soon enough upset his ham humour.

He unequivocally expressed the confidence that the forces of democracy would soon unite and cleanse Assam.

Many speakers, notably Bhupesh Gupta, H.N. Kunzru (nominated), Ganga Saran Sinha (PSP) and Raj Bahadur Gour, made matters totally uncomfortable for the Government as they pressed home the case for a quick comprehensive enquiry.

Calling for a thorough enquiry into the Assam happenings by a high powered commission, Ganga Saran Sinha said he was not confident whether the various charges against political parties and groups could be brought forward in the kind of enquiry which had been accepted by the Government. Besides the enquiry should be comprehensive so that it not only helped to punish the guilty but also showed the way for preventing the recurrence of such events in the future.

Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that the basic question was that of the fundamental rights of the minorities who were to be found in almost every State of India. This had become the central problem of our nation's unity. He suggested that the Prime Minister take the initiative in calling a conference of all shades of opinion to discuss this

## Govt. On The Mat

question. It was precisely to help evolve correct policies to tackle this looming danger that a thorough probe in Assam was essential, the Communist leader argued.

Tracing the history of the recent events in Assam he showed beyond the shadow of a doubt that it was, above all, the faction fight inside the Assam Congress that had produced the riots. The Assam Government came to a state of total collapse and "left Assam to two rival Congress groups."

### Why Was Centre Inactive?

To add to the iniquity the Central Government sat impassive — "about Assam it was all quiet on the Delhi front." He wanted to know what the army had done and whether it at all could intervene when, as the Prime Minister admitted, the Magistrates, under whom alone it could function, failed utterly. Later Bhupesh Gupta and Kunzru threw Pandit Pant off-balance by challenging him to produce a single order given to the army — the Home Minister could not mention a single one.

Citing the wide range of powers enjoyed by the Centre, he pointed out that it was beyond explanation why these were not used, when the Centre was claiming that it knew all along what was taking place in Assam. For this, and the factors cited above, a commission of enquiry was needed. And if the Government was sincere in accepting it, as per the resolution in the Lok Sabha, a definite date — October 15 — should be fixed for its coming into being.

He assailed Pandit Nehru for his unseemly remarks about Raj Bahadur Gour's defence of the democratic rights of the students — "it is pure bunkum on the part of the Prime Minister." Later in the debate Dr. Gour also took up the point and remarked, "My complaint is that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is shedding Nehruism and becoming merely the Prime Minister."

Bhupesh Gupta, and a number of others, praised the actions of Dr. B.C. Roy who had correctly responded to the wishes and mood of the people of West Bengal. He wished that the Central treasury benches could display a similar spirit.

### Congress Rivalry

Making almost the same points H.N. Kunzru stated that the biggest failure had been that of the Central Government and the party whose writ ran in New Delhi and Shillong alike. He declared, "The Bengal-speaking Assamese have suffered not because of the linguistic question but because of the rivalry between different sections of the Congress." He made some pretty pungent comments on the strange inaction of the Assam Ministry and Governor Sridagesh, who should have known better how to deploy the army.

He announced his intention of supporting the amendments proposed by the Communist Party and PSP. In the voting he was joined by Sardar Panikkar, who made an interesting speech tracing the growth of

chauvinism in Assam. Citing the very odd domicile rules in Assam he stated, "The Assamese look upon the other people resident there as outsiders." He called for the creation of a sense of unity in that State.

It was a reflection on the inadequacies of our parliamentary set-up that though the Congress position could not be maintained on logic nor on facts, its opponents were voted down by an overwhelming majority. But the Rajya Sabha debate had shown that it would be folly and worse for the Congress to rely on this anomaly much longer. The debate had severely shortened its remaining moral height.

—MOHIT SEN

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# Kisan Jatha Marches Through Tamilnad

## Tremendous Response To Demand For Amending Land Bill

★ FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

After covering the districts of Tamilnad on foot, a Kisan Jatha is approaching the capital of the State to present to the Government the amendments which the Tamilnad peasantry wants to be incorporated in the Madras Fixation of Ceilings on Landholdings Bill.

**A. K. GOPALAN**, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, who recently led the Kerala Karshaka Jatha from Kasargode to Trivandrum and had also marched with the Tamilnad jatha for a week through Tanjore district (he is to join the jatha again before it enters Madras city) said, "The jatha has been a tremendous success in Tamilnad, too."

It was after long delays and hesitations that the Madras Government had introduced the Ceiling Bill fixing ceiling at 30 standard acres for a family and an individual. The Bill also exempts orchards, coconut and mango groves, pasture lands and lands used for dairy farming. The net result of the high ceiling and plentiful exemptions was that there will be no surplus land for distribution. To make matters still worse, all the benami transfers made by the landlords to avoid the ceiling will not be nullified.

Tanjore District is the home of the kisan movement in Tamilnad. The movement there began for getting an increased share of the produce to the tenants but that very struggle embraced the panyajals (feudal agricultural workers) who have from then onwards been the driving force behind the Kisan Sabha in the State.

Tanjore District also faced the most severe repression when the Government began its attack on the Kisan Sabha in 1948-50. Some of the best leaders of the Sabha, Sivaraman, Hirayan and Raju were shot dead, Kuppu died under suspicious circumstances inside jail. Criminal cases involving hundreds were launched, and many activists of the Sabha were sentenced to long terms in jail. Villages were raided by the police, people were beaten up and tortured.

But in 1952, the General Elections showed that the Kisan Sabha instead of being suppressed, had come out of the repression with added strength. The Rajaji Ministry had to enact the Fannalray and Tenants' Protection Act which conceded some of the demands.

**Big Receptions**  
Today the Kisan Sabha has become a real force to be reckoned with in the villages of this district. Over a thousand members of the Panchayat Boards and about 200 Board Presidents come from among these organised agricultural workers and tenants.

With such a tradition, it is only natural that the Jatha which started from Madurai had its biggest receptions in Tanjore District. Thousands of peasants gladly undertook the job of decorating the entire 110-mile route of the jatha through the district — there were hundreds of arches, bunting and banners all along the route. It looked as if the whole area was celebrating some sort of a national festival.

The number of people following the jatha was never less than a thousand, in many places it went up to 5,000 and a notable feature was the hundreds of women who participated in the receptions to the jatha and the demonstrations. At the decorated entrances to every village, the women performed arathi and showered flower petals on the members of the jatha, while bugles, drums and nadaswaram were played in welcome and fireworks burst in the sky making colourful patterns.

But in 1952, the General Elections showed that the Kisan Sabha instead of being suppressed, had come out of the repression with added strength. The Rajaji Ministry had to enact the Fannalray and Tenants' Protection Act which conceded some of the demands.

**Main Amendments**  
The Tamilnad Kisan Sabha, at its Annual Conference in the first week of May discussed the provisions of the Bill and put forward 17 amendments so as to make the Bill useful to the landless peasants and agricultural labourers of the State.

The main demands made by the conference were— (1) ceiling should be fixed at 15 standard acres per family and not for an individual, (2) all benami transfers since 1955 should be nullified, and (3) all exemptions for orchards, coconut and mango groves, pasture and dairy lands should be removed.

A campaign was run throughout the State on the basis of these demands when leaders and workers of the Sabha moved on foot from village to village explaining the amendments proposed by the Kisan Sabha.

The Executive Committee of the Sabha met in the middle of July to review this campaign and there it was decided to carry it forward with a Statewide movement during which two batches of Kisan Sabha leaders would march on foot—one from Madurai and the other from Coimbatore—beginning August 15 and touring all the districts on the way reach Madras by September 21. The Jathas were each to cover about 450 miles passing through hundreds of villages and several towns.

Both the Jathas were led by veteran leaders of the Tamil-

nad peasantry—the one from Madurai by Manali Kandasami and the other from Coimbatore by B. Srinivasa Rao.

When the jatha was leaving the district behind, the balance-sheet was made up—625 pieces of cloth, each costing from one rupee to Rs. 40; total—Rs. 1,250, cash—Rs. 1,300 and more than a lakh and a half of signatures. Over a million people had been covered by the Jatha during its march through the district and innumerable meetings had been held addressed by A. K. Gopalan, Manali Kandasami and others.

The strength of the organised agricultural workers was seen at every centre when hundred to two hundred volunteers smartly turned out in red and white uniforms to give guards of honour to the Jatha. They controlled the crowds which were straining forward to have a glimpse of the leaders and had gathered at the public meetings.

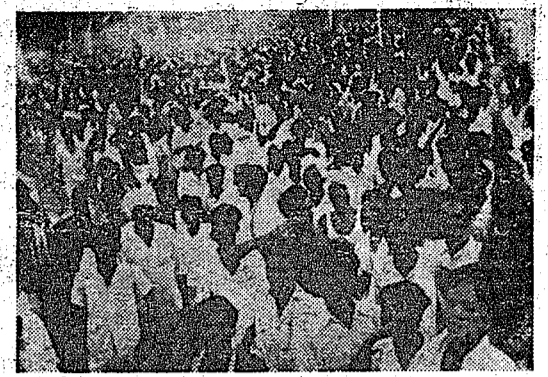
These meetings were held at all odd times from seven in the morning till late in the night and even then thousands would be waiting for the Jatha to arrive. The meeting in Kottur early in the morning was attended by about 20,000 people including

5,000 women and over a lakh of people waited for the Jatha in Mayavaram most of whom had to disappointedly go away because of the sudden and heavy downpour of rain.

The peasants poured out their grievances to the Jatha and not only blessed it but solemnly promised to build up the Kisan Sabha in their own villages.

The middle classes in the towns, too, expressed their support to the aims of the Jatha and contributed liberally to its funds.

**Gifts They Gave**  
Agricultural workers left their work for two days. The man with the bundle of rice and a child on his shoulder, the wife with a child on her hip and another clinging to her hand—it was an occasion for the entire family. And the gifts they gave showed their love and respect for their Sangham and its leaders. Cash was, of course, there. Then there were dhoties



A sectional view of the crowd that assembled at Thiruthuraiipoondi (Tanjore District) to receive the Jatha.

### New Areas

The experience of the other batch was very much different, marching as it was through areas where the Kisan Sabha is either weak or does not exist at all.

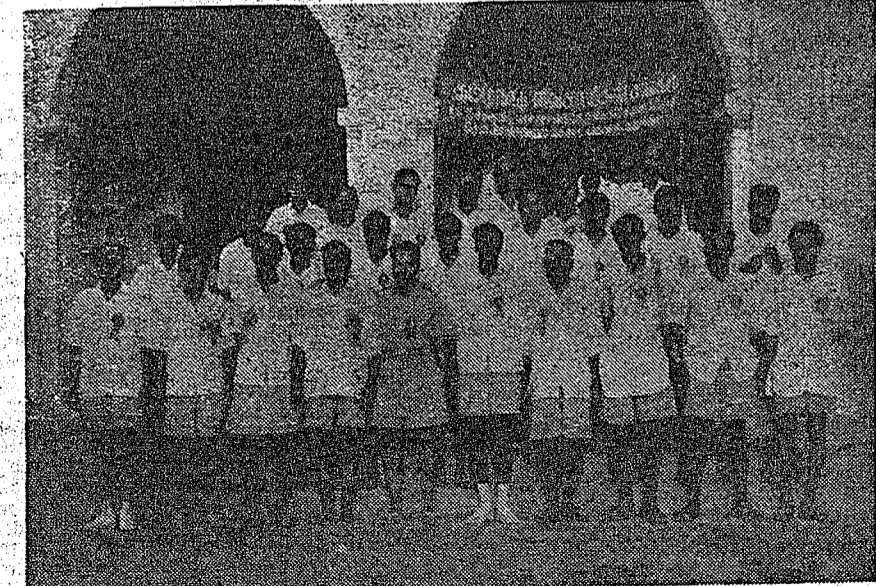
This Jatha was seen off from Coimbatore with a big solidarity demonstration by the working class of the town. Hundreds of textile workers, shouting, "Workers and peasants unite", accompanied the Jatha. Women municipal workers offered arathi and as the procession marched through Mill Road, it swelled to over two thousand. In Tiruppur, another textile centre, these scenes were repeated and on a smaller scale in all the towns through which the Jatha passed.

### Pledge To Build Sabha

In many of the villages, the meetings to receive the Jatha were not organised beforehand because of the absence of Kisan Sabha units. The propaganda van preceding the Jatha would stop and the volunteers would shout slogans and sing songs. The peasants and agricultural workers would come running from their homes and fields and would listen to the Jatha leaders explaining the provisions of the Ceiling Bill and the amendments which the Kisan Sabha was demanding. And then they would follow the Jatha a part of the way.

This beginning of the movement in these areas has struck terror into the hearts of the landlords. This is not surprising considering that the Jatha passed through villages where the peasants did not even know that there were enactments like the Cultivating Tenants' Protection Act and the Fair Rent Act and where even today tenants are evicted and exorbitant rents collected from them in violation of the provisions of these Acts.

The peasants poured out their grievances to the Jatha and not only blessed it but solemnly promised to build up the Kisan Sabha in their own villages.



Volunteers of the Tamilnad Kisan Jatha in the batch which started from Madurai. Fourth from left is Manali Kandasami, leader of the batch, and next to him A. K. Gopalan.



**From the Border Districts,  
Communist Functionaries  
Answer the Prime Minister**

## Not A Shred Of Evidence From Himachal

The Prime Minister's thunder about Communist activities on the border districts has failed to impress or scare the local people, the folks that really matter. They know from their own experience that there is nothing to be scared of, that it is all a part of the political game, partisan propaganda drive for the coming general election.

IN the very beginning let me state that Kimaur is the only border district in Himachal. There is no Party unit and no Communist Party members there. We Himachal Communists live and work a very long distance below the actual border. This by itself should tell a lot to those who seek the truth.

### Not A Single Fact

A real good answer to the Prime Minister's unfounded allegations consists in the fact that neither the local Government nor the local PTI representative nor any respectable newspaper has been able to produce a single fact to confirm the Prime Minister's statement. They cannot, of course, be expected to produce the facts to contradict the Prime Minister of the country and vindicate the honour of our Party.

During the first week of September a newspaper called Challenge has been started from Simla. Its editor, J. N. Kaul, is a real live anti-Communist and the local Secretary of the "Tibet Commit-

tee." Even he and his paper have not been able to manufacture any facts that could be palmed off to substantiate Pandit Nehru's outburst.

Very tight police vigilance is kept on our active workers. Three persons are deputed to keep watch over my house at Simla. One of them belongs to the Punjab CID, another to the Himachal CID and still another to the Simla District Security Staff. The Central CID is also there with a separate staff and set-up. I am followed wherever I go, persons who come to meet me and to the Party office are followed. Everything that we do is public and known to the Government. All the speeches that we make are recorded. And yet not a single solid fact has been produced by the local Government to confirm the Prime Minister's statement nor did the Prime Minister himself state a single fact which could be verified. Slanders do have wings but this one has no feet at all. The Prime Minister's latest feat is without feet in Himachal reality.

Let me narrate a few simple stories which will help

# REAL FACTS Vs. PARTISAN SLANDER

by **KANESHWAR PANDIT**  
SECRETARY, HIMACHAL PRADESH COUNCIL OF CPI

New Age readers to understand this, how the slanders of Communists being engaged in anti-national activities do not cut any ice inside Himachal itself.

The latest anti-Communist statement that I can recall was made some time in February last by a Hardayal Singh, a former Congress MLA and now Vice-President of the Mahasu Congress Committee. He stated that the Communists were active on the border and that their activities should be checked. Even he dared not state that anything "anti-national" was being done by the Communists. All he said was that being organised by the Communists and the very existence of any Communist activity was undesirable.

### Story Of A Strike

The true facts are the following: When during the beginning of the year, a rapid road-building programme began in the border areas, the PWD workers were transferred en masse from the areas around Simla to areas beyond Rampur. The distance from Simla

to Rampur is 86 miles and from Rampur to the border is another 140 miles. The Himachal Pradesh PWD Employees' Union is a union "recognised" by the Government and affiliated to the AITUC. When the union membership was transferred northward, the trade union organisers also went with them as was but natural. I have made detailed enquiries from these trade union organisers. Not one of them went 40 to 50 miles beyond Rampur, that is they remained and functioned from 100 miles below the border. They used to hold regular trade union group meetings to listen to workers' grievances and get them redressed by the officials.

During March-April this year, the workers went on a pay-strike, that is they did their work but did not accept their wages for two months. The reason was that according to Government rules themselves, the hill compensatory allowance for the area where they were now working was fixed at 100 per cent but they were being offered only 50 per cent, that is they were asked to stomach a 50 per cent cut in their due allowance. They stood up for their rights.

More, during this period, they worked 24 hours a day, the unskilled workers worked in three shifts. These labour heroes were the union's active militants and they were also the mechanical staff, that is compressor drivers, technicians, etc. It is they who were thus transferred and not the unskilled staff. No complaint has ever been made against this skilled staff nor any trade union organiser as regards slackness or sabotage or anything that could be called, by any stretch of imagination, objectionable.

There was another strike by the Town Employees' Committee at Rampur. One of the sweepers was wrongfully dismissed and went on hunger-strike for two days and the matter was satisfactorily settled. The above events upset Hardayal Singh who lives in Rampur and nursed it as his constituency dared not charge us with any sign of active life of the common people outside the Congress banner. Even he dared not charge us with any sabotage activities and the like. All that he said amounted to this that the extension of Communist influence through the trade unions was undesirable. He obviously grew so panicky that he forgot all about the rights granted to India's citizens under the Constitution.

The above was in early spring and now autumn is

ending and in between no Congress leader has made any statement against our activities. They do speak in general terms against the Indian Communists as Chinese agents. They, however, do not speak against the local Communists in particular or their activities. They have to be more discreet here than the Prime Minister in New Delhi, for they know that they cannot easily mouth lies right before the people amongst whom they and we both live and work. Long experience has taught them this simple wisdom.

### Speech That Was Not Made

During November 1959, the Himachal CID carried out very detailed investigation about the two speeches alleged to have been made by Nardev Singh Negi, Secretary of the Rampur Branch of the Party. It was alleged that he had said that unless the demands of the people of the area were satisfied they would prefer to become a part of China. It was found that on those given dates no meetings at all had been held by him in the area, not even on days near these days, and that no such speeches had been made that could even remotely be related to this foul idea. No action was taken against Comrade Nar-

dev then and nine long months have passed thereafter.

There was another earlier and more bitter experience for the Communist-baiters of our region. During 1954, when there was a Congress Ministry, a shop-keeper of Solon, Chandan, was arrested with a country-made pistol in his flour mill, and it was supposed to be hidden under a bag in a corner. The utmost police pressure was put on him to make him "confess" that the Communists of the area were collecting arms and he was their agent. He, however, was a man of honour and refused to make any such false statement. He was convicted by the trying Magistrate. On appeal, the Senior Sub-Judge acquitted him and stated in his judgment that the whole affair was a police frame-up!

I could multiply instances which have taught the anti-Communist brand of Congress leaders here not to put their anti-Communist foot too far inside Himachal Pradesh, for it is they and not the Communists who received the knock-out blow in the earlier encounters. They, therefore, only propagandise in general terms against Communism, attack the general policy of the Party but never mention any specific activity or speeches of local Communist workers as being anti-national or unlawful.

\* SEE PAGE 14

## Garhwal: The Men Behind The Slander

★ by **DHONDIYAL**

SECRETARY, GARHWAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF CPI

THE Prime Minister has slandered us Communists of Garhwal. Last week *New Age* editor quoted the *Sarhadhi* of July 25 to rebut him. This Hindi weekly of Garhwal is edited by the Congress MLA, Bhandari, who himself hails from and has been elected from the border constituency of Kedarnath.

Sri Bhandari is a well-known anti-Communist as well. His evidence at least should count with Pandit Nehru that there are no Communists in Garhwal who are doing "such propaganda that harms the country."

Another local Congress weekly, *Satyapath*, although doubtful about the Communists' attitude towards China, admits in its issue dated June 22, 1960, that there is no concrete evidence of any anti-national propaganda by the Communists.

*Satyapath* is edited by Sri Lalita Prasad Nithana, ex-General Secretary of the Garhwal DCC, and is patronised by U. P. Food Minister Jagmohan Singh Negi, who also comes from Garhwal.

The question naturally

arises—who are behind this false and persistent propaganda? They are those who imagine that anti-Communism is a good investment for winning the next general elections. In this game the already discredited Congress leaders are competing very hard with the Jan Sanghis. When local citizens raise their voice against this hitting the Communists below the belt, they are shut up with the argument that raising the anti-Communist scare is the best and easiest method to get the State and Union Governments to sanction more and more and larger grants for development activities in our long neglected economical backward district.

### SOURCE OF SLANDER

There is another source of anti-Communist propaganda inside the district. On Garhwal's border villages with Tibet there lives the Marchhya community. They correspond to the Bhotias of Almora. The richer Marchhyas had the monopoly of all trade with Tibet that passed through the Niti and Mana Passes of Garhwal.

As the old medieval order in Tibet began being cleaned up, their traditional trade was adversely affected. They could not exploit the Tibetan artisan and herdsmen in the old way. They are no more allowed to roam round the Tibetan villages but asked to trade in fixed market centres and conduct their trade in terms of controlled prices. Naturally enough the big Marchhya traders do not like the new system at all.

They exploit India's border dispute with China to spread all sorts of stories about the state of affairs in Tibet and come back and retail scare-raising tales. They think they will be able in this way to get more grants from the Government for their own rehabilitation, etc. The poorer Marchhyas who act as their coolies and herdsmen, however, tell a totally different story.

Inside Garhwal there was a public bout between the local Congressmen and Communists last year end, when the tension was really high. The Congressmen on October 1 in a meeting at Kotdwara repeated all the traditional slanders about the Communists being immoral and lacking all ethical sense and so on but no Congress speaker dared publicly accuse the Communists of any concrete anti-national activities. In this very meeting they, however, demanded

the dismissal of their own Defence Minister, Sri Krishna Menon.

Three days later, the Communist Party held a much bigger public meeting and in the same place. We popularised the urgent need for peaceful settlement of the border dispute. Our speakers frontally attacked the slanders spread by Congressmen earlier and invited them to come on our platform and speak as long as they liked and listen to our answers face to face and thus help people to come to their own conclusions. Needless to say that they did not accept the challenge.

Thereafter the Congressmen of Garhwal had not dared hold another public meeting. We, however, held another public meeting in the railroad town of Kotdwara explaining the Meerut Resolution of the National Council of our Party on the India-China border dispute. We were heard with attention and the Jan Sanghis attempted to break our meeting but badly failed.

We held another meeting during the Gauchar Mela inside the new border district of Chamoli and we were again listened to with respect for the common people desire nothing more than a quick peaceful settlement and they realised that in Garhwal it is the Communists alone who are actively campaigning for such a just settlement while others are indulging in baseless panic-mongering.

### CONGRESSMEN'S EVIDENCE

The whole issue was raised in a marathon debate in the U. P. Assembly last year during which the Congress Minister from Garhwal, Jagmohan Singh Negi, stated that the Chinese had never occupied Barahoti and that the panic-mongers were only destroying the self-confidence of our people in the border area.

Another Congress MLA from neighbouring Tehri-Garhwal, Sri Suraj Chandra Ranola, said during the debate that "the border is as cold on the border issue as Lushnow is hot." Another influential Congress MLA, Govind Sahai, also administered a rebuff to the panic-mongers during this debate.

The panic-mongers of the past have become slander-mongers of today. They did not succeed in the past; they are not likely to succeed next, during the coming general elections, which is their real political target.

(September 12)

## PARTY ACTIVITIES IN TEHRI AFTER RECENT REVIVAL

The Prime Minister has charged the Communists of carrying on anti-Indian propaganda and doing anti-national activities in the border areas. Speaking in the Lok Sabha, he said that he could give names of the Communists in the border areas but that he would prefer not to mention them.

THE Communist Party is not a new Party for Tehri. It was born out of the anti-feudal struggle. Its founder, Comrade Nagendra Saklani, laid down his life in a mass assault against the Tehri fortress of old feudal autocracy. The Communist Party is known locally as the Party of the illustrious martyr Nagendra Saklani. I myself came in contact with the Party during those early days. I was arrested and expelled from the college for participating in the liberation movement. My elder brother was also arrested. My father, a Government gazetted officer, was turned out of service for his sons' political activities.

After liberation, our State merged with U. P. and I went to join the Banaras Hindu University for further studies. I was expelled from the BHU and came back to my home district and made myself busy in the service of the people and the work of the Party.

The condition of our dis-

trict is far worse than when I had left it for the university. The economic condition of the people had badly deteriorated. Their sufferings have increased immensely. Congress—once an organisation of the people—has now turned into a party of ex-feudal lords and self-seekers. Old revolutionaries who fought for freedom had to come out of it or were forcibly thrown out one after another. The people who once had a great love for the Congress look down upon it today as an organisation of the same elements who are the root cause of their sufferings. The old Maharaja is now the present Congress M.P.!

### Three Meetings

The first meeting which we held in Tehri to announce to the people that the Communist Party was being revived

was presided over by the ex-Chairman of Tehri Municipality, M. P. Gairola, who is also an ex-Congressman and a former Professor of the Government College.

In his presidential address Sri Gairola made it categorically clear that he was not a member of the Communist Party. He also said that he did not agree with the policy of the Party regarding the India-China border dispute. But as a citizen of Tehri he very much liked the Communist Party opening its branch in Tehri again to serve the people as in other parts of the country.

Another speaker was Dr. J. P. Bodoni, a young medical practitioner, who thought that it was impossible to get rid of diseases unless the greatest disease—social inequality was removed.

The third speaker was a renowned revolutionary poet of the past, Sri Gunanand Pathik, whose poems and songs had moved the people to mass revolt against feudalism in the past. He had joined Government service after independence but the corruption and nepotism prevailing all around made him resign his post and become an independent thinker again. He spoke of his

own experiences as a Government servant. I also spoke in the meeting about the past role of the Communist Party in Tehri and its main task today. There was not one reference to China or to any other Socialist country.

The next meeting was held at Pratapnagar, once the capital of Tehri-Garhwal, a beautiful hill station which now lies deserted. We opened a Party office there too. I spoke in that meeting about the utter poverty of the people of Raika and Ramoli, whose centre Pratapnagar is. I dealt mainly with the local problems of economic development. This is the area where soapstone is to be found in abundance, but it is not exploited, the rocky land hardly gives any yield and the villagers do not stay at home but go down to the cities in the plains to earn their living. We have worked out proposals for the development of the area. I put the plan before the audience. Again, the India-China border dispute

did not come in my speech. The third meeting was held at Tehri on August 15. Government officials did not invite our Party on the committee which chalked out the programme for celebrating Independence Day. They did not even have the courtesy to hand a copy of the official programme to our Party. We thought it proper to celebrate the day on our own. And we did that.

In the Government programme, a meeting was fixed at 6 p.m. in which "local leaders" were to speak. We started our meeting at 4 p.m. and finished it ten minutes before 6 p.m., in order to avoid a clash, and to give the local Congress leaders a fair chance to put before the people all they had to say. Unfortunately, not a single man turned up to listen to their speeches and their meeting could not be held. That shows clearly the love that people have for the Prime Minister's party in Tehri.

Our meeting was largely attended. The poet Gunanand sang the grand old songs which had electrified the Garhwalis in the past. I was the main speaker. I dealt with the achievements and shortcomings of the First and Second Five-Year Plans. It was mainly a speech on the changing economy of our country, as reflected through the targets of the two Five-Year Plans, achieved and lost. China did not come in my speech and the border problem was never raised at all.

### Uttarkashi District

Only these three meetings have been held since we recently started Party work in the district. Pandit Nehru says that we are engaged in anti-national activities in the border area. How is speaking for the development of the economy of the most backward district of U. P. anti-national activity? Let Pandit Nehru once come to Tehri and explain this to our common people! It takes only 12 hours for us to reach Delhi from Tehri but the border is at least seven days walk from there.

Uttarkashi, formerly a part of Tehri-Garhwal, is now one of the three newly created border districts. I went twice to Uttarkashi to find out if someone could be enrolled as a member of the Communist Party. I failed in my mission. There was only one young lawyer who had started practice hardly a few months ago. While the mid-term elections were on in Kerala he had sent a sum of Rs. 30 to help the Communist Party which he thought was fighting the struggle against communalism. I talked to him but he said he would prefer to remain an independent. For, he had his own differences with us. I could not find any Communist in the border district of Uttarkashi.

The Prime Minister says he knows them and can give their names. We will be highly obliged to Panditji if he could do that and give us a few names and thus enable us to establish a Party Branch there or we will unmask them for the benefit of the Prime Minister.

The local people who have known the Communists for long and see their day-to-day activities are taken aback when they find no less a per-

son than the Prime Minister himself charging the Communists in Garhwal of anti-national activities. They ask each other in amazement whether this country is being ruled by good patriots or professional intelligence men.

The Congress has heavily lost its prestige in Tehri-Garhwal. People do not have the same old love for it as before.

### People Know Us

We Communists in Tehri-Garhwal do not require a certificate of patriotism from the Prime Minister. We know our business and the people know us. Enlightened local opinion did not expect Pandit Nehru to make unwarranted and baseless allegations. They are really taken aback.

If the Prime Minister could objectively analyse the extent of corruption of his own party and the causes thereof, rather than slander our Party, it will be better for his own prestige, the future of the Congress and of the country as well.



**Despite Victimisation, Withdrawal of Recognition**

# Unions Continue To Defend Employees—Attempts At Disruption Unsuccessful

The two months after the glorious strike of the Central Government employees have been marked by significant developments. Never before has the whole country witnessed such solidarity by workers and people irrespective of political differences behind employees in struggle. This was best seen in the united rallies held on September 2 in the campaign for trade union rights which came most under attack following the employees' strike.

It is now officially stated that in the course of the struggle, 26,911 employees were suspended. The Union Home Minister stated in Parliament that till August 20, 15,143 employees had been taken back, which means that 11,000 were still under suspension.

According to official figures, 1,630 employees were convicted and 40 persons in police custody. Of those convicted, sentences on 659 have since been remitted. The services of 244 employees have been terminated.

Some of the officials have not bothered to categorise the "saboteurs" or those who indulged in "gross intimidation" against whom the Government had decided to take action. Summary dismissals, especially of the temporary workers, under the notorious Rule 5 of the temporary Service Rules have been ordered. In the Indian Air Force station, Poona, about a hundred civilian employees have been served such notices of termination of service.

As late as August 27, Gopal Singh Joshi, Chairman of the Delhi State Joint Committee of Action, was arrested for allegedly instigating the strikers. Similar arrests have been reported from Calcutta, Jamshedpur and many other places.

In the railways, posts and telegraphs, income-tax and civil aviation departments, recognition of the employees' unions have been withdrawn. In the defence department, all unions which participated in the strike have been served with show-cause notices to explain why recognition should not be withdrawn. At some centres, the officers have started meeting on the assumption that the unions are no longer recognised. Simtjar is the position in the CPWD.

### In Post And Telegraph

In the post and telegraphs and certain other offices, Rules 4A and 4B of the Government Servants Conduct Rules have been rigorously enforced. Demonstrations have been banned and membership of the "unrecognised" unions declared an offence under the rules. Collection of union funds and even relief fund has been banned officially in the P & T. Workers are being charge-sheeted for making collections.

The entire P & T employees have but one organisation, the National Federation of Post & Telegraph Employees. The loss of recognition of this only body virtually nullifies their fundamental rights of association and

local bureaucrats has, of course, been a significant feature in the offices, workshops and factories. With the unions de-recognised, union leaders outside the workplace (either dismissed, suspended or in jail) and normal trade union functioning denied, the officers consider that they have now an opportunity to have their way. Charge-sheets, for alleged offences committed months before the strike, are being prepared and served on the employees.

Despite all this, however, the Central Government employees' trade union move-

ment could not be crushed. The unions are functioning even without recognition. Representations on day-to-day problems are being made. Court cases are being attended to and relief organised in aid of the victimised employees. Through memoranda and deputations, pressure is being brought on the authorities for release of convicted employees, withdrawal of cases, reinstatement, dropping of charge-sheets, etc. And, not the least important, the unions have appealed to the officials and the workers

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
K. G. SRIWASTAVA  
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for normalisation of relations in the interest of efficient services.

The efforts of the INTUC to disrupt the movement and the unions have failed. All that they could do was to force some workers to join the INTUC to prevent official harassment and threaten the reinstated workers with further disciplinary action if they did not join INTUC unions.

All this shows that the plan of action laid down by the Joint Council of Action at its Delhi meeting held from July 27 to 29 and the activities of the constituent federations and unions have met with a large measure of support and sympathy from the workers and the public. The three central trade union organisations, the AITUC, HMS and UTUC and independent trade federations gave their powerful support to the employees.

The cause of the employees was taken up in Parliament and the prolonged debates, adjournment motions, etc., highlighted the gross injustice meted out by the Government to its employees.

Leaders of the Joint Council of Action and its constituent units went in deputation to meet the Ministers of the Central Government and the State Governments in connection with the withdrawal of cases, suspension and dismissal orders, etc.

### Impact Of Campaign

Representatives of various political parties, both in Parliament and outside, supported the employees' cause and condemned the Government's vindictive measures.

The impact of public reaction against the Government's moves to hamstring the employees' trade union movement by banning strikes, etc., was such that INTUC leader S.R. Vasavada himself was forced to say:

"I would also like to say that strike cannot be banned. Nowhere has it been possible. Even here, when the recent strike by a section of Central Government employees took place, there was the Ordinance to ban it but it did take place. Of course, only a few responded to the strike call. So I would like to say that the causes leading to a strike should be removed, whereby the strike will be voluntarily banned and become unnecessary." (Indian Worker, August 29, 1960).

According to reports available in West Bengal, out of about 11,000 suspended workers, 1,500 still remain suspended, of whom 786 are in the railways. Of the total 187 members of the General Council of the Eastern Railwaymen's Union, 185 have been suspended. Workers dismissed from service number 327. In the S.E. Railway, 76 workers were dismissed, 200 remain suspended and 250 reverted as casual, resulting in loss of pay up to Rs. 40 per month.

In Bihar the situation is still worse. Cases against most of the 2,136 workers arrested, are still pending in courts. In Andhra Pradesh, of the 1,159 arrested, most have been released and only 45 cases involving about 200 workers are in the courts. Of the 243 convicted, Government has remitted

the sentence on the 174 persons. In Maharashtra, by and large, court cases have been withdrawn and even suspensions are very few. In Madras State, cases under Section 4 of the Ordinance have been withdrawn. Rajasthan was one of the worst affected areas—475 workers were arrested, 200 suspended and 20 persons convicted and sentenced to from ten to 21 months rigorous imprisonment.

In U.P., out of about 1,100 prosecutions, according to the State Government, 576 are still pending before the courts. In Delhi, out of 71 arrested, cases against about 30 are still pending. Those being prosecuted include three leaders of the P&T Federation, P. S. R. Anjaneyulu, K. Ramamurthy and O.P. Gupta.

Government has ordered an enquiry into the police firing in Dohad. Technically, the responsibility for withdrawing court cases and remission of sentences rests with the State Governments. When Union representatives approach the State Government, State offi-

# WEST BERLIN

West Berlin has been lately in the news again. This "front-line city", as they call it, so dear to the hearts of the "Free World" has again been made the scene of a dastardly provocation. Rallies and demonstrations have been held in the right royal Nazi style of the good old days to demand the restoration of Greater Germany. Initially it is a very modest demand—to include "only" parts of Poland and Czechoslovakia and, of course, the whole of the German Democratic Republic in the present West German State. Later, of course, well later, one does not know!

### Focal Point Of "Defence"

THESE recent demonstrations held all over West Germany, too, besides West Berlin were no work of a mere handful of hotheads, as it was claimed last winter in the case of the widespread outbreak of anti-semitic outrages and Swastika-daubing. No. These latest manifestations of the old expansionist madness were all officially sponsored, with leading Ministers like Erhard playing a very prominent and active part. Goebbels' own right-hand man Lemmer, the Refugee Minister, was in West Berlin by the side of the Social Democratic Burgomaster Brandt. They had even planned to airlift thousands of "refugees" from Western Germany to West Berlin to lend greater punch to their provocation.

The GDR Government, however, came in the way and refused facilities for this joy-ride to West Berlin through its air-space. It even decided to refuse entry into its own sector of Berlin to non-Berliners! For taking this minimum precaution to preserve the tranquility of life in its capital city, it earned the wrath of Western occupation authorities of West Berlin, who launched a very strong protest with the Soviet Command.

### Central Govt. Employees

FROM FACING PAGE

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cial indicate their preparedness to concede the demand but point out to the local bosses of Central Government offices. The Central officials, when approached point to the other.

The united action of the Central Government employees supported by the central trade union organisations and organised workers and the public, has been able to make some success in defending the employees' interests. Much still remains to be done in the matter of getting the employees back to their jobs, withdrawal of cases, cancellation of the orders withdrawing recognition of the unions and in general, defeating the labour policy of the Government which seeks to impose new fetters on the trade unions.

The campaign for collection of relief fund has to be further intensified and legal assistance and other help to the employees and their unions have to be organised on a vast scale.

the West Berlin problem becomes more acute with every passing day. Berlin is the only city in the world that has the misfortune of being partitioned. Partition itself would have been enough of a misfortune, but one part of it having been deliberately made into a hotbed of the cold war makes the situation doubly unfortunate.

Despite all the glitter and glamour concentrated from all over the "free world", West Berlin is really a very gloomy spot, one of the gloomiest perhaps in the whole world. Everything is so unreal and so much part of a put-up show that for anyone having to stay in its midst or caring to have a close look it is bound to be disgusting. Berliners themselves, who intensely love their city, like

# THE CITY DIVIDED

residents of all capitals, have by now developed a terrible moroseness over this continuing situation and the population of West Berlin has been steadily dwindling. Of course, there is a steady stream of occupation troops and businessmen and tourists but that only deepens the Berliners' gloom. For, the more this goes on, the more he feels that the life around him is not his own.

Its impact on the Democratic sector, the Eastern part of Berlin much smaller in size and having one third of Berlin's total 33 lakh population, also is something terrible, despite all the countervailing measures. Being a hundred miles deep in the heart of GDR and being its capital, the people would have liked to rebuild the city as one

# CENTRE OF WESTERN PROVOCATIONS

whole as it has always been. But with the permanent obstruction of the West Berlin and the occupation authorities; integrated planning of the city becomes impossible. Considerable part of the centre of the city that is now in the Democratic Sector has remained in ruins because of this fact and still presents a depressing sight. Thus a strange development has taken place. While the outer parts of the Democratic sector have been reconstructed, with factories and residential areas and shopping centres humming with life, the central part wears a comparatively deserted appearance except at some hours of the day.

There are no physical barriers between the two parts of the city despite a demarcation line which in some places is so funny that it separates the pavement from the house which opens on it. Normally all Berliners can freely move from one sector to the other. This has obvious disadvantages for the GDR.

NEW AGE

### Espionage Organisations

Apart from the bigger fact of the over eighty espionage organisations operating from West Berlin and the 11,000 U.S., British and French troops stationed there, the artificial unequal rate of the two currencies is a constant source of trouble. The West German currency with the introduction of which in West Berlin in 1948 the first crisis, so overplayed by the West, began, carries four times the value of the East German currency. So that a lot of blackmarketing and smuggling goes on despite all

### Legal Position

West German propaganda keeps on harping as if West Berlin were a part of West Germany and the Western Powers insist that they happen to be there by the right of occupation. The real position as it stands in international law is most succinctly described by D. N. Pritt: "When the war ended, Germany was occupied, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, and was divided into four zones, each occupied and governed by one of the four Powers. For the purposes of the occupation which was to lead to the establishment of one peaceful democratic German State, and to the negotiation of a peace treaty with that State, a Central Control Council was set up by the Powers to deal with all matters of central administration and to carry through agreed Allied policies, during the occupation. Berlin was chosen as the seat of this Control Council and was governed jointly by the four Powers, the city being divided into four sectors. It lay deep

### Propaganda From West

West Berlin is also the centre from which the West operates to corrode the moral fibre of the emergent socialist society in the GDR, through radio, films and cheap reading material. It is under this unparalleled blast of Western propaganda and calculated attempts at

# CENTRE OF WESTERN PROVOCATIONS

disruption of economic and political life that the GDR has to struggle. That is why it should be clear to all that abolition of the present abnormal situation in Berlin is an urgent necessity from every point of view, from the larger political to the day-to-day human points of view.

### The Real Purpose

Despite all their usual propaganda about preserving West Berlin as the "bastion of freedom" and so on the Western leaders have never cared to camouflage very much the real purpose behind their policy of sticking on to and not yielding an inch on Berlin. As recently as the

spring of 1958, Willy Brandt put it in the following words: "West Berlin's job is to slow up as much as possible the stabilisation of the German Democratic Republic." The late John Foster Dulles on January 10, 1949, addressing the Overseas Writers' Association on the first Berlin crisis and the so-called "blockade" then had said that it was easy any moment to solve the Berlin dispute by agreeing on the currency question, "But", he added, giving out the real reason for not settling it:

"The deadlock is of great advantage to the U.S. for propaganda purposes; and secondly, the danger in settling the Berlin dispute resides in the fact that it would then be impossible to avoid facing the problem of a German Peace Treaty. The USA would then be faced with a Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and the establishment of a central German Government. Frankly, I do not know what we could say to that."

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West German propaganda keeps on harping as if West Berlin were a part of West Germany and the Western Powers insist that they happen to be there by the right of occupation. The real position as it stands in international law is most succinctly described by D. N. Pritt:

"When the war ended, Germany was occupied, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, and was divided into four zones, each occupied and governed by one of the four Powers. For the purposes of the occupation which was to lead to the establishment of one peaceful democratic German State, and to the negotiation of a peace treaty with that State, a Central Control Council was set up by the Powers to deal with all matters of central administration and to carry through agreed Allied policies, during the occupation. Berlin was chosen as the seat of this Control Council and was governed jointly by the four Powers, the city being divided into four sectors. It lay deep

in the Soviet Zone, but it was in no sense a special occupation area, the Western Powers and their armed forces had no function in the city, nor any justification for being there, save so long and so far as they were fulfilling the Potsdam agreement by virtue of which they were there. .... (Having wrecked the Potsdam agreement, the Western Powers) lost all rights, reasons and justifications for sitting in Berlin, let alone for maintaining troops there. The case against their holding on there (is hence) overwhelming in law, morals, politics and common decency."

# CENTRE OF WESTERN PROVOCATIONS

There are no physical barriers between the two parts of the city despite a demarcation line which in some places is so funny that it separates the pavement from the house which opens on it. Normally all Berliners can freely move from one sector to the other. This has obvious disadvantages for the GDR.

Despite all their usual propaganda about preserving West Berlin as the "bastion of freedom" and so on the Western leaders have never cared to camouflage very much the real purpose behind their policy of sticking on to and not yielding an inch on Berlin. As recently as the

PAGE ELEVEN



# Communist Members Focus Attention On Half-Hearted Nature Of Our Planning

Before the monsoon session of Parliament came to a close last week the Rajya Sabha also held a two-day debate over the Draft Outline of the Third Five-Year Plan, the Lok Sabha having discussed it earlier. The issues having become clearer were more sharply underlined.

THE Prime Minister's intervention which came on the second day appeared more in the nature of further substantiation in terms of the Socialist objective of his Lok Sabha enunciation of the "strategy of planning". There was no mention of the affluent society of the West as in the Lok Sabha as some sort of substitute for or equivalent to Socialism. There was no attempt to openly damn doctrinaire Socialism. Instead there was the assertion that if planning sought to restrict and take away any freedom it was the freedom to exploit. "Certainly it takes away the freedom to exploit others and to make vast sums of money. It does take away that freedom and we intend to take that freedom away increasingly," declared the Prime Minister amidst loud cheers and rapped home the point further by adding: "I hope the time will come when even the existing freedom to exploit will be taken away."

## Objectives Of Planning

Reiterating the objectives of planning, he declared that

broadly speaking they wanted higher and higher standards of life for everyone.

● "They also wanted to put an end to exploitation of individuals and groups by other individuals and groups."

● "They wanted relative equality and every individual to have equal opportunity." These objectives, he said, inevitably led them to the conclusion that they should have a Socialist structure of society "in the widest sense of the term."

## In Contrast, An Assurance

This would mean, according to the Prime Minister, that the principal means of production should be owned by the State or the people and not by a few individuals or groups. The latter would lead to exploitation and private monopolies which the Constitution had laid down should not be encouraged and should be actively discouraged.

He referred to the fact that India had no colonies to ex-

plot even if she wanted in order to become prosperous like other countries had become prosperous.

"We believe in a Socialist society, we have always believed in it, we shall continue to believe in it and work for it," declared Nehru amidst cheers.

Most glaring in contrast to these positive assertions, however, was the assurance given by Planning Minister Nanda and repeated by the Prime Minister that the planned enquiry into the distribution of the rise in national income was not meant to be any kind of "witch-hunt" but only a sort of an academic study as to "the direction of the flow of wealth."

What had necessitated this assurance was clearly admitted by Nanda. It was pressure of Big Business and monopoly circles, because they had immediately reacted to the suggestion with "certain comments."

For the rest the official pleading remained on the usual lines. The Prime Minister, for instance, dwelt on how "taking the picture as a whole," there were "signs of growing economic prosperity in the country"—only this prosperity was not being shared by all. He denied that there had been any shift from the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956.

## Why This Frustration?

The Planning Minister's buoyant optimism, however, was overshadowed by the Prime Minister's references to dependency and frustration which he sometimes felt, despite the advance being made through all mistakes.

Members from both sides of the House dwelt on these "frustrations" that the people at the lowest level felt far more acutely.

Communist Party's spokesmen Z. A. Ahmad and P. Ramamurti tried to pinpoint the sources of these frustrations and the way forward. Dr. Ahmad stressed upon the necessity first of all to "cross swords" with "those who criticise this Plan from a reactionary angle," the spokesmen of the big vested interests. The ruling party instead of properly crossing swords with them succumbed to their pressures. He considered it absolutely essential that all sections unite together to isolate and expose these people.

He welcomed Congress declarations of the Socialist objective. Despite disagreements over its content, he said, all should unite to po-

pularise it and carry it to the people.

## Basic Postulates

It would be necessary simultaneously to actually move in the direction of Socialism. This involved certain basic postulates like restricting monopoly and the power of wealth, increasingly abolishing disparities in incomes, land to the tiller, growing State intervention in economic life to ensure social justice and economic advance, and the mobilisation of internal resources.

These things were not being done. For instance, the Governor of the Reserve Bank himself had stated that in 1959, "All available information suggests that the organised private sector in industry, mining, plantations, electricity undertakings and transport other than railways has invested in the first half of the Plan itself as much as it was expected to invest for the whole Plan period."

P. Ramamurti supporting the general line of development... namely the question of making India self-sufficient in the capacity to produce producer goods in the next few years, which is so necessary in the modern age for any country to advance," pointed out the half-hearted nature of Indian planning.

## Private Sector

The private sector would now penetrate the public sector also, as was happening in the case of aluminium and fertilisers. The absence of any significant increase in taxation since 1957-58 that the Reserve Bank had pointed out as a factor for the private sector's heightened confidence, the direct help that Government's various Finance Corporations were giving so liberally to big private enterprise (Rs. 135 crores to 100 concerns in 1956-59) as against the nominal help to smaller ones (Rs. seven crores to 12,500 of them)—were indicators.

Counterposing of production and distribution that the ruling party indulged in to preach hard work to the people was sharply condemned by both Communist speakers. Ahmad pointed out how strengthening the home market was so vitally important for the very growth of industries.

## Land Reforms In A Mess

The sorry state of affairs in land reforms, where land to the tiller, had become a forgotten slogan, was also underlined by them.

P. Ramamurti referred to the survey recently conducted by the Labour Ministry which had shown that 30 to 35 per cent of the rural population

remained agricultural labourers and their income had actually gone down by 15 to 31 per cent.

As for the resources for the Plan, dependence on foreign aid to the extent of 30 per cent was a serious thing, Ahmad said, and the country could not go on depending on foreign aid in this manner.

"What is more significant and disturbing to my mind," he said, "is the tendency to relax the industrial policy." Restrictions placed on foreign collaboration were being removed to such an extent that even in sewing machines and tooth brush manufacturing, foreign collaboration was being encouraged.

## Holding The Price-Line

For the resources needed, Ahmad said it was necessary to turn to the banks, to control their credit issuing capacity and get the savings for the public sector. "There are huge amounts of money, I think they are of the order of Rs. 1,500 to 2,000 crores in the hands of the speculators who play in the market and which money is not available for our State sector for nation-building activities."

Taking over of a good part of foreign trade, determined drive to realise the income-tax money and to cut waste were other measures recommended by Dr. Ahmad.

For holding the price line he thought controls would be necessary sooner or later. State trading which had more or less been given up on the instance of the Food Minister had to be taken up if the price line was to be held.

P. Ramamurti supporting the general line of development... namely the question of making India self-sufficient in the capacity to produce producer goods in the next few years, which is so necessary in the modern age for any country to advance," pointed out the half-hearted nature of Indian planning.

"By adopting certain policies," he said, "you are not having a grip over the forces operating over the economy of the country... somebody else is having a grip over it."

Having analysed these policies and the resultant frustration among the people, Ramamurti said that the failures and the shortfalls in the previous plan could not be ascribed to implementation—in the sense of the administrative set-up not seeing to the fulfilment of targets.

## Rethinking Called For

If at the end of the Third Plan after 15 years of planning and about 20 years since we attained our independence, people are told that the problem of unemployment is still going to remain with them, and the backlog is going to grow the question of creating the necessary enthusiasm in them becomes a very serious one, said Ramamurti. Some serious rethinking on certain basic aspects of our planning was called for, he concluded.

—ZIAUL HAQ

SEPTEMBER 18, 1960

## Cable From Moscow

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

was why help given by the Socialist countries was so valuable today.

There was the danger, he pointed out, that new structures and systems might be established in Africa which would serve continued exploitation of Africans as before and the anger of the African population instead of being directed against imperialism could be turned into internal petty struggle of personalities while subjugation would go on.

The statement of the Soviet Government again draws attention to the conspiracy of the colonial Powers against the independence and unity of the Republic of Congo. Events of the last few days show that the Belgian colonialists and their NATO allies, specially the USA and the United Nations Command in Congo, are one in this attempt to strangle the freedom of the Congolese people.

The statement points out that Katanga has been transformed into a war camp where arms are being supplied by Belgian planes under the Blue Flag of the United Nations and Belgian soldiers and officers are joining as so-called volunteers and technicians.

Insolence of the colonialist manners of those sent to Congo by Hammarskjold knows no bounds. They occupy airports and radio stations and close them to the Government of Congo whom they are supposed to help and at whose request they have come to the country. This is collective colonialism of NATO countries under the garb of the U. N. and using for its own ends the forces supplied by African States to help the Congo. It is now the duty of countries who sent their forces to Congo for helping this country to see that they are used for this purpose in reality and if the U. N. Command does not want to follow the decisions of the Security Council they must be carried out in spite of this command.

All possible help must be given to the lawful Government of Congo and Congolese people even if the Security Council is not in position to fulfil its duty, the statement declares.

These days we live here in expectation of great new developments in the field of space flights and cosmic explorations. Recently, at a Press Conference of Soviet scientists I touched, stroked, patted and even shook hands with the two space travellers who have come back to earth without a scratch. Of course, I was not the only one, everybody wanted to see and touch the two dogs and to feel that it was all really true. I asked: "Had there been a man on the last spaceship, did scientists think he would have returned safely" and was given the straight and simple answer "Yes".

So we are not going to be surprised by big new developments in this direction. As a matter of fact everybody waits for them impatiently.

—ZIAUL HAQ

SEPTEMBER 18, 1960

# WILHELM PIECK A Homage

★ by AJOY GHOSH



We bow our heads in reverence to the memory of Wilhelm Pieck, whose death has deprived the workers of the world of one of their tallest leaders and most devoted champions. Though he had been ailing for some time, Pieck's death came as a shock. For decades, indeed during the whole course of one's Communist activity, one had seen symbolised in him all the great qualities of the German working class and nation—the land of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. How much more intense must be the sorrow and anguish of his own Party, people and family. We send our deepest sympathies to them.

WILHELM Pieck was born on January 3, 1876, in the home of a German working class family. At the age of 14, he became an apprentice carpenter and had started the life of a rank-and-file worker in the Germany of the monopolists and Junker landlords.

When he was only 19 his idealism and his living experience brought him into the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which was then the foremost Marxist Party in the world. For sixty-five years, till the day of his death, through a thousand vicissitudes, Pieck remained true and steadfast to the cause of the working class, to the Red Flag of Marxism.

Prior to the First World War, he was already prominent as one of the representatives of the Left wing in the Social Democratic Party and as one of the militant fighters against the monster of German imperialism. When the World War came and hurled the workers of different countries against each other, Pieck was among the band of intrepid spirits who worked against it with all their strength. His name will forever stand together with such legendary figures as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin.

Together with them he took up the struggle not only against German militarism but also against the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, who had betrayed the workers and abandoned Marxism for opportunism and social-chauvinism. Together with them he set up the Spartacus League which Lenin frequently held up as a model for the workers in all European countries. It was this Spartacus League which provided the nucleus of the Communist Party of Germany, which was formed some years later.

During the 1918 November Revolution in Germany, Pieck was in the forefront agitating and organising with all the ardour and skill that he so abundantly possessed. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders betrayed the Revolution and brought it to defeat but the memory of those glorious days lingered long in the hearts and minds of the German working class.

The next period of his life is bound up with the struggle against the fascist danger and the defence of democracy. He was a member of the Berlin City Parliament, the Prussian Diet and State Council as well as of the Reichstag. As a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, led by the

great Ernst Thälmann, he worked indefatigably to build the unity of the working class and all democratic strata as the indispensable answer to the growing menace of Nazism.

Time and again he lashed out against the false theory of the Right Social-Democratic leadership that fascism was a "lesser danger" than Communism. He tirelessly explained that fascism, as the spearhead of the most aggressive sections of monopoly capital, was the common enemy of all the workers, of all democrats, irrespective of their differing political and social views. These words of Pieck had a prophetic ring about them and the German democrats remembered them in the brutal days of the fascist terror.

## Work In Comintern

Nor was his work confined to Germany alone. His ideological clarity and brilliant organisational capacities were put at the service of the Communist International. As early as 1923 he was elected a Secretary and Executive Committee Member of the Comintern. The International Red Aid, which organised relief for the persecuted workers and their families throughout the world, elected him as its Honorary President in Germany.

Then came the dark days of Nazi triumph. Seventy-two hours before the infamous burning of the Reichstag, Pieck passionately appealed for anti-fascist unity, which could still have saved Germany—and the world—from all the horrors that tragically did descend upon it. With the triumph of Nazism the Communist Party of Germany was forced underground and began its long and heroic illegal struggle.

It decided in 1933 that, in the interests of the long battle, Pieck should leave the country and live in the Soviet Union. It was while he was abroad that, after the arrest of Ernst Thälmann, in 1936, he was elected the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

While in the Soviet Union, an important aspect of his tireless activity was his work in the Communist International. Together with Dimitroff, Togliatti and others he generalised the experience of the working class movement throughout the world and worked out the line of the famous Seventh World Congress—the line of working class and

popular unity against fascism and war. Selflessly and courageously Pieck worked to ensure that the working class and people of other countries drew the correct lessons from the tragedy that had overtaken his own country.

During the days of the Second World War he waged an uncompromising struggle against German imperialism. He met and talked with Social-Democratic functionaries, with famous German writers and intellectuals who had been forced into exile and later repeatedly visited the German prisoners of war. At all times and everywhere his message was the same—unity and again unity.

With the defeat of the Hitlerites, Pieck returned to his homeland, which lay in ruins and awaited his leadership in the task of national and democratic regeneration. It will be his everlasting merit that in 1946 he healed the breach in the German working class movement and brought into being a united working class party—the Socialist Unity Party—on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The message of unity that he had preached all his life and in the darkest days found living form in the Socialist Unity Party, of which he was undoubtedly the chief architect.

With the political unity of the working class as the basis, Pieck played an outstanding role in the formation of the union of all anti-fascist democratic forces and the merger of all democratic organisations and personalities in the National Front. The dream of anti-fascist unity had become a reality.

When, in reply to the creation of a separate West German State by the Western imperialists, the German Democratic Republic was established, Wilhelm Pieck was elected its President, the highest post in the State. It was a fitting climax to all the decades upon decades of devoted work and unflinching leadership. The first peace-loving German State in all history had fittingly enough Pieck as its first President. Who better symbolised all the virtues and noble traditions of the German working class? Which other German

had such a record of fidelity to principles and combined better in his own person the unity of his nation and the brotherhood of all toilers?

## Builder Of Socialism

Till the days of his final illness Pieck actively guided the building of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic. He travelled far and wide throughout the country, meeting the ordinary man and woman, finding out their problems and speaking to them the necessary words of cheer and inspiration. Despite his high office and the legend that clustered about his very person, he was what he had always been—a revolutionary German worker.

It may not be out of place to end on a note of personal reminiscence. Some years ago I had happened to be staying at the same sanatorium—Barbaiska in the Soviet Union—as Wilhelm Pieck. We spent many days together, talking of many things. I was amazed at the knowledge that he had about India and the Communist and democratic movement of our country.

And he was searching in his questions and insistent in discussions, wanting to know all the latest developments, in their details and many nuances. Through it all shone a firm and steady love of our people, about whose bright future and destiny he was so firmly confident. Meeting so genuine and warm a personality was a rare and uplifting experience.

Death has robbed us of this lion-hearted veteran of our common movement. But nothing, not all the days that lie ahead, will ever rob us of the shining memory of his life and deeds. Wilhelm Pieck was and will always remain one of the immortals of this earth.

September 14

★ ★ Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad attended, on behalf of the Communist Party of India, the funeral of Wilhelm Pieck in Berlin on September 10.

the village shopkeeper says:

"As a businessman, I try to get the most out of every rupee I spend. So when it came to buying a bicycle, I naturally bought a Raleigh, because, it is sturdy, can bear a lot of load and runs so smooth and light!"

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# MENACING PICTURE

argues against the Indian antipathy to profiteering. It admits, "The idea that large profits are immoral has wide currency in political circles in India." It bemoans that "measures to restrict profits through taxation and price controls have accordingly become a prominent feature of the Government's industrial policy."

The Mission is "particularly concerned at the price fixing activities of the Tariff Commission." It is not satisfied with "profits ranging from six per cent to a maximum of 12 per cent of capital employed." It believes it "generally desirable that a larger proportion of industrial profits should be retained in future in the business."

A planned economy has inevitably to function under Government regulations and controls. The Mission seizes upon the delays and weaknesses inherent in the existing bureaucratic set-up to virtually demand an end of all regulations and controls so that free enterprise may have the free run of Indian economy and the Plan remain a plan only on paper.

The Mission very boldly proposes that "to improve the chances" of success of the Third Plan in industry, the Government should "promptly" institute an enquiry into "the impact of controls on

the efficiency of management". According to it, the first object of such an enquiry should be to "relieve management of the burden" of what it calls "unnecessary, obsolete and trivial controls and formalities". And the second should be to "re-examine the case for price controls." We now know from where our S. K. Patil get their inspiration!

Our readers will see for themselves that what was stated in general but clear enough terms in the World Bank Mission's Chief Eugene Black's letter to the then Indian Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, on the eve of the Second Plan, has been given real flesh and blood, in the very concrete and menacing proposals of the Hoffman Mission on the eve of the Third Plan.

Indian public opinion had recoiled with horror when Eugene Black's letter to T. T. K. was published in the Indian Press. It is a pity that the similar and fatal Hoffman Mission recommendations have appeared with due details in the weekly Capital alone.

It was neither a fair nor a responsible attitude on the part of the Indian Government not to publish the Hoffman Report and place it for discussion on the floor of Parliament when

the Third Plan was being discussed. There was time and opportunity enough and the need was grave and urgent.

We have no doubt that if this had been done, righteous national indignation would have been expressed on the floor of the House itself by all honest and patriotic M.P.s, irrespective of all party differences. This would have strengthened rather than weakened the hands of Indian representatives negotiating foreign aid at Paris, London and Washington which is currently going on.

We are fully aware of the pro-Western, pro-capitalist reactionaries who abound both inside and outside the ruling party. But the Indian situation has not deteriorated so far as to embolden Indian Reaction to openly mouth its acceptance of such anti-national demands as have been made by the Hoffman Mission. Any member of Parliament shooting his mouth for the acceptance of the latest World Bank demands would have faced public ignominy and certainly lost his seat in the coming elections.

However, the very fact that the Government took neither the nation or Parliament into confidence only shows how far the rot has spread inside the ruling party and how much softer

towards the foreign monopolists of the west have become the top ruling circles of our country.

The grim battle has not been lost. It has only begun. Both the latest agency reports and the Special Correspondents' messages from Paris state that the "Aid India" Club will only think out how to see Indian economy through the last year of the Second Plan and the present foreign exchange crisis and that no firm commitments about aid for the Third Plan will be made.

The great push and pull from the monopolist imperialist West has begun. We have

no doubt that the more the demands of the Hoffman Mission are broadcast among the Indian people the sooner the "aiders" from the West and their agents in New Delhi will realise that India is not soft and servile but hard and strong and out to establish an independent and progressive economy.

India is neither helpless nor friendless to surrender to the anti-Indian demands of the World Bank. No surrender! This is the slogan of the hour. Let the leaders of India's patriotic planners meet and discuss how to get the needed resources to successfully fulfil the targets of the Third Plan.

## Report From Border Districts

\* FROM CENTRE PAGE

The real nucleus of false anti-Communist stories and real anti-national activities is a group that previously belonged to the "Society for the Defence of freedom in Asia", a U.S.-financed organisation, which once upon a time the Prime Minister had himself condemned.

In 1953-54, their organ AZAD ASIA, an Urdu weekly, published sensational reports about Himachal Communists having set up their headquarters in Rampur although there was not even one Party member in the whole of that time, about Himachal Communists having sent hundreds of persons for guerrilla training in Tibet, about there being some Communist agents among the Congress MLAs themselves who had gone so far into Communist arms as to set up a secret committee for the reception of the Chinese troops. After the Panchsheel agreement was signed by the two Prime Ministers, this paper collapsed and this society was wound up.

When the latest dispute between India and China became acrimonious, a Himalayan Border Convention was organised in Delhi to which youth from all over the hill districts were invited. The Prime Minister is aware that the Jan Sangh, PSP and the Swatantra tribe were behind this racket and General Cariappa was their loud-mouthed propagandist.

The delegates were housed in the fashionable hotels of Delhi and big money was spent. It will really help the safety and security of India if the Prime Minister called upon his top trusted security men to find out who financed that show and who operated as their recruiting agents inside the Himachal.

The live wires of the group are spread out among the local Swatantraites, PSP, and Lohia Socialists, and such Congressmen and Independents who think that anti-Communism will help them to get elected during the next general elections. Their key local organiser is one T. N. Kaul who is a Lohia Socialist and is also the General Secretary of the Simla Municipal Employees' Federation. He tried to stage a black flag demonstration against Comrade Dange in June 59 when he came to Simla to speak in

a trade union rally. They brought out a huge poster on "Tibet atrocities" and widely circulated a hand-bill denouncing China, USSR and the Indian Communists for being anti-working class. They, of course, failed miserably.

Recently, public statements have been issued by this gentleman calling upon the Indian Government to claim as our border all the territory up to Mansarovar, that is 150 miles beyond the present border.

During July 1960, this gentleman tried his hardest inside the Vishal Himachal Samiti, which is a broad organisation, to get a similar resolution passed. He was duly rebuffed.

Kaul's associate and mentor is one Brijmohan Toofan who has a house near Simla but for the last few years has been staying in Delhi after the "Society for the Defence of Freedom in Asia" collapsed in Himachal. He was earlier in Lohia's party and is now a PSPer. The peace-loving and patriotic citizens of Himachal would be grateful if the Prime Minister could get this gentleman's Delhi activities and associates properly X-rayed.

During this July, he came to Himachal to reorganise his old friends who used to assist him earlier. While in Simla, he tried to propagandise that sabotage activity is going on in the border and more of it is being organised. The local folks he tried to rope in denied knowledge of any such activities. He, however, refused to listen and tried to plug his fairy-tale saying, "You are sleeping in Simla and are not aware of the situation in the interior!" All this happened inside a coffee house in Simla.

On his own he failed to get any foot-hold for the operation of the American Lobby in Himachal Pradesh for that is the real colour and origin of this group. The Prime Minister's words are being used by them as their new arrows and armour. Is it from discredited sources like the above that the Prime Minister gets his facts and reports? Is it disreputable provocateurs like the above that the Prime Minister desires to be nursed on Himachal soil?

This is what the Prime Minister should think over and answer to his own satisfaction or put his facts and not slanders before Parliament.

# INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

## DANGER MOUNTS IN CONGO

DAY after day the menace to Congolese independence mounts. Events in the past week have revealed the full contours of the imperialist plot.

The imperialist news-agencies are doing their best to paint a picture of utter chaos and confusion. Their aim is clear—to prove that there is no alternative to placing Congo under some form of international trusteeship. It is a pity that quite a number of Indian newspapers have also tended to adopt this approach.

The facts, however, convey a clear enough message. In its resolution of July 14 the Security Council had stated that the Secretary-General was authorised "in consultation with the Government of the Republic of Congo to provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary until... the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks." The resolution was adopted with the express purpose of getting the Belgian armed forces out of the Congo and then leaving the Congolese to settle their own affairs.

In the light of this decision what actually has the U. N. Secretary-General done? As late as the first week of September, he has had to report "with regret" that the Belgian military forces have not withdrawn as they solemnly promised to. Therefore, the first and foremost duty enjoined by the Security Council has not been fulfilled.

### Gross Interference

On the contrary, the U. N. Secretary-General and his aides have interfered in the grossest possible manner in the internal affairs of the Congo Republic. It would be no exaggeration to say that the moves which have brought Congo to the very threshold of civil war have been masterminded by the U. S. imperialists, who seem to be in control of the U. N. machinery.

In the name of non-interference in Congo's affairs the U. N. mission allowed Tshombe to build up his disruptive and separatist movement in Katanga. Everybody remembers how Hammarskjold refused to meet Lumumba but went out of his way to "negotiate" with Tshombe, which he had no business to do. But soon enough the people of Katanga demonstrated their feelings of nationhood and the Belgian puppet was able to survive only with the aid of Belgian troops, whom the U. N. forces did not dislodge.

The same story was repeated with the Kasal "rebellion", engineered by one Kalonji, about whom the Indian Express of September 10 carried a wonderful story while he was reported to be leading his troops with great gallantry, a British Correspondent saw

him sipping cold drinks in his room. The troops of the Congolese Government moved in rapidly to curb this disorder and were doing so with success.

Just at this time Kasavubu was brought in. He "dismissed" Lumumba and appointed Ileo as the new Prime Minister, simultaneously asking the United Nations to take over and run the Congo. But this manoeuvre, too, soon enough collapsed. Lumumba pointed out that the action of the President was unconstitutional, since his order had not been countersigned by any Minister as the fundamental law required. He immediately convened a session of the Legislature and won thumping vote of confidence. It should be remembered that prior to exposing himself as a traitor Kasavubu had quite a following in the Legislature—his own followers turned decisively against him.

### Help To Belgians

Even British Correspondents of imperialist papers like the Daily Express reported that Kasavubu's coup had failed to come off. In a matter of hours Lumumba had the entire situation under control. And realising the dirty game that the U. N. Secretary-General was playing, the leader of the Congolese

people demanded that the U. N. armed forces leave. As per the Security Council resolution quoted above they should immediately have withdrawn.

Exactly the opposite happened. In a totally illegal manner the U. N. Secretary-General set himself up as the supreme interpreter of the fundamental law of the Congolese Republic. He decided on his own that Lumumba's Government had ceased to be the constitutional Government. He ordered the disarming of the Congolese army and peremptorily issued orders that the advance into Kasal was to be halted. He denied the Prime Minister access to the radio station in the capital, Leopoldville, and closed the airport to all incoming planes.

At the same time he allowed, under the pretext of inadequate forces, the Belgians to land huge quantities of military equipment at Elizabethville, capital of Katanga. He allowed, under the same specious plea, the illegal Government of Ileo to maintain its radio station a few miles outside Leopoldville.

Simultaneously his real masters moved with speed in New York where the Security Council had been convened. The Soviet resolution, supported by Poland and Ceylon, that the Security Council meet in Leopoldville was turned down

## Ajoy Ghosh On Congo Situation

COMRADE Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement to the Press in New Delhi on September 12:

The news from Congo is disturbing. It is becoming clearer that the U.N. authorities are getting involved in actions which are resented by the Congolese people.

Our country's basic policy has always been to uphold the sovereignty and the integrity of every country and to come out in defence of the independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa. In the case of Congo, the Government of practically every African country has declared its support for the Central Government headed by Mr. Lumumba. The present stand of the U. N. Secretary-General in repudiating that Government is, therefore, unwarranted.

We appeal to Prime Minister Nehru to strongly reiterate India's policy of friendship and solidarity with African peoples and disown any action which may be resented by the Congolese Government, even if it is done under cover of the U. N. From our own experience in Kashmir, our Government knows too well how under pressure from certain Western circles, unjust judgements are sometimes sought to be passed in the name of the U. N. violating the principle of sovereignty and integrity of a country.

The entire country will stand behind the Prime Minister in any action that he takes for upholding the independence of African nations and strengthening the bonds of solidarity between the Indian people and the newly-freed peoples of Africa.

Leopoldville was turned down by the manipulated majority. But apart from the Socialist countries the actions of Hammarskjold were sharply criticised by representatives of Yugoslavia, Ghana, Ceylon and Indonesia. The Hindu Correspondent in New York reported that the entire Afro-Asian group of countries had expressed their indignation.

It is further reported that, to begin with, at least three

African countries — Guinea, Ghana and the UAR — have announced their decision to withdraw their contingents from the U. N. forces in the Congo. Other African States are likely to follow suit and thus smash the U. S. game of getting Africans to fight Africans.

In Moscow Khrushchov and Sekou Toure have issued a joint communique in which they have expressed unanimity in their evaluation of the Congo situation. They demand the firm and speedy implementation of the Security Council resolution which had called for the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive Belgian troops. They reaffirm their total support for the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Congo.

The Soviet Union in a strongly worded note has insisted that the U. N. stop its illegal interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. It goes on to state that the colonialist conspiracy is assuming dangerous proportions and bringing the country to the verge of civil war.

It delivers the solemn warning that "If for some reason the Security Council is unable to discharge its duty, the States respecting the earlier decision regarding aid to the Congo, at this hour of trial of the Congolese people, must render every support to the lawful Government of the Congo Republic."

This has infuriated U. S. Secretary of State Herter. He has started raving that Soviet "meddling" in the Congo will not be "tolerated". Dutifully the U. N. Secretary-General would find himself having to make unremitting obeisance to people whose main instinct in politics is to curse Britain's allies abroad and shout nineteenth century slogans at home... The result of this would spell the end of all usefulness of the Parliamentary Labour Party." Usefulness for whom?

On the contrary, we may see, and that soon, a revival of Socialism in Britain, which will be of immense use to the people of the whole world.

—HORIT SEN

September 13.

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## \*\*\*\*\* Review Of A Novel And Daring Bengali Film \*\*\*\*\*

**J**ATRI or the Eternal Wayfarer (Producer: Niranjan Sen, Story and Direction: Satchinanda Sen Majumdar), which was released in several cinema houses in Calcutta and suburbs on September 2, is a film that has blazed a new trail. And just because it has chosen to leave the beaten track, it is bound to raise controversies.

But, there is no denying the fact that it is a daring and novel film.

It is daring because, without an eye to the prospects of box-office, it has made a series of very bold experiments which are altogether new in our film world. And, it will be no exaggeration to say that, on the whole, most of these difficult experiments have succeeded.

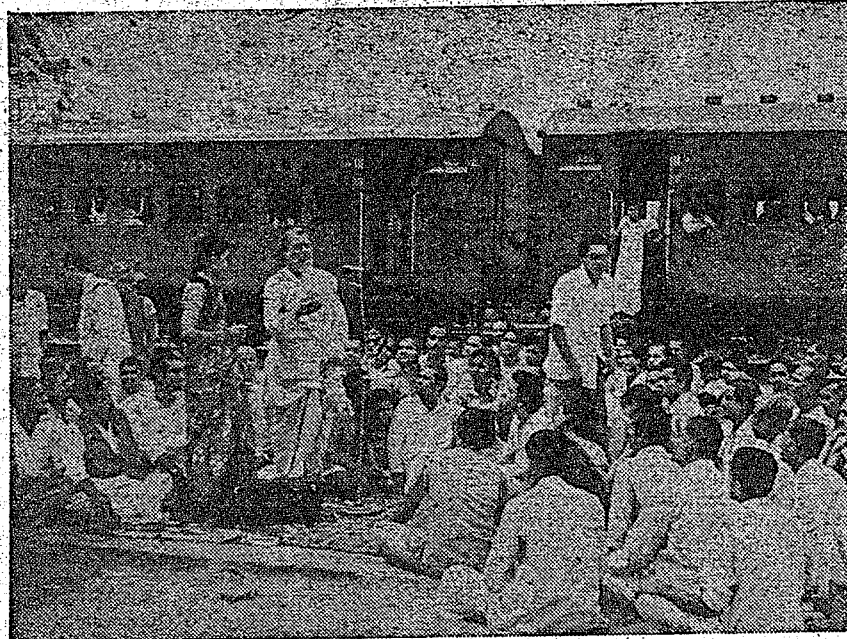
### Film With An Idea

The film is also novel in many respects. It is essentially a film with an IDEA. But the idea never thrusts itself into the consciousness of the audience.

The screen play is built round a "Bharat Darshan" train, which takes 500 passengers on a 90 days' sight-seeing tour of the famous historical and religious places of India. Both Gaya, Sarnath, Banaras, Haridwar, Amritsar, Delhi, Agra, Sanchi, Ujjain, Ajanta, Ellora, Bombay, Puri, Konarak, Cape Comorin, etc., etc.

But the film is not a mere documentary like those produced by the Films Division of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It is the IDEA behind the film, its thematic content, that lifts it up to the level of a significant piece of art.

The 500 passengers go out on the tour with diverse motives. They do not know one another. But as the train moves on, certain things begin to emerge in bold outlines. They come to know more intimately their own country and the many people that inhabit this vast sub-continent. They begin to feel their own invisi-



A scene from the film: Bepin Babu, the old Professor singing, "Oh, the dear soil of my motherland" on a station platform. The Bharat Darshan train is in the background

## JATRI LEAVES THE BEATEN TRACK

ble bonds with India's glorious past.

But this is not all. In the midst of the collective, a sense of self-realisation, a sense of fulfilment in life begins to dawn on them. Slowly, but unconsciously, "Bharat Darshan" gets transformed into "atma darshan." The sight-seeing tour becomes a voyage of discovery.

This is why the screen-play focuses attention on certain characters. They are very much men and women of flesh and blood. But, they are also symbolic in a sense.

Bepin Babu, an old professor who has taught history to generations of students out of the dry bones of textbooks, is now out to "see" and "feel" history for himself.

Arun Sen was out of tune with life. But Bimla's love touches the innermost chords of his broken heart, and the song of a new life pulsating

in him bursts forth in a flood of melody from his violin.

Sabita represents a struggling working girl who has yet to find her moorings in life.

Other typical characters are Samir, a commercial artist who has been forced to prostitute his talents in order to eke out a living, Mashima, who goes out in search of her husband who deserted her decades ago, and Natundi, who symbolises the devout religious woman of rural West Bengal.

Above all, there is Sunny, the little child who heightens the human element of the drama.

### Dynamic Life Asserts

Life is dynamic, and it is life that asserts and reasserts itself in the story.

Another novel feature of the film is the way in which the screen-play has been built up. The shifting glories of changing landscapes, the rich heritage of magnificent works of art and literature left to us by our forbear, the emotional conflicts of ordinary men and women travelling in the train, the enchanting music of ocean waves gently lapping the shores or suddenly lashing themselves into foamy fury, the dialogues and commentaries—all these elements have been artistically fused into one whole.

The photography of the film is remarkable. Shots like those of Ajanta and Cape Comorin linger in the mind long after the show is over.

The presentation of songs in the bare voices of the singers without any sort of accompanying music is another

bold innovation. The background music has been exquisitely woven into the texture of the drama.

One of the most important experiments tried out in the film is in the selection of the cast. It is almost exclusively composed of newcomers who are total strangers in the movieland.

This, perhaps, explains the main defect of the film—inept and affected acting of some of the characters. Sabita, for instance, is camera-conscious all through and, as such, her acting suffers from artificiality. Arun Sen, too, overdoes his part.

At several places, the commentaries could have been considerably shortened. If commentaries in a film like this are stretched too far, one cannot escape the impression that he is being harangued to in a rather melodramatic fashion.

It is a pity that objects like the Taj Mahal and Jallianwalla Bagh have received much less than their due share of attention. Even before the audience begins to feel the dreamlike beauty of the magnificent edifice or recall with sorrow and pride the hallowed memory of the martyrs of Jallianwalla Bagh the scenes shift abruptly.

One should, however, take into account the stupendous difficulties under which a team of only 18 persons, including the Director and the Producer, had to work. It was not a feasible proposition to take out a band of experienced film artistes on such a long journey. Secondly, the team's equipment and other resources were very limited. And, lastly, the shooting of the film had to be fitted into the fixed schedule of the train, which nowhere stopped for more than two days. Once a station was left behind there was no going back, even if any urgent need arose.

Hence, the film suffers from a number of shortcomings. Yet, it can certainly claim to have broken new ground and transformed what would have otherwise become a mere travelogue into a meaningful human drama.

—J. B. MOITRA

## MALAYALEE ART FESTIVAL

**M**ALAYALEES in the Capital were treated to a rich fare of Kathakali, Ottamthullal and music, and a Malayalam play on the concluding day, during the four-day Malayalee Art Festival organised by the Delhi Malayalee Association from September 8 to 11.

Prime Minister Nehru was to inaugurate the festival, but owing to the sudden demise of Feroze Gandhi, he could not be present. The festival began without the formalities of inauguration after adopting a resolution condoling the death of Feroze Gandhi.

The programme of music, both light and classical was presented on the first three days by Kaviyur Revamma and Kamukara Purushothaman, well-known singers from Kerala State, accompanied by Chalakudy

Narayanaswamy on the violin and Mavelikkara Krishnan Kutty on the mridangam.

Mrinalini Sarabhai and her partner Kavingal Chathunni Panicker presented Banayudham in the first day's Kathakali programme. Neither of them needs an introduction as noted exponents of Kathakali and both gave their best as King Bana and Queen Lochana. Others in the cast were Minal and Rupa as Usha and Chitralekha, Govindan and Ramakrishnan as Anirudha and Krishna and Muralidharan as Shiva.

Next day a Kalamandalam troupe presented Nalacharitam with Vazhenkada Kunchu Nair as King Nala, Champakulam Pachu Pillal as Kali and Kalamandalam Ramankutty as Pushkara. The same troupe presented Uttarawayam-

yaram the next day but had to abandon the performance half-way through due to a heavy shower. The hundred or so people who bravely withstood the rain had their recompense when the rest of the dance was performed on the last day of the Festival.

The play, Chavittikuzhacha Mannu (Mashed Earth) was put up by a group of Delhi Malayalees.

It was a big disappointment to the audience that Malabar Raman Nair, who had arrived to perform the Ottamthullal—the recitative dance of Kerala—had suddenly taken ill and had to be admitted in hospital. A disciple of Raman Nair, however, made up for his guru's unavoidable absence.

### ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Along with the Festival, a Kerala Economic Confer-

ence was organised, participated in by noted personalities from Kerala and from among the world of economists.

There were four sessions. The first session on Approach to Planning was inaugurated by C. D. Deshmukh and was presided over by the Deputy Chief Minister of Kerala, R. Shankar.

The second session on Food and Agriculture, inaugurated by S. K. Patil, was presided over by C. M. Trivedi, Member of the Planning Commission.

The third session on Industries was inaugurated by V. K. R. V. Rao and presided over by P. S. Lokanathan and the fourth session on Administration was inaugurated by Kerala Industries Minister K. A. Damodara Menon and presided over by Prof. V. K. N. Menon, Director, Indian

Institute of Public Administration.

Among those who spoke or presented papers at the various sessions were E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Dr. K. N. Raj (Professor of Economics, Delhi University), Dr. Asok Rudra (till recently Director, Bureau of Economic Studies, Kerala) Dr. Aleyamma George (University Prof. of Statistics, Kerala), P. M. Mathew (Director of Agriculture, Kerala), Dr. R. N. Poduval (Economics and Statistics Adviser to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture), P. H. Vaidyanathan (Secretary, Central Board of Irrigation), Prof. C. Narayanan (Professor of Economics, Guruvayoorappan College, Kozhikode), M. K. K. Nair (Managing Director, Fertilisers and Chemicals), P. K. Kodyan, M.P., and Dr. M. V. Pylee (Reader, Economic Administration, Delhi University).