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BEHIND BARS: (Left) Maulana Bhasani and (Right) Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

The short-lived illusions about the inspiration and character of the renovated regime in Karachi which Mirza's first proclamation created in some circles should by now have been completely dispelled.

MORE ELOQUENT THAN ANY BEAUTIFUL WORDS ARE THE ACTUAL DEEDS. ALONG WITH THE HANDFUL OF NOTORIOUSLY CORRUPT POLITICIANS, AMONG THOSE ARRESTED ARE LITERALLY THE FEW MEN OF HONESTY AND INTEGRITY THAT PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL PARTIES COULD BOAST OF AMONG THEIR LEADERS, LITERALLY THE TALLEST AMONG THOSE WHO IN THOSE REGIONS GAVE THEIR ALL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM FROM BRITISH RULE AND WHO FOR THE SAME CRIME HAVE SUFFERED AGAIN AND AGAIN SINCE THE FORMATION OF PAKISTAN. MAULANA BHASANI, KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, KHAN ABDUS SAMAD KHAN AND MR. G. M. SYED HAVE ALL BEEN CLAPPED IN PRISON.

THE regime which claims to be seeking the revival of the tarnished glory of Pakistan has started with putting in jail the few men of unswerving integrity and unchallenged patriotism that Pakistan could ever boast of—men who have suffered all their lives struggling for the freedom of their country and the well-being of their people.

Bhasani was named a traitor. His crime: Visiting the UAR and Iraq and meeting Arab leaders. And remember the charge is being made by a regime which had earlier attacked Pakistani politicians for creating bad relations with the UAR. Others too have been roundly classified in the same category for the nth time.

Except for one who has been notoriously corrupt among "politicians", not one of those who have built fortunes on refugee exodus, smuggling, etc., has been touched in West Pakistan, and Mirza has advanced the alibi on behalf of the vast bulk of them—he does not want a witch-hunt on the Iraqi pat-

tern. In East Pakistan on the other hand besides "traitors" it is those who, as long as the Muslim League ruled that province, were the Awami League's ordinary mass workers with no wherewithal and who thanks to Suhrawardy's gang-

up with the rulers at the Centre and under his evil influence fell victims to petty temptations that are being made the main target of persecution in the name of unearthing "ill-gotten wealth." It is patently more a political vendetta to behead the mass movement represented by the Awami League.

In the sphere of foreign policy the haze Mirza sought to spread through double-talk in his proclamation has been sufficiently dissipated by now by strongman Ayub's plain-speaking.

Asked at his first Press Conference as the boss who runs the show whether there would be any change in Pakistan's foreign policy, he curtly

replied: "Why, has foreign policy hurt us?" No patriotic Pakistani could say that, he proceeded to assert, implying that all those who, besides the "irresponsible" politicians (read Muslim Leaguers), had been demanding a change in foreign policy were unpatriotic.

They have made no secret of their hatred for the Arabs. To dispel any confusion with the Arab parallel, Ayub categorically stated at his Press Conference, explaining the motive behind the coup: "What I wanted to avoid

Government and substitution for it of rule by martial law...."

"At the same time," it says "it is necessary to recognise the purpose for which such drastic action has been taken. In Pakistan both President Iskander Mirza and the army's head General Ayub Khan have stated clearly that what they propose and wish to do is to establish in due course a free, honest democratic Government.

"Meanwhile there have been assurances that Pakistan's foreign policies and commitments are not altered. That is all for the good. There is also the declaration that the new regime will try once more to reach rapprochement with

AYUB-MIRZA Dictatorship IN ACTION

was anything like what happened in Iraq."

The two "grouses" against India—Kashmir and Canal Waters—were brought up and along with Mirza's talk of restraining the Muslim League hotheads was Ayub's frank statement about Kashmir: "We in the army feel much more because we recognise its significance."

India. This likewise is highly desirable."

Thus reconciliation with suppression for the present and hope of restoration of democracy in the future is what is prescribed for the Pakistanis. For Indians it is, silence now—over what is happening there and hope of "rapprochement"... Illusions both.

Thus all those among Pakistanis who might have entertained the illusion of an independent foreign policy being achieved through the military regime are already sorely disappointed and all those among Indians who might have had illusions of an Indo-Pak settlement being achieved through its agency—despite the real and staunch upholders of the cause of Indo-Pak understanding being branded traitors and clapped in jail—must also realise what an absolute mirage it is under the present dispensation.

Despite a temporary feeling of relief over things like the fall in prices—about which there is nothing miraculous, for any Government worth the name could have brought it about had it just asserted itself—the people of Pakistan will not reconcile themselves to the present rule. The present regime will meet none of their demands. It has come not to meet any of those demands but precisely to deny them.

India's duty, not merely towards the fraternal people of Pakistan but to itself as well—in the interest of really achieving a solution of its problems with Pakistan rather than starting on a will-o'-the-wisp chase and getting itself involved—is to support by all available means the Pakistani people's demand for removal of martial law, release of patriots and holding of general elections.

The U.S. masters of Pakistan and their Western allies after shedding crocodile tears for democracy in Pakistan have all welcomed and approved of the change in Pakistan. "As a matter of principle," says New York Times, "we deplore the suspension of constitutional

Kerala: Another Congress Claim Blown Up

KERALA Pradesh Congress Committee President K. A. Damodara Menon recently said that the Congress was winning a majority of the panchayat bye-elections that had been held since the Communist Ministry assumed office and that this showed the Congress was gaining in strength.

Now that the results are all available it will be interesting to see what tune the Congress will sing—since the results show that the Communist Party has won more seats than what all the other parties have together won.

38, RSP—two and PSP one. Thus the Communists and Communist supported Independents won 53 out of the 99 bye-elections while the Congress had to follow behind with only 38. The less said about the performance of the RSP and the PSP the better.

Ninety-nine bye-elections to panchayat boards were held in all up to October 1. Fourteen Independents won of whom nine were Communist-supported. In the rest of the seats, the Communists won 44, Congress—

In this situation, Sri Damodara Menon's claim of the Congress gaining in strength can be justified only if we accept that the more bye-elections you lose, the more people's support it indicates.

The pro-Congress Press had begun writing about "election landslides in Kerala" which "have given the Communists a bad jolt."

Centre's Discrimination Against Kerala In Food

The official spokesman of the Union Food Ministry who issued a statement in New Delhi on October 9 must be thinking that he has effectively answered the Kerala Government's charge of discrimination against the Centre in the matter of food supplies to the State.

HAD he not proved with facts and figures—and where they were not available which was most of the time—by assertions that 'if anything, the Centre had shown undue consideration and leniency towards the State'?

Let us have a look at his facts, figures and assertions. First, "the Centre granted during the current financial year about 45,000 tons of food

grains to the State, because it was deficit," while "nothing had been given to any of the other (Southern Zone) States of Mysore, Madras and Andhra." "In addition, a loan of 25,000 tons of grains had also been made to the State of which it (has) returned only 6,000 tons so far."

Look at the magnanimity of the Centre. Three Congress-ruled States were not given a

single grain while so much has been given to Kerala!

But the official spokesman forgot to mention that when the Southern Zone was constituted it was estimated that Madras had a deficit of one lakh tons, Mysore 50,000 tons and Kerala SEVEN LAKH TONS, and that Andhra was surplus to the extent of eight lakh tons. To put Kerala with such a huge deficit on the same level as the other States so far as the food problem goes is, to say the least, sheer dishonesty.

The whole of the country is

going through a serious food situation and Kerala with its 50 per cent deficit is naturally in chronic difficulties. It has been heavily dependent on imports from other parts of India and other countries, too.

The Kerala State Government has been distributing a minimum quantity of rice through fair-price shops to prevent the price of both imported and locally produced rice from soaring beyond limits.

Till the formation of the Southern Zone, the Central Government had been allotting to Kerala the necessary

quota of rice from its stock for distribution through the fair-price shops.

During the period January to May 1957, the Centre had allotted to Kerala 26,000 tons of rice per month and for June and July of the same year 25,000 tons each and for August 30,000 tons.

In August 1957 came the formation of the Southern Zone with Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala. After this the Central Government began to cut down its rice quota to Kerala.

The figures are: September to December, 1957—10,000 tons per month; January 1958—5,000 tons. No rice was allotted in February and March. But for the most difficult months of May, June and July, only as a result of the representations made by the Kerala Government 12,000 tons were allotted for each of these months. Again when the food position became difficult all over the country in August and September 1958, no rice was allotted by the Centre.

During this same period, the State got on the whole 24,000 tons of rice as loan from the Centre. And now the Centre, even after knowing full well that the State has no stock in hand, is compelling it to return this loan. Six thousand tons have already been given back.

Because there was no allotment in September and because the Kerala Government could not procure any stocks from anywhere, distribution of rice through fair-price shops had to be suspended with the result that the price in the open market began rising.

This is the real story of the Centre's magnanimity.

Phantom Surplus

One would ask: Why did the Centre cut down after August 1957 the allotment which it was earlier making?

Because "the Southern Zone was surplus" and Kerala could meet its needs by purchases inside the Zone—from Andhra which has a surplus of eight lakh tons of rice.

But is this the reality? Why is it that despite all its efforts the Kerala Government has not been able to procure rice in Andhra? Here are the reasons and on every count the guilty party is the Centre.

True, Andhra has a surplus of eight lakh tons. But since the formation of the Southern Zone, the Centre has procured three lakh tons of rice from Andhra and most of this has been transported out of the Zone.

Not only that. The Union Food Minister himself has admitted that large-scale black-market transactions of rice have taken place in Andhra and rice has gone out of the Zone to States like Bombay. The Centre should answer

* SEE PAGE 13

TRANSMITTING TRUTH!

"ALL accused acquitted in rape-murder of young girl" — with this headline the Weekly Kerala an English journal from Ernakulam, carries a sensational news-item in its issue of September 27.

The report contains what is claimed to be "excerpts from a judgement delivered by Mrs. Anna Chandoy, Sessions Judge, Kozhikode, in a murder case."

The crucial "excerpt" from the judgement as quoted by the weekly reads: "All the accused in the case were Communists. High-ranking police officials have investigated this case. There were charges that the Ministers themselves had interfered in the investigation in an effort to exonerate the accused even at that time. The charge was that a Muslim girl... died as a result of rape."

To arouse the wrath of the readers the paper quotes another "excerpt": "It is really unfortunate that there is no punishment for the cruel murder of an innocent girl whose honeymoon is not yet over."

The Weekly Kerala does not say when the judgement was delivered, though it says that "the murder took place three days before the Communist Ministry came into power." The impression created is that the judgement has been given recently.

The murder took place on March 30, 1957, the Communist Ministry took office on April 5, 1957 and this judgement had been delivered on September 30, 1957.

Such a judgement—that all the accused in a rape and murder case were Communists and that Ministers had interfered to exonerate them—would have hit the headlines not only in the Kerala Press but in the entire Indian Press. Kerala Congress leaders would have shouted about it from house-tops and Dhebarbhal would have made at least half a dozen statements.

KERALA NOTE-BOOK

Dr. K. B. Menon and Minoos Masani would have raised the matter in Parliament and there would have been indignantly protests from everywhere.

But strangely enough nothing happened. For one whole year there was not a stir, not a word from anywhere. How did such a sensational judgement escape the vigilant eyes of K. B. Menon and Co. and lie buried in the files for this whole period?

For the simple reason that the judgement did not contain the paragraph quoted by Kerala Weekly.

The Kerala Government looked into the matter and its Press Note says: "Government called for and examined a copy of the judgement and they regret to have to observe that the passage quoted by the Press does not appear in the judgement at all... There is no reference in the whole body of the judgement to the accused being Communists, nor to any charge of the Ministers having interfered in the investigation."

Are they fools or knaves or both—those who so deliberately distorted a judgement given by a court? Didn't they know there were laws against this sort of thing in this country? Or did they think that even that was a risk worth taking in their crusade against Communism if they could succeed in deceiving a few persons for a few days?

Two more facts need to be stated about this case—and then a few details about Weekly Kerala.

ONE: It was reported at the time of investigation of the case that one of the accused in the case was a prominent Congress worker of Mahe.

TWO: It was Communist MLA M. Kumaran who made repeated representa-

tions to the Government for proper and vigorous investigation of the case.

Now, to come to Weekly Kerala, it is published by the Democratic Publications Ltd., a new institution organised by top-ranking Congress leaders of Kerala like Sri Panampilly Govinda Menon (former Chief Minister) Sri Kalathil Velayudhan Nair (former Minister) Sri George Thomas Kottakapalli (Congress M.P.) and Sri P. C. Chertyan (President Kottayam District Congress Committee).

The object of the new institution was explained by Sri Velayudhan Nair as "to face squarely the Communist propaganda in this State and outside in order to mould the minds of the people so as to ensure the democratic way of life." The institution, he said, had the blessings of the Congress leaders and that as far as the Congress was concerned it was "quite a new venture" and was an institution "with an ideal."

DHEBAR'S ADVICE

Congress President Dhebar during his recent Kerala tour inaugurated the Democratic Publications and on that occasion he said that "when a situation like Kerala arose where they had to discharge on the one hand a duty to the people of the State and simultaneously a duty to the people outside" "the greatest need of the hour was of transmitting and communicating truth."

The Weekly Kerala, one must admit, has its own ideas about "transmitting and communicating truth."

In the company of Weekly Kerala are three other Malayalam dailies which printed the report—Kerala Janatha (Editor:

PSP leader Pattom Thanu Pillai), Dinamani (Editor: Congress leader R. Shankar) and Koumudi (Editor: RSP leader K. Balakrishnan)—the Congress-PSP-RSP united front in Kerala against the Communists.

MAN WITH A CONSCIENCE

SRI Panampilly Govinda Menon, former Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin and at present self-proclaimed leader of the liberation struggle against the Communist Government of Kerala, is a man with a conscience.

Sri Menon is bothered not only about his own conscience. He was the one who recently advised Government officials to even disobey official directives if they went against the dictates of their conscience. A man of very high moral calibre in public life, you would think. Only till you read this story which I have come across.

Recently a house fell vacant in Ernakulam town. The Rent Controller who is the Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) was notified about it. Since Government officials have first claims on vacant houses, a number of officials applied for the house.

Meanwhile, the District Collector called the RDO on the phone and asked him to allot the house to Sri Govinda Menon. But the RDO insisted on acting according to the rules and allotted the house to the Assistant Director of Fisheries. And the Fisheries officer wrote to the house-owner asking for the key of the house.

Just at this time, the RDO went on five days' leave. The District Collector took this opportunity to cancel the order already issued by the RDO and allot the house to Sri Govinda Menon.

One wonders what influence Sri Menon wields on the District Collector. Anyway it will be worth investigating.

—OBSERVER

INSIDE OUR ECONOMY NEWS & NOTES

SHYLOCKS' DECISIONS

WITH the end of the New Delhi meetings of the World Bank and the IMF it is claimed a chapter in the history of these organisations has ended. From now on, instead of taking only a desultory interest in the affairs of the underdeveloped countries, they will be shifting their main attention to looking after the "health" of the latter's economies.

In an earlier article (New Age, October 12) the main measures through which this attention will be focussed had been mentioned. In the main, all of them have been accepted at the New Delhi meetings, so that, apparently at least, all that the needy countries have now to do to get plenty of funds for their economic progress is to reorientate the pattern of their development on lines suggested therein.

What these lines should be has also been made explicit in the meetings: have as little of State enterprise as possible, giving up State's right to "intrude in every sector of economic activity"; put no impediments in the way of a "true renaissance of the flow of private capital" which should be allowed the freedom of the country without let or hindrance; and lastly, be prepared to face a continued period of unstable prices of primary commodities, whose worst effects will be only slightly curbed through short-term accommodations that the international organisations can afford.

The tacit acceptance of these terms even by a Government like ours, which swears by a Socialist pattern of society, adds another stigma to its much-tarnished reputation of depending too much on foreign capitalist circles to help solve the problem of economic development.

DISSENSIONS

In spite of a facade of unanimity on all issues, however, the deliberations of the meetings were not entirely free of dissension.

Thus on the issue of increase in quotas of the IMF as well as the capital of the World Bank, West Germany and Japan, both flushed with new successes in industrial reconstruction, mainly through the munificence of the U. S. Government, made no secret of their desire to share the places at the apex of the two organisations. They also did not conceal their reservations in respect of the projected International Development Association in which they perceived merely a new device of the U. S. capitalists to spread their tentacles in the underdeveloped countries.

On the question of the increase in the price of

gold, which two gold-producing countries, Australia and South Africa raised, and in which our country was particularly interested because of the wide disparity between its internal price and the price in the international market, the USA, cognisant of the depressing effect that such a step would have on the value of its currency, refused to budge an inch from its rigid position.

That could not, however, conceal the truth that the dollar was already overvalued to an extent of at least three per cent, and in clinging to its unrealistic rate of exchange in terms of gold, the United States delegation was only trying to postpone the day when it will have to inevitably face the bitter truth.

Thus, with only the prospect of an increasing flow of foreign private funds falling to their bargain, the Indian people cannot in future be so easily taken in by tall talk about the foreign capitalists' "new awareness" of the problems of the East.

FROM CREDITOR TO DEBTOR

THE Chairman of the Boards of Governors of the two Bretton Woods Organisations, Jean Van Houtte, talked about creating conditions to make a "true renaissance" of the flow of private foreign capital possible.

Judging by the figures in a Study in the latest Bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India, however, there seems to be no necessity for such a "renaissance" at least in our country, not because the Government here has decided to do without foreign capital, but because of the steady pace at which it has been finding its way throughout.

Thus, while at the end of June 1948 non-banking foreign business investments totalled Rs. 255.8 crores, at the end of 1956 their quantum was Rs. 506.3 crores. These figures do not include foreign capital received by the official sector. Out of the net inflow of Rs. 36.4 crores in 1956, Rs. 12.1 crores was from the World Bank in the form of loans to the private steel and power companies. The rate of inflow was more or less equal to the average annual inflow during July 1948 to December 1953, and was higher than the average annual inflow of about Rs. 16 crores during 1954-1955.

On the basis of available data the Study shows that the net inflow in 1957 was of the order of Rs. 48 crores. This included Rs. 32 crores of the World Bank loans. While this showed a reduction—in terms of strictly private investment—as compared to 1956, it was somewhat higher than the average annual rates for 1954-1955.

As in the past petroleum at Rs. 12.1 crores and ma-

AT THE WORLD BANK'S BIDDING SABOTAGE OF OUR STEEL PRODUCTION

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA, October 13 — As conditions for continuing to operate the blast furnace, the IISCO demanded that the Government of India bear the entire cost of its renovation and also increase the retention price of IISCO steel.

THE plant used to produce about 18,000 tons of high-grade pig iron a day.

The Kulti Iron and Steel Works, situated about 130 miles from Calcutta in the Asansol-Ramgunge industrial belt, was constructed by the Burrakar Iron Works Co., which was floated in 1875. It was the first big enterprise for the manufacture of iron and steel, iron ore production, then being 9,000 tons and foundry output 3,800 tons per year.

The plant changed hands several times before it was taken over by the Bengal Iron and Steel Co., in 1889. It was finally acquired by the Indian Iron and Steel Co. (IISCO) which had been established in 1919.

The majority of shares in the IISCO are held by Sir Biren Mukherjee, who is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the company.

The steel plant of the IISCO, the second largest in the country, is situated at Burnpur near Asansol. The plant was recently modernised with a loan of Rs. five crores from the World Bank under a guarantee from the Government of India.

Why Closure?

The closure of this oldest steel works, which was producing not an inconsiderable quantity of pig iron, provides a classic example of the piper who pays calling the tune.

In view of the extreme shortage of steel during the Second Plan period, the Government of India had asked the management of the IISCO not to discard the blast fur-

nace and the coke ovens for the next four years.

But the World Bank persistently demanded, it is learnt on the highest authority, that the plant be closed down on the ground that its equipments were "more fit for a museum than for a modern iron and steel works." The management openly ignored the recommendations of the Government of India and acted according to the bidding of the big Mahajan. And the Government quietly swallowed its own words and acquiesced in this anti-national action of the management.

When thousands of improvised, crude blast furnaces are being set up in China to step up steel production for its Five-Year Plan, when we are spending crores of rupees in foreign exchange to import steel, the closure of the Kulti plant, however antediluvian it might have been, cannot but be regarded as sabotage. Once again, it shows how the U. S.-dominated World Bank interferes in the economic life of a debtor country.

One of the reasons given by the management for closing down the plant is that the blast furnace being outmoded, the cost of production at Kulti was higher than at Burnpur, and hence the margin of profit from the Kulti works was much lower.

Their Consideration

So, the overriding consideration was the size of the profit—and not the needs of the Second Plan or the interests of the country.

manufacturing—including items ranging from iron and steel to food products—at Rs. 15.6 crores attracted the maximum investments, though the shares of utilities and transport—old favourites of foreign investors—and trading at Rs. 6.5 and Rs. 2.3 crores were by no means negligible.

Another important point about these investments is that as in previous years they have been mostly of the direct investment type, i.e. accompanied by control of the enterprises concerned. Such investments during 1956 amounted to nearly Rs. 23.7 crores out of a total of Rs. 36.4 crores. However, as the latter figure includes World Bank loans of Rs. 12.1 crores, the "predominance of the direct investments becomes obvious."

As in previous years the United Kingdom continued

to be the main exporter of capital, with the USA occupying the second position—the shares of the two being Rs. 15.4 and Rs. 7.1 crores respectively.

These trends of foreign investments have another side also and that is the ill-effect that they have had on the country's international investment position. Thus while at the end of 1955 her foreign assets exceeded liabilities by about Rs. 500 crores, at the end of 1957 they fell short of the latter by Rs. 270 crores.

From a net creditor of Rs. 500 crores in a period of only two years—this is the sorry pass to which the country has been brought by the Congress Government's fondness of private foreign capital.

Workers' Resistance

The management further says that with the modernisation of the Burnpur plant, the loss in the output of pig iron due to the closure of the Kulti works will be made up. This is only partially true, because Burnpur does not manufacture such high-grade pig iron as Kulti used to produce.

The big shot that he is, Sir Biren Mukherjee did not deem it necessary to honour the tripartite agreement reached at the recent Sixteenth Labour Conference at Nainital. The agreement provides that in all such cases of closures as that at Kulti, three months' notice has to be given. But, Sir Biren thought it fit to issue only three days' notice! The management proposed to give employment at Burnpur to 350 workers out of the total complement of about 1,060 workers.

The workers strongly opposed the closure and demanded alternative employment on equivalent terms and conditions. Two big protest meetings, attended by about 14,000 and 10,000 workers respectively were held under the auspices of the powerful United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, of which Janab Taher Hussain, MLA, is the General Secretary.

The management has ultimately climbed down. It has given a written assurance to employ 610 out of the 750 workers rendered surplus. The rest will be on the pay-roll of the company till alternative employment is found for them. They will be entitled to all existing privileges except production bonus.

In response to the call of the Asansol Regional Committee of the AITUC, the workers and other sections of the people of Asansol demonstrated on October 11 against the interference of the World Bank in the internal affairs of this country. They also demanded immediate re-opening of the blast furnace at Kulti.

—ESSEN

October 13, 1958

THE Fund-Bank Conference is over. The World Bank chief, Mr. Black, characterised it as "imaginative and constructive." The Fund Director Mr. Jacobson, hailed it as of "historic importance." Sri Morarji Desai is satisfied that it will turn out to be a "landmark."

THEIR IDEAS AND DEMANDS

Mr. Black, presenting the annual report of the Bank stated: "the destiny of humanity in the 20th Century would be profoundly influenced by the extent of India's success in absorbing radical changes caused by the economic development without sacrificing respect for individual liberty."

This, in plain words, means that we must be kept bound within the capitalist framework, but we are not to be permitted a free capitalist development. For, he goes on to state that underdeveloped countries like India were "approaching limits of their present capacity to assume additional obligations." It would be imprudent for such countries to undertake additional foreign exchange obligations. This clearly means that our national aspiration to rapidly industrialise our country is considered impractical and if we persist, we would not get their aid.

Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Amory, in a Press Conference (Hindu, October 9), stated that we should "pause to see, in advance what resources were available" before drawing up our plan. He expressed the hope that "India would consult friendly countries, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund in respect of resources at the time of formulating the Third Five-Year Plan."

DICTION

Britain and others are aiding our pruned plan now but demand that they must have their say in shaping the Third Plan. If this is not dictation what else is it?

The British Chancellor spoke of "the advantages of attracting foreign funds for permanent investments in the (underdeveloped) countries in the form of equity capital in industrial enterprises. British private capital would consider each proposal on its merits for purposes of partnership ventures in Indian enterprises. It was also free to enter into partnership with Government enterprises if it could do so by mutual agreement."

The British are against Government-to-Government loans, as has been our demand so far but want to come and dig in as permanent partners, primarily in the private but also in the public sector.

The British demands were further underlined by Sir Jeremy Ralsman, former Finance Minister under British rule. He was of the view that "direct taxation was much too heavy in India. Labour costs in this country are high. Labour productivity was not in direct proportion to the

benefits conferred by the enormous labour laws, Central and States." (Hindu, October 9).

British capital would oblige us by making capital investments in our country if we drastically reduce the taxes on the rich and take away the concessions that our labour enjoys and let them reap super profits.

The patriotic people of India find such advice repellant. They will grow indignant at the demands made by the imperialists as they become widely known. But Sri Morarji Desai found the Fund-Bank Conference "an exhilarating experience." In his speech during the Conference, he made the servile statement: "In the speeches made by the various Governments, there has been a clear accent on the need for international action to promote economic development in the less developed countries of the world. There has also been corresponding stresses on the need for sound developmental planning in these countries. These two ideas necessarily go together." (Indian Express, October 11)

MORARJI'S THESIS

Sri Desai does not find the imperialists' demands to be imperialist at all but such as "promote economic development." Again, he is not even sorry for cutting and pruning the Plan to the dictates of imperialist finance but considers it to be "sound developmental planning."

The best commentary on Morarji Desai's thesis was given in the panel discussion in which leading businessmen from the major capitalist countries spoke out their minds (Hindu, October 10). They all demanded that "a healthy climate be created for private entrepreneurship to take active part in the task of raising the living standards throughout the world. Nearly all of them warned against the possible ill-effects of a high level of taxation on private enterprise."

Mr. J. L. S. Steel, from the U.K., stated: "Clearly the responsibilities of private industry are more likely to be fully recognised and carried out in a free atmosphere than in an atmosphere of edict, officious persuasion or excessive controls."

Dr. Henle, the German, stated: "Laws, regulations and rules should be designed to utilise to the full the dynamic forces of private enterprise."

The foreign capitalists want not only complete freedom for unfettered exploitation of our resources, but also their own domination. They talked a lot about partnership with local capital, but they have no idea of taking on Indians except as junior partners.

Mr. Steel said: "The extent to which local participation should be encouraged or agreed must clearly depend enormously on the type of venture. In many cases the parent organisation will not willingly allow its equity interests to fall below 50 per cent. For, it will then lose effective control of the enterprise which has been built up by its own initiative. There will, however, be cases where

a company from abroad will be content to hold a minority interest, possibly because this is accompanied by a royalty agreement or an agreement for the provision of technical services."

BEHIND THE SCENES

However much Sri Morarji Desai and his masters may try to create the atmosphere of good will, generosity and all that, even the Right-wing Press like the Times of India (October 7) reports of the "grinding process for preparing 'specific and sound' projects which alone would qualify for World Bank aid."

The same paper on October 11 reports that it is a "long and tedious process" to negotiate the details of the 350 million dollars promised by the U.S., U.K., West Germany and Japan.

On October 12, the paper reported: "The main hurdle as far as the utilisation of the first 350 million dollars is understood to have been the devious and intricate procedures insisted upon by the lending nations for channelling the credits."

At one time, the difficulties were considered "overwhelming." The situation "improved" after the talks in New Delhi. But "some hard negotiations may still be ahead."

The talks for the second instalment of 650 million dollars have not even begun. A five-Power conference is likely to be held in about four to five months. These months will be used by the imperialists to exert further pressure. These very months must be used by all Indian patriotic organisations to expose and show up these anti-national deals.

THE NEW REALITY

DURING the Fund-Bank Conference it is the capitalist Powers who have got all that they wanted and it is the underdeveloped countries who have every reason to be disappointed and worse.

The rich industrialised countries refused the appeal to stabilise the prices of raw materials on which the economy of the underdeveloped countries depends and of which they themselves are the biggest consumers. They have refused to revise their old policy of unequal trade with us.

Secondly, instead of responding to our appeal for large-scale economic loans on long-term basis, and fair terms, on a Government-to-Government level, they are pressuring us for all they are worth to open the doors of our economy to private foreign investors and industrialists.

U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Dillon said on October 13 (Hindustan Times) that he had had "talks with officials and businessmen in India and felt that there was considerable improvement in the situation and greater welcome for foreign private capital in India now." He announced the new deal between the

German monopolist Kaiser and the Indian counterpart, Birlas for setting up a joint aluminium plant.

In the last session of Parliament not only the Opposition but also some Congress M.P.s objected to the concessions to foreign shipping interests embodied in the Merchant Shipping Bill. Now, Union Minister S. K. Patil has announced (Hindustan Times, October 8) that "the Government were prepared to allot all their ships to be manufactured to the private sector. The Government would also not nationalise the shipping industry." This, despite the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Union Government and the Second Five-Year Plan.

This new trend is developing all-round and at great speed. Kashmir's Industries Minister Sharaf announced before the Jammu Chamber of Commerce, "the Government was prepared to transfer some of the well-established small industries owned and run by it to private industries. Barring key industries which will be owned and run by the Government, all other industries should be managed by private industrialists." (Hindustan Times, October 12)

1305-CRORE FOOD PLAN

In a predominantly agricultural country like ours, food has become the Achilles Heel of our economy. There is no difference among patriotic Indians that the failure of the Congress Government to give land to the tiller and rebuild our agrarian economy on new democratic foundations is the root cause of the failure.

The imperialists, however, use the Government failure and the crisis of the Plan to advance the theory that we must go slow with our industrialisation plans and concentrate on food production.

The leaders of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have been playing the host to the foreign specialists and financiers who have come to our country for the Fund-Bank Conference and discussing the problem of our economy with them.

A new brochure "Suggestions for Agricultural Self-Sufficiency" under the signature of B. P. Singh Roy, President of the Federation, former Union Minister C. H. Bhabha, B. M. Birla and Tulsidas Khatwani, has been widely publicised in the Press.

It outlines a Plan for increasing food production of the country by 50 per cent, in the next ten years, at a capital cost of Rs. 1,305 crores. They claim that their plan will provide direct employment to 35 lakhs of people, besides further indirect employment. They advocate the manufacture of machinery in India for setting up fertiliser plants, manufacture of tractors, the exploration and refining of oil by the private sector and free distribution of contraceptives by Government to check the growing population.

They have proposed a thorough reorganisation of the Agriculture and Food Ministry and the formation of a six-member Central Food and Advisory Council with "over-riding" powers and intensive cultivation for solving the food problem.

They have openly pleaded that ideological considerations should not lead to press and carry out land reforms. They argue that redistribution of land will only mean increase of uneconomic holdings and less food production. They are against any disturbance of existing large holdings for they want them to be used for mechanised and scientific methods of farming by the big landowners themselves.

They are against collective farming, for they think it kills private initiative and has been a failure in most countries of the world.

The ground for the above reactionary proposals has been prepared during the last few months in the columns of the Hindustan Times, Eastern Economist and other organs of the reactionary big bourgeois interests.

It is for the first time that they have dared to formulate a plan that goes against all the best traditions of the Indian national movement and even the policy and proposals of the First as well as the Second Five-Year Plans. Not land to the tiller and the development of our agriculture, on a cooperative basis, paving the path for a socialist development of India but preservation of the large holdings and providing the big landlords with tractors, fertilisers and oil which Indian Big Business hopes to produce in collaboration with the foreign monopolists.

It is a plan to make of Indian economy another Latin American economy. It only expresses how far away from Indian national traditions the reactionary big bourgeoisie has drifted. They are, however, counting without their hosts, India's peasant millions and powerful progressive patriotic opinion.

These reactionary interests have won a new and influential ally in ex-Congress General Secretary, now Planning Commission member in charge of Food and Agriculture, Sri Shriram Narain.

In an interview with the delegation of the All-India Agriculturists Federation, a big landholders' body, inspired and guided by Masani and the like, he said that he was against ceiling on lands under self-cultivation. He also expressed his opinion that all newly claimed lands should be exempted from any proposed ceiling and that he was definitely in favour of inducing progressive farmers (his name for big landowners) to remain in their occupation. (Sunday Standard, October 12)

As Sri Morarji Desai is scuttling the Second Plan on the industrial and financial sectors, so Sri Shriram Narain is doing on the agrarian sector. Their dangerous anti-national policies need combating. This is the most urgent issue of the day.

-P. C. JOSHI

INTERNATIONAL BIG MONEY'S NEW DELHI MEET

International Big Money's New Delhi meet is over and those whom Indonesia's representative at the closing session called India's "spoilt guests" have left or are leaving one by one. Of course, Indonesia's Finance Minister Soetikno Slamet in paying tribute to the Government of India's hospitality was referring to all of them—including himself—as spoilt guests. But actually lots of people in Delhi saw who among the guests really were the pampered and spoilt ones.

WHILE ordinary staff members of the U.S. delegation were housed at the Ashoka Hotel, some even from among Finance Ministers from the Afro-Asian countries were not provided with any tolerably decent hotel accommodation and had to shift for themselves or had to stay with their Ambassadors. The accommodation arrangements were made not by the Government of India but by the World Bank itself, it is true.

LAVISH FACILITIES

The Government, too, however, placed lavish facilities at the disposal of our dollar-bearing guests. Some fifteen of the best and newest DTS buses for instance were all the time standing at the Vigyan Bhawan although hardly anyone of the delegates or others connected with the Conference ever used them. This at a time when Punjab and U.P. Roadways buses were being put on regular routes to cope with the constantly increasing traffic due to the opening of the 'India-1958' Exhibition.

Everyone emphasised that it was a very important conference—being held for the first time on the soil of Asia, virtually the mountain coming to Mohammad.

Being held at a time when the entire underdeveloped world was in turmoil with its peoples pressing insistently for policies which would lead to a basic change in the position of their countries and in their living conditions, it was located in India, the key country of this whole group, just in order to organise the maximum publicity and attract the maximum attention of the peoples in these parts and to serve as the rallying ground for elements that can be rallied for the objectives for which these organisations stand.

They made no bones about their objectives despite all their desire to get the maximum propaganda value out of the big show. Despite all their pose of having come to Asia as fairy god-mother to Cinderella they showed their real face—that of the classical step-mother who would continue to insist on harsh and exacting terms making the Cinderella of Asian, African and Latin American countries do all the chores to keep their own house spick and span.

Continually throughout the Conference they kept on lecturing to the underdeveloped countries on the need for "monetary discipline," on "strict supervision of projects," on the suitable political climate that they must create to encourage the inflow of private foreign investment, on the need to cut down ambitious projects and plans to keep on "servicing" the loans already incurred.

by Staff Correspondent ZIAUL HAQ

being between industrialised and un-industrialised countries.

He refuted Mr. Black's oft-repeated contention that India's Plan was over-ambitious and spoke of the vast natural and human resources of Asia—"human resources not merely in numbers but in ability." He pleaded for these resources to be given a chance. "It is the chance that is wanting, this chance to pull itself out," he said.

GOVERNMENT'S RETREAT

He of course knew to whom he was talking and how interested they were in the underdeveloped countries getting a real 'chance'. He could not but have been fully aware that it is not by anyone else (and particularly those who are responsible for Asia being reduced to the present state of backwardness) giving us a chance that we can pull ourselves out.

But pushed by our own monopoly groups and itself sliding back step by step, the Government of India has come to a position where knowing all this to be a basic division in the world

and maintain the illusion—not only in India but throughout Asia-Africa, that we can get a "chance" through these international finance organisations.

Conscious of the nature of the gathering the utmost the Prime Minister could do in his effort to bring round the world bankers to effect a radical change in their outlook was to plead: "It is not merely a question of Asia or Africa but the rest of the world. The rest of the world cannot be happy without imbalance, unless it pulls up the underdeveloped countries also."

ter that aid should be organised through the United Nations. It is better for the giver, better for the taker, and better from the point of view of the objectives and results also." He had then expressed the hope that in future this method would be employed for helping underdeveloped countries.

It would seem that that insistence and that hope have been abandoned step by step over this short period, although even as the Prime Minister was addressing the New Delhi Conference the Indian, the Soviet and other delegates of the Asian-African and Socialist countries were again demanding at the U.N. the setting up of the SUNFED and the U.S. and the Western bloc were persisting in their opposition and sabotage of the proposal.

NEW COLONIALISM

All the spokesmen of the Bank and the Fund and the delegates of the big Western Powers made it a point to pay glowing tributes to the Prime Minister and to his inaugural address. But this never went beyond a formal acknowledgement of the fact that "the great transformation going on in the underdeveloped world today is the most important fact of the 20th century" (Mr. Black).

They had no hesitation in rushing in almost the very

"That approach is the right approach and it is bet-

(Continued on page 14)

- EXPORTS: CEMENT-MILLS, ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS, ICE AND REFRIGERATING PLANTS, MACHINES FOR FLOUR MILLS, MACHINES FOR THE FOOD-STUFF-INDUSTRY, RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK, WESSELS, SHIPS REPAIRS, HOUSEHOLD SEWING MACHINES.

MASINIIMPORT

State Company for Foreign Trade, Bucharest-3, Rumania. Str. Mihail Eminescu Nr. 10

MASINIIMPORT

AGRARIAN SITUATION IN ORISSA

It is a grim picture that faces us when we look at the food situation in Orissa. Scarcity of foodgrains accompanied by soaring prices much beyond the reach of the common people is a chronic and heart-rending phenomenon. The First Five-Year Plan is over and we are in the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan. Yet we are so helpless.

ORISSA is known to be a surplus Province. But "to state frankly, the people of Koraput, who supply the large bulk of foodgrains to the deficit Provinces do so by half starvation. The majority of the tribal people live on fruits and herbs and tamarind seeds and kernels of mango stones for about ten months in the year. This is how they save grains and sell to their sister Provinces because that is their cash crop. Looked at from the nutritional point of view, Orissa is not really a surplus Province. We are in need of 4.90 crore maunds of rice to feed our people, whereas our production is less by about one crore maunds." (Memorandum to Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1952)

This was in 1952. Has there been any improvement since then? If one goes round the countryside one can generally see how people live half-starved, how in many places they live on boiled Tal juice with a sprinkling of rice.

The position is no different now. Witness this statement of the Government in 1956: "Orissa is primarily an agricultural State. The loss of production in agriculture has affected the per capita income considerably. There has been very little development of industries in the State during the period... at present the economic position of the people is in no way better than what it was at the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan." (Memorandum of the Orissa Government to the Finance Commission at the end of 1956)

Present Land Relations

Before dealing with the question of remedies to the present agrarian situation, it is necessary to have a glance at the existing land relations and the character of agricultural production.

The Inland Division comprises mostly of the 23 former feudatory States and the Coastal Division consists of coastal districts to which a few former State areas have been tagged on as a measure of delimitation of the districts after merger. Without lumping together the two Divisions it would be more fruitful to draw conclusions from the facts presented by each.

The Inland Division keeps intact its feudal economy even after ten years of integration, during which period there have been enactments like the Zamindari Abolition Act (1951) and the Tenants' Protection Act. In this region serfdom still exists.

The official report of Sundargarh District to the Land Reform Committee in 1958 says: "In this district there are twelve classes of land tenures: Zamindari, Kharposh, Parganadar, Bramhotar, Debottar, Head Ganjhuari, Ganjhuari, Sikmi Gauntal, Roytwari, Service Jagir, Sukhabasi."

the zamindaries have been abolished under the Orissa State Abolition Act 1951." This shows that some zamindaries are still left. It is really difficult to understand how this anomalous position still persists even seven years after the Act has been passed. Other tenure-holders except ryotwari and sukhabasi are smaller fudal lords though technically they are called intermediaries.

"Kharposh tenure is hereditary. The younger branches of the rulers' and zamindars' families get kharposh who pay nothing in the first generation but the next successor pays twenty-five per cent, the third fifty per cent and the fourth seventy-five per cent of the land revenue. Accordingly the status of the kharposhdars is that of a gauntia in the fourth generation."

A Distressing Picture In The Third Year Of The Second Plan

by RAMAKRISHNA PATI

"Gauntias are masters of certain villages. They collect rent and keep one-fourth of the land revenue. It is practically hereditary. In addition to their one-fourth share of land revenue they enjoy Bhogra land rent-free." Such tenure-holders, that is these intermediaries have each under them certain villages and rent-free lands. The poor peasants, the middle peasants even, except Brahmins, work for these intermediaries for a certain period of time in the year without remuneration.

Feudalism Intact

Practically the entire land of the State was divided and given to the next of kin under so many tenures by the rulers and the zamindars. The ryotwari system covers an insignificant proportion of the area in the districts of the Inland Division. Villages under these tenures are practically serf villages.

There is a "sukhabasi tenure. These sukhabasi enjoy only 'gharbari' (homestead) land up to 0.20 acre free of rent." In view of this rent-free homestead land they render service and work for these feudal lords.

The report further says in the concluding paragraph, "So far only nine estates (four zamindaris, two jagirdaris and three parganadars) have been abolished. There remain still a larger number of interme-

diaries in this district. Steps may be taken to abolish these tenures."

Facts can be multiplied but the whole point at issue is this, that in the Inland Division the foundation of feudalism has been very little shaken. Feudal and semi-feudal modes of production are still intact. What is true of this district is true of all districts in the Inland Division with minor variations.

Vast Tracts Lie Fallow

Another factor also has to be noted. According to the Census Report, in the Inland Division, fallow and waste lands fit for being brought under plough will be more than half the area sown."

This shows that in spite of vast tracts of cultivable land being available they could not be brought under the plough owing to the fact that the bulk of the poor peasantry is unable to provide more farm cattle and secondly, they along with the landless peasants are

dependent on the feudal property-owners. According to the Census Report, the proportion of landowners owning 33 acres and above in the Inland Division is higher than that of the Coastal Division. According to the reply to a question on the floor of the Assembly the 23 ex-States rulers had 47,368.34 acres of land on January 26, 1950. By January 1, 1957, it had been reduced to 39,673.61 acres.

There is yet another distinguishing feature. In the Inland Division the proportion of cultivating labourers is higher than in the Coastal Division. In the Kalahandi and Bolangir Districts the percentage of these labourers is even higher.

The main task that follows from these conditions here is the abolition of the intermediary system, fixing of ceilings, distribution of land and allocation of fallow lands to the landless and small peasants.

Coastal Division

In comparison to the Inland Division, the Coastal Division is more commercialised. Cash crops are mainly grown in this Division, according to the Census Report. Almost all of the marketing cooperative societies, numbering about 28, function in this Division. The average debt of a cultivator family, according to the Rural Credit Survey, is higher in this

mentation, there are also more smaller peasant holdings. The above picture does not mean that there is no semi-feudal mode of production. Neither does it mean that agricultural economy has been set on a capitalist footing. Rather, the more the percentage of small peasant holdings the more they are dependent on the moneylenders and property-holders. The above picture only shows that commercial economy has to a certain extent penetrated into the Coastal Division.

Insufficient Production

If we take Orissa as a whole, we find, according to the Census Report, that 70 per cent of the households having one to five acres occupy only 30 per cent of the total cultivated area, and 14 per cent of the households having six to ten acres occupy 22 per cent of the cultivated area. In other words, more than half the cultivated area consisting of small peasant holdings between one to ten acres is held by 84 per cent of the households.

Sixteen per cent of the households own 48 per cent of the land. Less than two per cent of the households having more than 33 acres each occupy about 13 per cent of the land area. This proves the preponderance of small peasant economy. Out of the total area under

cultivation about 92 per cent is under food crops, rice being grown on 79.9 per cent. Roughly four per cent of the total cultivated area is under sugar-cane, jute, cotton, tobacco and oil seeds. Jute cultivation had increased in the Coastal Districts only during 1949 to 1951 to reach 161,000 acres. According to the Statistical Abstracts of Orissa, 1956, jute production has recorded an increase up to 245,000 tons indicating an increase of 115,000 tons from the 1953-54 production.

A subsistence economy is dominant and even the production of foodgrains is insufficient for the daily needs of the people of Orissa.

Of the total agricultural population in Orissa, 27.8 per cent are self-supporting and 9.9 per cent are earning dependents. "The remaining 62.3 per cent which indeed is a high proportion are constituted of persons who are just doing nothing and are dependent upon a smaller number of earners." Thus a majority of people consume what they do not produce, or earn a farthing.

Immediate Tasks

Under such a state of economy, to think of capital formation would be foolish. This testifies to the abjectly low purchasing power of the people.

The immediate tasks, therefore, in the peasantry's struggle are—
 1. Land reform—abolition of all intermediaries, fixing of ceilings, abolition of the jagir, bramhotar and lakhrajdar systems, fixing up rent on those lands, exempting rent on peasants holding below two acres.
 2. Giving widespread irrigation facilities and construction of irrigation projects.
 3. A network of roads for easy marketing and transport.
 4. For facilitating intensive cultivation, Government to supply better seeds, more fertilisers, better implements and help in better techniques of cultivation.
 5. Distribution of fallow lands to the landless and small peasants.

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As is the case with all big cities in the capitalist world—there are two Calcuttas. There is the Calcutta one sees as one walks down Chowringhee—the Calcutta ablaze with neon lights, the Calcutta of air-conditioned cinema halls, night clubs, hotels with cabaret shows, the Calcutta that lives in Alipore and "south of Park Street" in modern flats and houses with tennis lawns and even swimming pools.

AND there is the Calcutta of the bustees—a world of its own, horrible yet full of life, strange yet fascinating. Who would imagine as one walked down Chowringhee or Park Street, or even Rashbehary Avenue for the matter of that, that in this city of palaces there exist vast slums, stinking like cesspools which house almost a quarter of Calcutta's humanity. And yet they are there, big as life, impossible to be just wished away.

According to Government figures, a population of 531,500 individuals and 132,400 families lives in the bustees of Calcutta (excluding the Tollygunje municipality now incorporated in the Calcutta Corporation and the Port Commissioners' area). Of these families, 58.78 per cent have an income of Rs. 100 a month or less, 32.82 per cent have an income ranging between Rs. 100 and 200.

Over three-quarters of the families, 77.85 per cent to be exact, have only one room to themselves. The average rent of a room in a bustee is round about nine rupees a month. It should, of course, be remembered that "room" is rather a misnomer for these temporary structures of mud and bamboo but for want of any other term the word room has perforce to be used.

The most horrible part of these bustees is that there are absolutely no arrangements for sanitation and hardly any for water supply. Open drains run between rows of mud huts, little footpaths alongside serving as connecting roads from one part of the bustee to another. There are no electric lights or even gas-lights anywhere in most of the bustees and kerosene lamps are all that the bustee dwellers have to light their homes with.

Garbage is dumped anywhere there is a little open space, the most makeshift arrangements serve as privies or latrines.

Veritable Hell

During the rains when water floods the bustees a veritable hell prevails. The drains overflow; the garbage and the refuse of the privies float about and enter the rooms and courtyards of the huts making life unbearable for the bustee-dwellers. This is what they have to endure day after day, year after year.

And yet, strange as it may seem, the hutowners in the bustees have to pay taxes at the highest rates to the Calcutta Corporation. Whereas houseowners having pucca houses have to pay taxes at the rate of 15 to 19 per cent, hutowners in the bustees have to pay at the rate of 23 per cent. The reason for this is simple. Whereas pucca houses are assessed separately and thus have to pay at a lower rate, bustees are assessed collectively and since the collective rent of an entire bustee housing five to ten thousand amounts to a fairly big sum they have to pay at the highest rate.

What do they get for it in return? Practically nothing in the shape of amenities. In some of the bustees there are a few corporation water taps but there are quite a number of bustees in Calcutta which do not have a single water tap or tube-well and have to depend for their water supply on a roadside water tap or some tube-well in the neighbourhood. It is quite a common occurrence during the hot summer days to find the bustee people queuing up at two o'clock in the night and a row of as many as five hundred pails before the water tap in expectation of the water supply starting at 4.30 in the morning.

even when it wishes to (which is not often) cannot do very much for the improvement of the bustees because the law provides that nothing can be done, not even a tube-well sunk or a drain dug, without the consent of the landlord.

The landlord, as has already been explained, apart from being disinterested, is anxious to see that no permanent structures come up which might make it difficult for him to evict the tenants and use the land for other purposes when he may so desire. Naturally the necessary permission from the landlord is generally not forthcoming and the Corporation pleads helplessness.

Stumbling Blocks

What about the Thika Praja, i.e. the hutowners, doing something on their own to make sanitary arrangements or improve the bustee? In this case too the difficulty about getting the landlord's permission operates with equal force. An even more important consideration is that the Thika Praja not having any rights on the land cannot risk spending large sums of money on improving the land knowing that they may be evicted any day and their entire in-

vestment may go down the drain.

Thus the vicious circle is complete and all attempts to improve these insurmountable stumbling blocks. And so the dwellers continue to wallow in filth year after year.

The Bustee Dwellers

And who are the people who live in these bustees? The most varied occupations and trades are to be found inside the bustees.

There are envelope-makers, bidi-makers, book-binders, fruit-sellers, umbrella-repairers, masons, hawkers who sell their wares on the roadside, hosiery goods, plastic goods, enamel or glassware, fried things to eat, people who make their living by selling fire-wood, widows who make cowdung cakes and sell them from house to house or work as maid servants in middle class households. There are skilled artisans who make beautiful clay images that adorn the puja pandals and people's houses on festive occasions. The variety of craft of all kinds to be found in the bustees can hardly be imagined. There are hundreds of highly gifted craftsmen working for a bare pittance.

Then there is a percentage of industrial factory workers.

Landlords' Attitude

The landlord's only interest is to get his rent. He lives away from the bustee, is usually a wealthy person and has neither the desire nor the legal liability to make any improvements on his land. He gets his rent anyway, so why bother about making drains, putting up lights or a sewage system in the bustees which would cost thousands of rupees. The Calcutta Corporation, which is generally responsible for the sanitation of the city,

There are refugees from East Pakistan. There are people from middle class families whose income is so low that they cannot afford to pay the heavy rents of pucca houses and have perforce to seek shelter with their families in the bustees.

But outnumbering them all are the unemployed. The appalling extent of the problem of unemployment hits you in the face the moment you enter a bustee. Every bustee is full of them, young men who have never been able to get a job, those who eke out a living by doing casual jobs and are unemployed for the greater part of the year, middle-aged people who have been retrenched from the factories, old people who have been thrown out of work because they are too old to work and who have received neither pension, nor provident fund nor gratuity because in hundreds of small industries and factories even to this day these things are unknown.

During the course of my work in Calcutta I have visited numerous bustees and seen many of the things described above. But just before writing this article I selected at random two bustees and went round them to see things once again.

One of the areas I visited for this purpose was a group of

One young man told me he worked in a firm of Litho printers on Rs. 60 a month and had to maintain a family on that. There was no knowing when he would lose even this job.

Another young man I questioned was unemployed. He had a family of four to support. What did he do? He sometimes worked as a fruit-seller, sometimes as a cooly, sometimes as a mason. He had applied for work in dozens of factories but they all said there was no vacancy. In some places he was told that he could get a job if he could bring a recommendation from B. C. Roy!

He told me that he was not the only one to have been told this, many others looking for jobs had a similar experience. It appears that tired of hearing this, one enterprising young lad in the bustee had actually gone to Dr. Roy's house to get his recommendation. "What happened then?" I asked. "The police drove him away," was the reply.

The bustee-dwellers were very much worried about the fact that their children were running wild. There were no schools for the children in this huge bustee. Neither the Corporation nor the Government seemed to be concerned about it. Attempts had been made to start some small children's schools on a self-help basis but these schools could not run for want of even the little money required to maintain a teacher and a school room.

Police Harassment

Police repression was another problem that faced the bustee-dwellers. At first, I was surprised to hear it and then I heard the whole story. It had been a regular practice for the police to collect money from all the shops in the bustee, pan shops, restaurants, etc., the amount depending on the size of the shop.

After the last election when Dr. Ghanai, the Communist candidate, was elected from this constituency the shopkeepers took courage and refused to pay this customary toll to the police. So the police tried to get their own back by harassing the people in every way, putting them into difficulties and extorting money for getting them out of it.

Believe it or not one of the forms of harassment was that the police in some of their raids on the bustee rounded up people bathing under the water taps. It appears that there is a law preventing people from doing this. And so these people who are not provided with water taps in their houses and who have no other place to bathe are rounded up because

are no garbage tins and the filth is thrown about just anywhere the corporation sweepers can hardly do much to clean the place. The whole place stank so terribly that it was difficult for me to stand there very long.

I talked to a few of the bustee-dwellers standing nearby. Everyone told me that unemployment was their most serious problem. Even those who are employed many are casually employed and earn very little.

The Unemployed

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The National Council of the Communist Party of India has considered the tactics and methods of the Congress against the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala and views them as a challenge to all healthy norms of public life and indeed to the future of democracy in India.

It is well-known how in the past eighteen months since the formation of the present Ministry in Kerala, the Congress and its allies have systematically carried on a campaign of slanders, provocations and violence in order to find a pretext for intervention by the Central Government, and thus bring back the Congress regime under the guise of President's rule in the State.

But these tactics have only led to their further isolation from the people of which the Deviclam bye-election was a clear demonstration.

The Central Government and the Congress High Command, which have been hitherto covertly encouraging these activities have now come in the open.

Apart from the irresponsible and provocative statements by the Congress President, Sri Dhebar, and others of the Congress hierarchy, the Prime Minister, incredible as it may seem, engaged himself in a public denunciation of a State Government through the forum of a Press Conference, and that too on the basis of one-sided allegations.

It will be recalled here how

the unfortunate Press Conference of the Prime Minister aggravated the situation by encouraging the disruptive elements and rousing their hopes of Central intervention.

In disregard of all truth and unperturbed by the acts of violence and the slander campaign on the part of the Kerala Congress leaders, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution which is a virtual endorsement of the same slanders.

This resolution of the Working Committee, which incidentally includes the Prime Minister and a number of other Central Ministers, would show the length to which the leaders of India's ruling party could go in their intolerance towards a State Government, simply because that State Government is led by a Party representing first and foremost the interests of the working class, peasantry and other sections of the toiling people.

It would also show that constitutional propriety and democratic norms have no place in the affairs of the Congress High Command the moment their monopoly of power and the vested in-

Congress Tactics In Kerala —A Challenge To Democracy

BATTLE TO DEFEND COMMUNIST-LED GOVT. IS PART OF STRUGGLE FOR INDIA'S PROGRESS Call For Nationwide Mass Mobilisation

terests are affected.

The National Council also considers it necessary in this context to draw the country's attention to the discriminatory manner in which the Central Government is conducting its relations with the Kerala Government.

Communications between the Union Government and the State Governments are normally regarded confidential and such confidential communications are, as a rule, treated as privileged. Yet, it has been recently witnessed how this privilege was

not claimed by the Union Home Minister in regard to a communication to the Union Government, specifically stated to be confidential, from the Chief Minister of Kerala.

Never in the eleven years of Congress rule has such privilege been waived by the Union Government in regard to any confidential communication from the States. Yet, it is well-known that on many occasions Opposition members in Parliament have asked for, and been denied, the production of communications from the States.

There have been a series of discriminatory actions on the part of the Central Government of which the denial of even the minimum Central supplies of foodgrains to the Kerala Government is a most glaring example. The discrimination in the matter of supply of foodgrains would appear all the more shocking when one remembers that Kerala is normally deficit of 50 per cent of its food requirements. This is due to the nature of the terrain, where food production is extremely limited.

But Kerala produces commercial crops which are exported and which fetch sizeable foreign exchange earnings for the benefit of the whole country. By all accounts, therefore, the obligations of the Central Government towards Kerala are all the greater.

Damage To Constitution

The greatest damage to the Constitution and to democracy is being caused by the utterances and acts of leaders of the Congress Party and Central Government which amounts to instigation of officials in Kerala against the State Government, or otherwise demoralise them.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL DESIRES TO POINT OUT THAT THIS CAMPAIGN IS DIRECTED NOT MERELY AGAINST THE KERALA GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO AGAINST THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRY. THE KERALA GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS A HISTORIC GAIN OF OUR PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR BETTER LIFE AND DEMOCRACY AND ITS MEASURES AND WORK EVEN DURING THIS SHORT SPAN OF EIGHTEEN MONTHS HAVE NOT ONLY BROUGHT CONSIDERABLE RELIEF TO THE EXPLOITED SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF KERALA BUT HAVE ROUSED GREAT HOPES AMONG THE STRUGGLING MASSES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND GIVEN THEM NEW CONFIDENCE IN THEIR FUTURE.

This record of the Kerala Government stands in sharp contrast to that of the Congress Governments. The Congress Governments have been caught in a severe crisis of their policies and the popular discontent against them is mounting every day.

It is a matter of profound regret that the leaders of the PSP, who call themselves "democratic Socialists" should have completely lined up with the Congress and the vested interests and sided with them in unscrupulously reviling and attacking the Kerala Government. Some of their leaders have been unblushingly asking for the intervention of the Central Government.

Thus, these PSP leaders are adding to their record of betrayals of the working class and the democratic movement. Their role in Kerala is unmistakably that of abettors of reaction.

However, the National Council is proud to note that our people all over the country have worthily rallied to the defence of the Kerala Government and in order to defeat the game of the Congress, PSP and the vested interests.

Nevertheless, the National Council wishes to point out that the danger and threat of Central intervention are by no means gone. The Congress leaders know that the Kerala Government is gaining in prestige and stature every day, while their chance of returning to power in that State through elections are fast receding. With the Congress Governments getting increasingly discredited and isolated in other States, they are afraid of the success and achievements of the Kerala Government.

Danger Still Exists

Their only hope now lies in engineering a situation for imposing President's rule in place of the popular Kerala Government. The drive of the Congress and PSP in Kerala against the Communist-led Ministry is a sign of their utter bankruptcy and desperation.

The National Council appeals to all right-minded people to be vigilant and to display greater initiative in defeating the manoeuvres and moves of the Congress and the PSP in Kerala. It is only through such initiative and support throughout the country as well as by the Kerala Government's own untiring and devoted efforts to improve the conditions of the people of Kerala and serve their cause that the machinations of the Congress and the vested interests can be defeated.

What is menaced in Kerala is not merely the right of a non-Congress Government to exist and function. There in Kerala is challenged the very fundamentals of democracy and democratic institutions. By their actions, the Congress leaders have put the Indian Constitution to a severe strain. All their wordy protestations about the sanctity of the Constitution are also on test today.

The battle for defending the Kerala Government has thus become a part and parcel of the larger struggle for the future of India's democracy and progress.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings to the people of Kerala for their heroic stand in defence of the Kerala Government. It records its deep appreciation of the work of the Communist-led Ministry in unflinchingly serving the Kerala State and its people amidst the most trying and difficult conditions and in spite of all manner of constitutional and other limitations.

Solidarity With Kerala

The National Council reiterates its full solidarity with our Party in Kerala, whose members and friends have given an inspiring account of their heroic service to the masses.

The National Council fervently calls upon all Party units, Party members and sympathisers and friends of the Party to redouble their efforts in bringing about a nationwide popular mass mobilisation in support of the Kerala Government and thus carry forward the great task of selfless service to the people and the country.

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The National Council of the Communist Party of India salutes the great Chinese people and their heroic Communist Party on the occasion of the completion of nine years since the birth of the People's Republic of China.

The peoples of the whole world are watching today with admiration the tremendous and unprecedented advance of the Chinese people as they make their "leap forward" in all fields of human endeavour.

GREETINGS To The Communist Party And People Of China

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The Chinese people have doubled their food production from 158 million tons to more than 350 million tons, solving the problem of food for all time; they have raced ahead of country after country in the field of industrial advance; steel production has risen from nine lakh tons before the revolution to 10.7 million tons this year, and is expected to reach 20 million tons next year, and China is certain to outstrip Britain within the next two years.

All humanity applauds this phenomenal progress, the amazing technological revolution taking place in China and the cultural and educational leap which has accompanied the industrial advance.

The experience of China, the miraculous speed with which it is marching forward is a clear call to all humanity, and in particular to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to turn to the path of independent development on socialist foundations, away from the bankrupt path of increasing dependence on imperialist "aid" which can only bring poverty, hunger, unemployment and slavery.

No wonder the imperialists are incensed at China's progress and plot aggression in a futile effort to halt this irresistible sweep forward of the 600 million Chinese people.

The National Council of the Communist Party sends its warm fraternal congratulations to its comrades of the Communist Party of China, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and to the entire Chinese people. Their brilliant successes shine like a beacon of hope and encouragement for all the peoples of Asia and Africa.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to all members of the Communist Party of France, waging today a courageous struggle of tremendous significance for the whole world, against the reactionary forces which seek to destroy the Republic, the most precious possession of the French people.

The Communist Party of France stoutly defended the right of the people of Algeria and other French colonies to complete independence.

IT IS THE ONLY PARTY in France which resisted at every stage, every attempt of General de Gaulle to as-

sume dictatorial powers.

IT IS THE ONLY PARTY which mobilised all its strength against de Gaulle's anti-republican Constitution, through which the colonialists, big capitalists and other reactionaries seek to pave the way to fascism.

IT IS THE ONLY PARTY in France which has been and is unwaveringly defending the Republic.

Fascist hooligans have been deliberately set against the Communist Party of France. The Party's offices have been bombed and set on fire in several places. Party workers have been attacked and assaulted.

Despite these provocations and violent attacks, the Communist Party of France has been steadfastly

fighting to bring into being the widest possible united front to stop the drive towards fascism.

The Communist Party of France continues with redoubled efforts to defend the great tradition of liberty of the French people despite the majority of votes secured by de Gaulle and his accomplices in the so-called referendum obtained by preaching falsehood and spreading confusion.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India salutes its heroic comrades in France and expresses its confidence in their victory, in the great struggle to stop France from going the fascist way.

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India pays its respectful homage to the memory of Frederic Joliot-Curie, celebrated scientist, President of the World Council of Peace and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

The name of Joliot-Curie will shine brightly in the annals of human history as one of those greatest of scientists who were in the forefront in the making of the most valuable discovery of our time—the discovery of atomic energy.

By his discovery of artificial radio-activity and chain reaction Joliot-Curie helped to place in the hands of mankind the means, which if utilised for peace and not for destruction, for the prosperity of all and not the profit of a handful, can change the face of the world and banish hunger and poverty for all times.

Joliot-Curie's name will always live in human hearts as one who devoted his entire energy and sacrificed his health and his very life itself for the well-being of his fellowmen—for the advancement of that knowledge which can pave the way to prosperity and for the struggle to see that that knowledge is not used for war and the extermination of life, but for peace and efflorescence of life.

As President of the World Council of Peace, Joliot-Curie led the great movement against war and imperialism, which has again and again acted for peace and national independence, and has become the most powerful mass movement of the peoples of every continent and every country.

It was Joliot-Curie's inspiration and active leadership which at every turn in the international situation carried the movement forward making it ever wider and stronger drawing more and more millions under its banner, giving the people ever more confidence in their power to establish peace and destroy the cause of war—the imperialist system.

Joliot-Curie joined the Communist Party of France in 1942 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1956. It was his patriotism, his love for science, for world peace, for freedom and liberty which drew him to the French Communist Party, in which he rightly saw the most consistent upholder of the great traditions of liberty of the French people, the most courageous fighter for peace and national independence, the true representative of the working class, whose victory alone can turn science into a force for the progress of man

and not his destruction and exploitation.

For the world Communist movement, for the Soviet Union, for People's China and the other countries of Socialism, Joliot-Curie had always a profound admiration and a deep and abiding confidence and pride.

In Joliot-Curie's death, all people fighting for national independence have lost a friend and staunch champion. The Indian people have in particular lost one who always strove for

Dr. Bhagwandas

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India records its sense of grief at the demise of Dr. Bhagwandas, a renowned scholar, patriot, and a great humanist.

Dr. Bhagwandas lived a

long life of austerity and selfless devotion to popular cause. His death is mourned by millions all over the country.

The National Council sends its condolences to the family of the bereaved.

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HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India pays its deep homage to the brave martyrs who since the Amritsar Congress of the Party, have been victims of police firing; in the Madras harbour workers' strike, the Jamshedpur steel workers' struggle, the Martyrs' Memorial Struggle in Gujarat, the Lucknow students' struggle and in other struggles of the people for democratic rights and liberties and for improvement

in living conditions. The National Council condemns these wanton firings on our people and demands that open judicial enquiries be conducted in all these cases.

The National Council pledges that the martyrs' sacrifices shall not be in vain. The National Council sends its heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved families and demands that adequate compensation be granted by Government to the affected families.

T. B. CUNHA

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the sudden death of Dr. T. B. Cunha and pays homage to his memory.

A great patriot and the doyen of the fighters for Goan liberation, Dr. Cunha inspired and led a generation of Goan freedom-fighters by his own suffering and sacrifice and by his tireless efforts to unite all such elements in the common cause.

As a member of the AICC for many years, Dr. Cunha made a unique contribution to making the Indian freedom movement conscious of its duty towards the Goan people and uniting the two movements in a common bond.

By his great scholarship and extremely gentle and loving nature, Dr. Cunha endeared himself to all who came into contact with him, including even those whom he had to oppose.

The National Council pledges that in future, as in the past, the Communist Party of India will continue to fight for Goan freedom, the cherished dream of Dr. Cunha, until the goal is reached.

Condolence Resolutions

In The Bustees Of Calcutta

(Continued from page 7)

they bathe under the public water taps in the bustees. To extricate themselves from the clutches of the police they have to pay something to them. This is how the police are trying to make up for the income they have lost.

I was agreeably surprised to find a small group of college students in the bustee. Somehow or the other they had managed to scrape together the wherewithal to carry on their studies and were determined to complete them in spite of all odds. They had organised a small reading room and library which ran on the four-anna monthly subscription collected from each member. I came to know from them that in this group of bustees with a population of about 15,000 there were just ten college students and thirteen or fourteen matriculates. Even this is very unusual for a bustee.

On Railway's Land

The next bustee I visited was the Panchananolla Bustee (south of Ballygunje). This is built on the open space adjoining the railway track. The land on which this group of huts has sprung up belongs to the railways. There are in the outlying parts of Calcutta quite a number of bustees which have sprung up on this kind of railway land. The railways have been trying to eject these bustee-dwellers but have not yet succeeded.

Conditions are similar to the other bustee I have described above. Recently however as a result of a sustained movement started years ago, the bustee people have been successful in getting the Corporation to sink about half a dozen tube-wells. Besides, there are six water taps of which two are out of order. That is all the water supply for four thousand people residing in this bustee.

Here also I was told that about fifty per cent of the population was unemployed. I talked to one middle-aged person who told me that he made his living by selling firewood for household purposes. He bought it at Rs. 1-4-0 a maund from the saw mills near by and sold it at one anna a seer thus making a profit of two pice on every seer. He carried it about on his head and had to walk miles to sell it. He made about Rs. 50 a month this way. He had a wife and two children to support and paid Rs. six as house rent. "How do you manage?" I asked. "We do not have food every day," he answered. A Party Comrade who lived in the bustee told me that on an average fifty to sixty families went without food every day in this bustee.

The bustee people here have set up an organisation of their own, a kind of bustee committee called the Panchananolla Panchayat which runs a small school for children. It appears it received a grant from the Social Welfare Board for two years in the beginning but later when they got scent of the fact that among those who

ran the school were some Communists the grant was stopped. This school now runs purely on local donations. The two bustees I have described are typical of the hundreds of bustees in Calcutta and they are by no means the worst.

No wonder disease and epidemics take their toll every year and when the epidemics start bustee-dwellers die like flies. Calcutta is the only big city in the civilised world where cholera occurs in an epidemic form every year. Its causes are known—shortage of filtered water supply. It affects the bustees mainly but it is allowed to recur year after year.

Tuberculosis has become a common disease—it is impossible to say how many thousands suffer from it, many without even knowing it. When I visited the Panchananolla bustee I found that one of our old Bustee Comrades was down with T.B. It was only natural. He had been unemployed for a long time. Recently he had managed to secure a job where he earned Rs. 35 a month. He had a wife and grown-up children to support.

Is there no way out? The Government recently presented its solution to the problem. It placed before the Assembly a Bill called the Slum Clearance Bill. The bustees are becoming an eye-sore. Visitors from foreign countries, however carefully conducted, can scarcely fail to notice these plague-spots.

Besides, the bustees swarming with unemployed youth, containing the poorest of the poor, form the most militant section of the population. It is the bustee youth who come to the fore every time there is a big struggle in Calcutta.

Government Proposal

So the Government proposed to just clear them out, demolish the bustees and put up multi-storied tenements instead. At one stroke one could clear Calcutta of these plague spots that mar the beauty of Calcutta and remove a troublesome section of the population away from the city!

It is not the purpose of this article to describe the battle that was fought both within and outside the Assembly to amend the most dangerous clauses of the Bill. That struggle was reported in *New Age* at the time it took place last year. Suffice it to say that as a result of the struggle the Bill has been altered beyond all recognition and some of its worst features have been successfully removed.

But then what is the real solution to the problem? The ultimate solution, of course, lies in improving the living standards of the masses—a solution that will have to await the establishment of a Socialist society in India. Certain proposals have, however, been placed by the Calcutta Bustee Federation, an organisation of bustee-dwellers and hutowners, which has sprung up recently in Calcutta. These proposals are intended to show the way to

Born In The Dark Days Of Bengal Famine, PRC Has A Record Of 15 Years Of Service To The People

THE People's Relief Committee (PRC), West Bengal, has completed its fifteenth year of existence. Started during the dark days of the Bengal Famine of 1943, it has made for itself a proud record in tireless service of the people on every occasion of national emergency.

Under the presidency of the then Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sayed Nausher Ali, and with Prof. Niren Roy and Lalman Sahib as Joint Secretaries, the PRC gave the call to organise non-official relief endeavours on the principle of self-help. Responding to this call, eighteen non-official organisations came forward to constitute the Bengal Medical Relief Coordination Committee with Dr. B. C. Roy, the present Chief Minister of West Bengal, as its Chairman. The main organiser of it was Dr. Bijoy Kumar Basu, a member of the Congress Medical Mission to China.

More than 150 medical units were formed in the famine-affected areas and such non-official endeavours compelled the unwilling imperialist rulers also to give some medical aid to the stricken people.

In 1945, it started a Children's Hospital in Chittagong. It sent two medical units in aid of the famine-stricken people of North Bihar.

During The Riots

During the tragic fratricidal riots of 1946, the PRC rose above communalism and engaged itself in the task of nursing the wounded and helping the affected people. It started 36 medical units in Calcutta, five in Noakhali and three in Bihar. Again during the unprecedented influx of refugees from East Bengal as a result of partition, it placed all its resources at the service of the displaced people.

Its services were once again commissioned during the Sunderbans famine in West Bengal in 1953 and it took the leading role in the organisation

of the West Bengal United Relief Committee.

During the floods of 1954 in North Bengal, Bihar and Assam, it sent out 12 relief and medical squads to the affected areas. In 1955, during the unprecedented floods in Orissa and Punjab, it sent out medical and relief squads—six to Orissa and two to Punjab.

Five million people were affected during the devastating floods of 1956 in West Bengal and the PRC rendered signal service in rescue work particularly in Nabadwip town. All sections of the Press highly praised the PRC for its work. It sent out 32 relief rescue squads to the flood-affected areas and sunk a number of tube-wells and pucca masonry wells in the flood-affected areas. More than 400 milk centres were opened in those areas and were run for over three months. It also advanced cash doles to the peasants to help buy seeds and fodder.

Need For Funds

It endeavours to start an up-to-date polyclinic but the existing premises are not suitable for this. Also the resources at its disposal are quite inadequate. Its meagre funds are made up mostly of small donations from workers, lower-middle class people and the peasants. Some organised trade unions donate fixed amounts every month.

The Calcutta Corporation has been giving financial aid for the last three years. Last year it was Rs. 1600. This year, it has promised to raise the amount. Financial aid from Government and other subsidiary bodies have not been forthcoming so far.

The Central Social Welfare Board has this year sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,000. More help is expected from governmental quarters without which these non-official organisations cannot thrive.

Also it is expected that the Corporation will make a land donation to house its office and clinics.

The PRC appeals for liberal help and assistance, financial or otherwise, both from official and non-official quarters and the benevolent public. Such assistance will help the PRC to go a long way in the service of our distressed people.

All help will be thankfully received by Dr. K. Kanjilal, General Secretary, People's Relief Committee, 249, Bepin Behari Ganguli Street, CALCUTTA-12.

Inoculation Work

Apart from such general relief, PRC organises every year inoculation and vaccination work in the city of Calcutta and the adjoining Districts. The anti-cholera work this year was highly appreciated by the Calcutta Corporation which rendered all possible help to the PRC in this work. The Mayor of Calcutta, Dr. Triguna Sen, spoke very highly of its work and thanked PRC volunteers in a special meeting.

A special feature of its anti-epidemic work this year was the organisation of the vaccinator training classes. One hundred volunteers from Calcutta and the neighbouring Districts were trained in giving vaccination and inoculation.

The PRC runs a charitable out-patients' clinic in its office with a general O.P.D., a chest clinic and a clinical laboratory. On an average 70 patients, mostly workers, lower-middle class people and

Government will not permit it to provide accommodation for all the five lakh bustee-dwellers in pucca houses. Hence, besides the setting up of a few pucca buildings as model tenements, the main stress should be laid on the improvement of existing bustees in the manner described below.

● The Government should acquire the zamindari rights of land on which bustees exist paying compensation in the shape of bonds redeemable after a long period;

● The Government should amend the Thika Praja Tenancy Act so as to give tenancy rights to the hutowners thus unleashing their initiative to make improvements on their own;

● The Government should spend money for providing drainage, water, electric lights and other sanitary facilities in the bustees;

● Hutowners who wish to improve their houses should be provided with loans by the Government for this purpose on easy terms;

● The Government should compel industrialists to provide housing facilities to their employees thus taking a big load off the bustees.

These measures will make it possible to effect considerable improvements in the conditions of the bustees at a minimum cost.

It is high time that the democratic movement took up this question seriously and compelled the Government to act so as to put an end to the appalling conditions that now prevail in the bustees.

IMPERIALIST SCHEMES IN VIETNAM AGAINST PEACE AND REUNIFICATION. Pages 100. Published by the Press and Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi.

THE division of Vietnam which has always been one, and whose people have always constituted a single nation, is a perennial source of tension in Southeast Asia, and threatens peace not only in the country, but in the surrounding areas as well.

The people of Vietnam proud of their ancient culture, of their great victories in the long and stubborn struggle against French imperialism aspire for only one thing—that their country should untidely march towards a better and brighter future.

The Geneva Agreements under which the two zones were set apart for regrouping of forces at war, never contemplated anything but that this division was strictly temporary. The 17th Parallel was not regarded as a boundary between two separate States—and mutually hostile States at that—but as a convenient dividing line between two zones, destined to be united.

The Geneva Agreements contained provisions and laid down a clear procedure for the reunification of the country; they even set a deadline (July 1956) for free nationwide elections to unite the country. And there is no doubt that if the Vietnamese, had been left to themselves, if there had been no brutal interference from outside, they would have solved all their problems and achieved reunification.

USA Responsible

If today, more than two years after the date-line set by the Geneva Agreements, Vietnam remains still divided, it is due entirely to the American policy of standing in the way of the implementation of these agreements, of perpetuating division and conflict in Vietnam, widening the cleavage between the North and the South, maintaining its stranglehold on South Vietnam, transforming it into a separate State altogether, and preventing at all costs the reunification of Vietnam.

The present book seeks to prove this, and indeed, one must say, proves it to the hilt. It brings together irrefutable evidence in support of its charge that the U.S. is attempting to thwart the realisation by the Vietnamese people, both of the North and the South, of their national aspiration—the reunification of their land.

The merit of the book lies precisely in this that it does not merely denounce American imperialism, or indulge in empty generalisations, but it piles up with relentless logic a mass of evidence from unimpeachable sources in support of its main conclusions. There is no argument here that is not based on a wealth of data; there is no conclusion that does not rest on the sheer logic of facts.

Indeed, if I may say so, even those who are rather benevolently inclined towards the USA, who blink at the facts and are loath to recognise the sordid role played by it in Southeast Asia, will be left after reading this book, with the inescapable conclusion that so far as Vietnam is concerned, American imperialism is the villain of the piece.

The book unravels the place

THE AMERICAN PLOT AGAINST VIETNAM

Vietnam occupies in the global strategy of the USA. We have it from the boss's own mouth that Vietnam is intended by America to be one of the main war bases from which to attack China and the national liberation movements of the Pacific region.

It was no other than John Foster Dulles himself who declared in Manila on March 2, 1955, "The U.S. pursues its activities against China on three fronts of Formosa, Korea and Indo-China." Nothing could be clearer and more unambiguous than this. We can discern here the true purpose, the "rationale" of all the policies followed by the USA in respect of Vietnam.

Incidentally, the book throws lurid light on the backstage struggle between the two allies—the French and the American—for supremacy in South Vietnam. The rude and unceremonious manner in which the Americans edged their French allies out of Vietnam should be a pointer to all those who seek to rely on American friendship.

We have it on the authority of General Navarre himself, the former Commander-in-Chief of the French Union Forces, that "while making full use of the French 'fist' which was essential to their anti-Communist game they (the Americans) worked to undermine and even destroy our (French) interests."

War Base Set Up

The second part of the book vividly describes and produces irrefutable documentary evidence to show how in pursuance of its strategic aims, the USA has transformed South Vietnam into its war base, how the whole of South Vietnam has become one vast military encampment.

The Americans have, in contravention of the express provisions of the Geneva Agreements, introduced into the South their military personnel and war material and have constructed military bases and set up a ramified network of military organisation, headed by an American Military Mission called MAAG (Military Aid Advisory Group) with many branches and sections.

MAAG is advisory only in name; the book adduces incontrovertible proof to

show that it wields wide powers, and in fact "constitutes a whole U.S. war machinery blanketing the South Vietnam Ministry of Defence and General Staff. MAAG is indeed the real 'Supreme Command in the South.'" (p. 27)

The book reveals how openly violating the provisions of the Geneva Agreements, which prohibit an arms build-up in Vietnam, the Americans have built up the South Vietnam

Army from mere scratch into a modern, well-equipped army, whose total effective strength in case of an emergency would exceed 450,000—a pretty large figure considering the size of the country.

This army is however national only in name. It is sustained by American aid which constitutes 85 per cent of the military budget of South Vietnam. It is actually controlled by American officers, who have been assigned to every unit of the South Vietnam Army down to the battalion level.

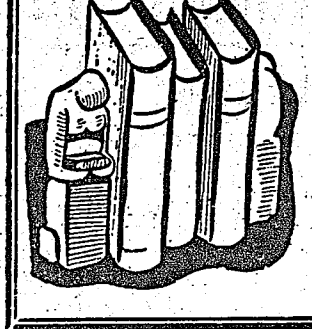
These officers leave no doubt by their behaviour that they are the real masters of the land and run the whole show. The supercilious contempt with which they treat the Vietnamese can be seen from the following report published in the French paper *Le Monde* which no one can accuse of Communist sympathies: "When General O'Daniel was presiding over the training of the Vietnamese Army, it sometimes happened that he thumped the table shouting, 'Who Pays?' in order to force his views on doubting allies."

Not content with controlling the army, the Americans have established control over the entire field of administration and economy in the country, so that, as a Saigon paper bitterly remarked, "South Vietnam still lives in the status of a colony"—this is the conclusion that emerges on reading the third part of the book.

Every sphere of life is really controlled by the Americans. This control is exercised by the U.S. Operations Mission. The USOM maintains strict watch over the whole situation, "ratifies economic and financial projects, and governs and controls the realisation of the various plans." A French journalist has rather ingeniously called the USOM the "iron lung" of South Vietnam. "It supplies the indispensable oxygen, administers the necessary artificial respiration at the same time imprisoning the patient and keeping him alive." (p. 57)

U.S. Domination Over South

What the Americans have done to South Vietnam makes tragic and painful reading. Under American dispensation South Vietnam has become one of the most dependent



BOOK REVIEW

countries of the world. The heavy dependence of South Vietnam on the United States is illustrated by the fact that 80 per cent of its imports are paid for, not by its own exports, but by the treasure in Washington. The Americans have dumped unwanted goods on the market, which compete with native products and stifle native industry.

Production declines, prices rise, commerce stagnates, unemployment constantly increases. According to Saigon Press estimates there are today a million unemployed in a population of 12 millions! American "aid" does not stimulate the economy of South-Vietnam, it is a noose round its neck.

The book contains a well-authenticated account of repressions and reprisals carried out by the authorities in South Vietnam, in the name of fighting Communism, against all patriots, against all those who stand for peace and reunification whatever their political or religious beliefs may be. They have clapped thousands in jail and have clamped down an intolerable repressive regime on the people. They have converted the whole of South Vietnam into one vast jail.

Unpopular Regime

While setting their face against their own people, they have dutifully carried out the American policy of perpetuating division and conflict in the country. They have attempted to create war-psychosis among the population. The fact is indisputable and no one who reads this book can disagree with it—that the regime in the South is one of the most tyrannical and unpopular regimes in the world.

The administration in the South has been from the very beginning interested not in

implementing but sabotaging the Geneva Agreements. The reports of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, headed by India, from which the book quotes extensively, reveal that the South Vietnam authorities have obstructed at every step the working of the Commission, have refused to implement and have in many cases openly violated the provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

On the other hand, the seven reports of the International Commission bear out the fact that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North) has wholeheartedly supported the Geneva Agreements, and has been always ready to fulfill all its obligations arising from them.

Note Of Confidence

The book ends on a note of confidence in the invincible strength of the people. We read about the people in the North marching forward in giant strides, we learn that the people, whether in the North or in the South, have never abated for a single day their struggle for reunification, and reading the book we feel confident that they will emerge victorious.

It is an instructive and revealing book. It throws a flood of light on American machinations in Vietnam. It shows the true face of a puppet regime that turns against its own people and serves its foreign masters. Above all, it reveals the grim danger that American "aid" represents to the independence of a country. Those who still suffer from illusions that it is possible to industrialise a country with American "aid" should do well to read this book carefully.

- T. N.

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MANAGER.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO FIGHT COMMUNISM

The Times of India of October 3, 1958 has reported that "the United Steel Workers of America has appropriated \$20,000 (nearly Rs. one lakh) to combat what they called Communist infiltration into steel plant unions in India."

M. R. Howard-Hague, a Vice-President of this union, is reported to have told a conference in New York on October 2, that "Steel plants in India had become heavily infested with Communist union organisers."

This "foreign exchange" coming from "die-hard currency areas" will go to the International Metal Workers' Federation belonging to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and shall be disbursed through it to "non-Communist" Indian steel unions "to fight this situation through the training of organisers."

Dollars are being poured in not to assist the workers in their united action to better their living conditions and face the steel kings, but "to fight Communism" among the workers—to divide them, disrupt them and pit them against each other on political ideological grounds.

The ICFTU leadership has been playing this game in the entire capitalist and non-Socialist world—the Dulles game of extending the cold war into the labour field. But the news has broken into our national press only this time.

India's working class is en-

gaged in a battle on two fronts—to fight India's backwardness and build Indian economy and to fight its own poverty and raise its living standards. All those who want to take away India's wealth abroad—the imperialists and the foreign monopolists; and all those who want to garner all the gains of development—the Indian Big Business tycoons have to be faced unitedly by the working people and democratic opinion as a whole.

This should make all well-meaning trade unionists sit up and think.

Will sections of the leadership of the INTUC and the HMS, the two affiliates of the ICFTU in our country, allow themselves to be so much blinded by their hatred against the Communists and prejudices against AITUC as to fall a prey to this game of the foreign monopolists?

The workers and trade unionists of all affiliations or no affiliation should see that whatever might be the enticing liveness with which "foreign exchange" is offered by these dollar kings, they won't get the "internal exchange"—the workers to play the game.

S.R. WORKERS BATTLE FOR ALL RAILMEN

ON October 2, South Indian Railwaymen's leader Anandan Nambiar went on a hunger-strike in defence of the rights of railwaymen. The hunger-strike was withdrawn on October 11.

New Age in its issue of September 29 published an article by Comrade Kalyanasundaram, M.L.A. President of the Southern Railway Labour Union, detailing the eleven demands raised by the union.

These are the most urgent, the most vital and in fact the most long-standing demands of Indian Railwaymen. The union insists on speedy settlement of grievances and emphasises on settlement at the lowest level to begin with.

A telegram from the railwaymen at Bapatla, in Bezwada Division of the Southern Railway, says that there are 10,000 cases of arrears pending settlement. Some of the cases are lingering on since 1953.

What more is required to prove the callousness of railway bureaucracy?

Has not the Sixteenth Indian Labour Conference unanimously adopted the twin principles of an effective grievances procedure—speedy remedy and settlement at the lowest level to begin with? Is

this not applicable to the railwaymen?

The Sub-Committee of the Indian Labour Conference to draft a model grievances procedure met in Delhi on September 19 and has finalised a draft.

Is the Railway Board aware of it?

The outmoded, red-tapist method of dealing with grievances seems to be so dear to the Railway Board that it refuses to see the changing spirit of the times and the need to radically change its industrial relations policy.

Among the other demands raised by the Southern Railway Labour Union is the question of constituting joint committees at all levels to increase the efficiency and punctuality of railways. This was promised by the Railway Minister long ago. But no steps have been taken in the direction.

The Railway Board is behaving not as the management of a nationalised institution but as a bureaucratic employer. It considers that management and efficiency are its exclusive prerogative and collaboration with railwaymen is derogatory to its pride and prestige.

Days have changed, but not

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BHADUR GOUR, M.P.
Secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress

the attitudes and approach of the Railway Board.

Since this hunger-strike, the Railway Board has announced the appointment of Deputy Personnel Officers. But this is not enough. What is required is a radical change in attitude.

Comrade Nambiar withdrew his fast on October 11. However much the Government may say that it was unjustified, Nambiar and the Southern Railway Labour Union have shaken up the railway administration. They have focussed attention on the issues that have been agitating all railwaymen.

This struggle has posed the question of railwaymen's unity

sharply. The great All-India Railwaymen's Federation mobilised the united railwaymen in the past and along with the postal employees got the first Pay Commission for all Central Government employees.

Railwaymen who inspired others in the past are themselves divided and frustrated today. The Southern Railway Labour Union as in 1946 has again taken the initiative in 1958. Will the AIRF rise to the occasion? Will it again give a lead in unifying railwaymen? Will the Dakshin Railway Mazdoor Union and Southern Railway Labour Union unite under the AIRF and make the Southern Zone a formidable fort to defend railwaymen's interests?

the policy of the employers. The Code of discipline enjoins on the employers not to interfere with the trade unions.

The Sixteenth Indian Labour Conference recommendations on recognition of trade unions say that the union with the largest verified membership shall be recognised. Recognition of a union is no more dependent on the sweet will or the small mercies of the employers.

But have all the coal employers reconciled themselves to these developments?

It is disgraceful that in the year 1958, unions have to demonstrate for the right of being heard by the management.

On September 29, the leaders of Colliery Mazdoor Sabha (AITUC) went to submit a memorandum of grievances to the manager, Sri D. K. Jain of the Chapni Khas colliery belonging to the Bharat Collieries Ltd. Instead of receiving the leaders, the management is reported to have called a gang of armed men from outside to halt the workers.

But due to the unity of the workers and their peaceful behaviour no clash could occur and finally the manager had to receive the memorandum.

On October 3, the workers of Ramnagar Colliery belonging to the Indian Iron and Steel Co. near Kulti had to resort to pay strike against unlawful deduction of Rs. 2.50 by pay clerks who were also leaders of the local Colliery Mazdoor Congress.

The management refused to help the workers against these illegal collections. Only the pay strike could make them retrace their steps. Instances can be multiplied. All this only shows that the employers are living in medieval ages. The mine workers are amply justified in demanding an over-all enquiry into the labour relations in the collieries.

BRIEFS

A LETTER from the Atlas Cycle Worker's Union, Sonapat, on October 7, says that Comrade Chhaju Mal, Vice-President of the Union, is on hunger-strike since September 26.

It should be noted that the struggle has been launched against the non-implementation of the award given by the Industrial Tribunal of Punjab and against the victimisation of the General Secretary, Sri Ram Narain.

A REPORT from Jamshedpur says that Barin Dey, a leader of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, is seriously ill in jail custody. He is reported to be suffering from high blood pressure and is reported to have had a heart attack on September 27.

The authorities have, it is said, denied him even a better class inside the jail.

A Page From Our Experience

Western Sabotage Of India's Industries

A BARRAGE of propaganda—speeches in Parliament, free distribution of Free Enterprise pamphlets, etc.—seeks to build up the idea that India for her development must turn to the West for aid.

It is time the country took notice of some facts of our own experience of eleven years of freedom and our economic relations with the Western countries in our struggle for industrialisation and the fulfilment of the Plan.

German Steel Plant

The attempt here is to place before the readers only a few of these facts:

The people remember very well how three years ago the Western countries put all possible obstacles in the way of getting a few steel plants erected in our country. Production of steel is the heart of any country's economic structure. A healthy heart-beat is the best sign for proper growth. Durgapur and Rourkela came only after the great Bhilai offer from the Soviet Union.

But then it looks as though the West Germans in charge of the Rourkela project are not fulfilling certain important responsibilities in fully equipping our engineers. They seem to be standing in the way of our engineers getting all the technical know-how that is essential for an under-

standing of the blue-print of the project and the important details of the construction. This was revealed by one of the prominent members of the ruling party, the former Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, Sri T. N. Singh, in his speech in Parliament on April 1, 1958:

"There are, however, one or two small things I would suggest. One of them is a matter of practical experience. Take for instance, the Bhilai and Rourkela projects. I find that in regard to the designs that have been submitted for the Rourkela project, although they are very detailed in the sense that the Germans understand them and they contain all the points, still what happens is that our own engineers, while trying to convert these designs into actual projects, find it difficult to understand their terminology, their drawings, their specifications and their method of construction."

"That means that it is just like a professor of mathematics giving a solution of a very high problem and expecting a man who is just a graduate in mathematics to follow all the processes while, three or four steps are missing. He can reconstruct it if he has learnt higher mathematics still further, but an ordinary man cannot follow it."

"Therefore, the problem which is being faced in Rourkela is that our people, our engineers and our contractors do not follow those designs and details. They have got to be interpreted by somebody

from outside. The Germans say that it is their system and their engineers understand it; but our engineers do not understand it."

"On the other hand, at Bhilai the Russian Government seems to have understood our problems and they have given more details. Then again their men are there to explain wherever our engineers cannot understand."

Dependence Continues

What becomes very clear from this is that the Western nations and their technicians want us to continue to depend upon them for the construction of further steel plants. In the words of Sri T. N. Singh, "This is a serious matter. Once you have to go and develop these projects, you will find the same people whom you thought were experienced enough, would not be of any avail to start the construction. That would be the unfortunate position."

Therefore, he considered that due consideration should be paid to this aspect of the matter. He expressed the need "for associating our men, technicians and engineers, at all levels with the foreigners working there. I have a feeling that our engineers and technicians who are supposed to be attached to these people are not getting the full know-how. They are probably in the dark."

There is no doubt that they

Discrimination Against Kerala

*FROM PAGE 2

this question: How is Kerala's deficit of seven lakhs to be met by Andhra's surplus which has been reduced to a phantom by the Centre? Even that is not the sole problem. The Central Government has controlled rice price in the granary of Andhra—the four districts of Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari.

Rice is not available in the open market at the prices fixed by the Centre and since they are statutory prices, the Kerala State is legally prevented from buying rice—even if it is possible, in these districts at higher prices.

In this situation the Kerala Government asked the Centre to procure rice in Andhra and give it to Kerala. The Centre was not prepared to do this either.

What then is the validity of the Centre's claim that the Southern Zone for rice has been established mainly for the purpose of helping Kerala to make up its deficit? The arrangement has, in practice, been proved to be of no use to Kerala because of the attitude and policies of the Central Government itself.

The Union Food Ministry's spokesman says: "If the State Government felt that the price should be reduced, it could subsidise the supplies to the consumer utilising the amount of Rs. one crore, which it had agreed to set apart for the purpose. It was not the responsibility of the Centre to see that the fair-price shops in Kerala always maintained enough stocks."

After refusing to allot rice to Kerala, after refusing to help it to get rice from Andhra, after barring it from buying rice on its own in the name of statutory prices that had been imposed—after all this to talk in this tone is sheer irresponsibility. The cloak of self-righteousness would not deceive anyone.

The Union Government spokesman charges that "hardly one-tenth of even this amount (Rs. one crore for subsidising supplies to consumers) had been spent by the Kerala Government."

The Kerala Government is prepared to spend this amount and more if necessary. But it can be spent to subsidise supplies only when foodgrains are available. It is rather silly to make the charge that the amount for subsidy has not been spent when the foodgrains are not there to be subsidised.

Government had cut it down to Rs. one crore—meaning thereby that the earlier Congress Government was more interested in the well-being of the people than the present Communist Ministry.

Whatever the allotment made by the present Kerala Government and spent on rice subsidies, the official spokesman should remember that his own Minister had to admit, not so long ago that the Kerala Government had been able to keep down prices.

This is something which no previous Congress Government with all its allotments which the Central spokesman lauds so much, was able to do.

And why? Because the Communist Government of Kerala took popular cooperation and foodgrains which were meant to be distributed through fair-price shops reached the consumers.

In the days of the Congress Government in Kerala in the past and in other States now, these foodgrains go into the blackmarkets and the subsidy amounts go to line the pockets of the blackmarketers and their friends in the Congress hierarchy.

It would have been better if the Food Ministry spokesman had kept his mouth shut rather than rushing to take the brief for the previous Congress regime. Or is that also part of his job?

THE QUESTIONS

ONE

How far is the role of the Kerala Congress consistent with the claims of tolerance, democracy, understanding and non-violence of the Indian National Congress?

TWO

What should be the role of Opposition Parties in a growing democracy like India, where the multi-party system may, in the future, hold the prospect of bringing about different political parties to power in the different States of India?

THREE

Is the Communist Party to be permitted to live in India? Is it open to the Communists to work and gain power through the democratic way? Or is it that the Constitution is for everyone else but the Communists?

FOUR

Is Anti-Communism to be our creed and credo? Or shall we evolve an Indian way of mutual supervision and co-existence of differing political parties?

In the current controversy centering around the Communist Government of Kerala, these are questions that assume supreme importance to every democrat. But with much more intensity and realism do these questions emerge from a reading of:

H. D. MALAVIYA'S

KERALA

A REPORT TO THE NATION

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are in the dark. That is how a capitalist nation "helps." It is not surprising in any way. It is not inherent in capitalism itself, whose main motive is profit and more profit at the expense of others and the thwarting of the development of the underdeveloped countries in all possible ways? Let our own experience teach us, even if we choose to ignore the experience of history.

Now let us look at the Indian Telephone Industry (ITI)—the first industry to be started by the Central Government in the public sector in collaboration with the Automatic Telephones and Electric Co., Ltd., Liverpool, U.K. (ATE).

The eleventh report of the Estimates Committee, 1957-58, says, "No project-report which could have been utilised by the management as a plan showing details of and targets for setting up the factory, cost, programme of production and expansion, etc., was prepared or submitted by the Automatic Telephones & Electric Co. to the Government of India." Therefore, it becomes impossible to judge the progress made by the Company from time to time.

It is understandable as to how a company of the standing of ATE could have begun its work without a project report. But it is astonishing to find our Government accepting this most absurd of positions.

The second astonishing feature of the industry is that as per Clause 10 of the agreement it is not free to export to any country of its choice without the prior permission of the ATE. It is reported by the Estimates Committee that the ITI was once refused permission to export its goods to Egypt, was allowed to export to Afghanistan for a limited period, was refused permission for Sudan and in some other cases permission had been given only in parti-

cular instances. Is it not an indication that collaboration with Western Powers or Western financial and industrial monopolies restricts the scope of development of our industries and reduces the scope of our trade with friendly countries.

Even regarding technical information there are a number of restrictive clauses. The Estimates Committee states that "While the above clauses appear quite satisfactory from the legalistic point of view, the Committee feel that in their practical operation, these have placed the ITI in a disadvantageous position. It prevents the ITI from getting any technical know-how from any other manufacturers for the production of items which are either outside the scope of the agreement or which the ATE themselves are not in a position to manufacture efficiently."

Further it has been included in the agreement that any information of a developmental nature resulting from research by any organisation in this country and made available to the ITI would automatically be accessible to ATE which could utilise it.

It is very surprising that as per the agreement, import of telephone equipment will be done exclusively from the ATE.

It is the same sad story in almost all our industries in which we have agreements with either the Western Governments or firms. The story of the development of petroleum resources, or the limping development of the shipbuilding industry at Vizag, etc., are further cases in point.

It is time that a committee of Members of Parliament went into the whole question of our industrial collaboration with foreign countries and firms to carefully assess the pros and cons of such relations.

(Continued from page 5)

next breath to contradict all that Jawaharlal Nehru had said and in indulging in expositions of some aspect or the other of the Bank-Fund philosophy of new colonialism.

The dignitaries could not help bringing the breath of the cold war into the hall of this Conference by constant references to the Free World and the Asian-African countries participating in the Conference being appendages of this world, while the Prime Minister had insisted on the categorisation of countries outside the Socialist world as the self-proclaimed "anti-Communist" and "some other countries which may be called non-Communist, though not supposed to be ranged in any anti-group."

Similarly there was a constantly kept-up attack on the underdeveloped countries trying to evolve any sort of a Socialist pattern of society.

The German "Miracle"

The West German Minister for Economic Affairs, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, and Herr Karl Blessing, President of the Deutsche Bundesbank, were the most outspoken. Under the cover of propaganda about the "German miracle" they missed no opportunity to aggressively proclaim the superiority of their system which they preferred to call "social market economy" instead of the plain and simple monopoly capitalism that it is.

"With ten years of experience behind me, I think I may say that this economic system, properly applied will have similar results in countries which are as yet less developed as it has had in industrialised States, where it has brought about a surprising

★ Constant Attack On Socialist Pattern

★ Hallelujahs For Private Enterprise

increase in general prosperity," said Dr. Erhard.

Mr. Jacobsson, Managing Director of the IMF, put it to the closing session as "a personal view" and "not to be misunderstood"—with "forty years of international service" behind him—"I have found that the same basic monetary and credit principles apply in all countries whatever their stage of industrialisation. These principles are the result of experience over many years, mainly—it is true—in Europe, but at a time when many of these countries were still in the early stages of development." And so on.

Climate For Investments

This apart from the running theme of the Conference which was emphasised by all the bigwigs in one way or other—creating the climate and giving concrete concessions for the inflow to the underdeveloped countries of private foreign investments.

One whole day was set apart for and exclusively devoted to extolling the virtues of private enterprise. This was organised in the form of the deliberations of the International Finance Corporation.

The IFC is the organisation which openly proclaims that it "will finance only private

enterprise. It will not invest in undertakings which are Government-owned and operated or in the management of which the Government participates to any significant extent."

The proceedings of this august body can perhaps best be described by saying that it is an enlarged and internationalised version of the Forum of Free Enterprise.

It was made absolutely clear in all the authoritative pronouncements that as far as the basic purposes and methods of the Bank and the IMF were concerned there was going to be no change.

The annual report of the Bank clearly stated: "The strengthening of basic services continued to be the main purpose of Bank financing." Out of the 710,846 million dollars lent last year, 322 millions were for improvements in transportation. Industry's share was only 107 millions, but strictly for the private sector.

The increase in Bank-Fund resources that has been promised at this meeting will be utilised on the same pattern.

Where The Profits Go

The reports also made clear where all the resources come from and where their profits and dividends go for being ploughed back. According to Mr. Black's address to the Board of Governors of the Bank the year's borrowings totalled 650 million dollars. "The bulk of the year's borrowings was again done in the United States market where we floated three issues of dollar bonds totalling \$375 million."

Next to the USA, "the increasing role being played by the Federal Republic of Germany—is very gratifying. This year the Deutsche Bundesbank lent us \$250 millions."

In the Bank's loan expenditures during the year, the lion's share, 142.8 million dollars, 56.5 per cent of the total, was again in the USA, 18.8 per cent in the U.K. and 17.2 per cent in West Germany.

The Bank's policy of scrutinising projects before sanctioning loans is to continue as strictly as before. This was put in strong words by Mr. Black and still greater strictness was demanded by Herr Blessing.

The American carrot of creating an International Development Association under the Bank was cunningly brought out and deliberately left dangling before the underdeveloped countries.

So far about the basic development needs of the underdeveloped countries and the Bank-Fund's continued game at this Conference of utilising their needs and demands for

strengthening positions of private foreign capital.

Dissatisfaction Voiced

The dissatisfaction among the underdeveloped countries was voiced in varying degrees by all of them. But the Philippines delegate speaking on the very first day created a stir by his comments:

"If the very narrow meaning that is given to the purpose for which the Fund was established, and the onerous conditions which lately are being imposed for the grant of the Fund's assistance, are continued, my Government fails to see how an increase in the members' quotas could be of help to them in times of need."

"Indifference to the urgency of the assistance solicited and the peremptory manner of dismissing the application for such assistance because the country seriously doubts—and not without reasons—an important decision which it is required by the Fund authorities to make, certainly makes that country hesitate in supporting the proposal to increase the members' quotas in the Fund."

Price Manipulation

"It is difficult to believe, despite a desire to be charitable in one's judgement, that after all these years of contact with underdeveloped countries, there are among the officials of the Fund those who would not see or realise that a world of difference exists between the conditions existing in the industrial countries and those in the underdeveloped countries...."

"It is a keen sense of disappointment which constrained me to make these candid statements. I used to look up to the Fund as a source of inspiration and hope...."

As for the other question facing the underdeveloped countries, the need for stabilising prices of primary products which have suffered an intensified downward movement since the setting in of the latest recession, there was much expression of sympathy from the other side but a firm refusal to do anything and plenty of advice that these countries should learn to live with these conditions.

A GATT study had just revealed that since the end of 1955 primary products prices as a whole had declined five per cent, while industrial prices had risen six per cent, and calculations based on it indicated that the loss of earnings from these movements in prices was greater than the total economic and to primary producing countries. (New York Times, October 4)

Brazil at the Conference put forward certain definite proposals for the Fund's help in achieving stabilisation of primary products prices and

fighting imbalance. It suggested that countries applying for drawings against the IMF should be allowed to offer commodity stocks in lieu of national currency. The proposal was sufficiently elaborate to merit discussion. But the solicitude of the Bank and the industrial Powers for the raw material producing countries was such that they did not even have the courtesy to at least acknowledge the Brazilian proposals!

It is interesting in this connection to note that by a steady and increasing decline in the prices of primary products on the world market manipulated as it is by the big capitalist monopolies, the underdeveloped countries are continuously deprived and cheated of billions of dollars. Now, a part of these same billions taken away from them is supplied to them as loans, etc., by these same international financial organisations as so-called "development capital," profits and dividends over which are again returned to the industrially advanced countries in ever-increasing quantities to be ploughed back into their industries. Simultaneously, through the grant of loans and the accompanying supervision and enforcement of "discipline" over national economies the industrially advanced capitalist countries are enabled not only to prevent the industrialisation and achievement of economic independence by the underdeveloped countries; they are also enabled to keep up their depredation through price manipulation of a part of the wealth of the underdeveloped countries.

The other issue is between China and the United States. It is the U.S. invasion and occupation of Taiwan, Penghu and the Taiwan Straits. On this issue too, the message is unequivocal. It demands: "The Americans are bound to go. They have to go."

Effect In Quemoy

From Quemoy, a UPI report of the same day, October 6, said: "You did not have to speak Chinese to note the relaxed atmosphere and cheerfulness in everyone's disposition on this island." It added that although the message was not published, the news of the temporary respite had spread "from gun position to gun position and down to the beaches." The Chiang Kai-shek troops felt "happy" over the temporary silencing of shelling. Their reasoning: "We have at least got one more week to live."

From Taiwan, AFP reported that Peng Teh-huasi's message "fell like a bombshell in Taipei in the early morning hours of October 6."

As can be expected Chiang's gang, pitched on U.S. bayonets was quick in sounding the alarm. The day following the announcement of this message, Taipei's "Central Daily News" demanded that the United States suspend the Warsaw Sino-American talks, arguing: "Any further negotiations is bound to become a discussion of a U.S. pull-out from the Western Pacific."

From Washington, U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles, Under-Secretary of State Herter and spokesman of the State Department, White, one after another issued statements on the temporary suspension of bombardment of Quemoy by the Chinese people's forces in order to save their faces and to confuse the issues.

These self-appointed guardians of the "Free World" have been trying, on the one hand, to mix up the action of the Chinese Government with their so-called cease-fire demand, and on the other, to create the impression that some change was taking place in the "lunatic"—the qualification is Bertrand Russell's—policy of the U.S. in the Far East.

At the outset it must be pointed out that the temporary suspension of shelling of Quemoy is one measure in the 30 years fighting that has been going on in China, almost uninteruptedly—with a break of a year or two. In this civil war which is entirely an internal affair of the Chinese people, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has been taking measures ranging from most ruthless suppression of the counter-revolutionaries to the most humane and considerate treatment of its misguided opponents.

Chou En-Lai Said Then

It is worth recalling that about two years and three months ago, the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai had declared solemnly: "All patriotic people regardless of whether they joined the patriotic ranks earlier or later, and regardless of how great the crimes they committed in the past may have been, will be treated in accordance with the principle that 'patriots belong to one family,' and the policy of no punishment for past misdeeds; they are all welcome to perform meritorious services for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and will be duly rewarded according to the degree of their merits and provided with appropriate jobs."

The U.S. has concentrated in the Taiwan area the biggest military build-up since the end of the Second World War.

Suspension Of Quemoy Shelling

"We all are Chinese. Of all choices, peace is the best. The fighting round Quemoy is of a punitive character."

Built on these three major premises, formulated in the simplest of words, with a stirring effect, the message issued by Peng Teh-huasi, Minister of National Defence of the Chinese People's Republic, announced on October 6, to the compatriots in Taiwan, the decision of the Chinese People's Government to suspend the firing on the Fukien front for a week.

It was a warm and patriotic message, the message from a Government which enjoys the full confidence of its over 600 million people, to the compatriots who are being used as cannon-fodder for the imperialist designs against their motherland.

The Two Issues

In the clearest terms the message differentiates the two issues that are involved in the situation and demarcates the two approaches in resolving them. One is the issue between the Chinese People's Government and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Addressing this clique the message says, "the war between you and us has been going on for 30 years." About its final outcome, the Chinese people are confident. The message says, "it would not matter so much even if the fighting should continue for another 30 years. It is, however, better to secure an early peaceful settlement. The choice is up to you."

The other issue is between China and the United States. It is the U.S. invasion and occupation of Taiwan, Penghu and the Taiwan Straits. On this issue too, the message is unequivocal. It demands: "The Americans are bound to go. They have to go."

But in both the cases, the message calls for negotiations. Of all choices, it chooses peace as the best; and proposes the same to the opponents.

This remarkable move, on the part of the Chinese People's Government instantly drew the attention of the entire world. It was warmly welcomed, first of all by the troops and civilians in Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu. It was warmly welcomed by the world public opinion desirous of peace. And it threw the enemies of Chinese people in utter confusion.

Effect In Quemoy

From Quemoy, a UPI report of the same day, October 6, said: "You did not have to speak Chinese to note the relaxed atmosphere and cheerfulness in everyone's disposition on this island." It added that although the message was not published, the news of the temporary respite had spread "from gun position to gun position and down to the beaches." The Chiang Kai-shek troops felt "happy" over the temporary silencing of shelling. Their reasoning: "We have at least got one more week to live."

From Taiwan, AFP reported that Peng Teh-huasi's message "fell like a bombshell in Taipei

OCTOBER 19, 1958

PEACE AND FREEDOM

by RAZA ALI

and in this context of the Chinese civil war that one ought to look at the present decision of the Chinese People's Government.

Can there be any doubt that had it not been for the United States' most brazen-faced all-out support to the Chiang clique, had it not been for the U.S. seizure of Taiwan in June 1950, this clique of desperadoes, disowned by its people, discredited in the eyes of the world and discarded by its motherland, had no chance of survival?

Not only this, U.S. support to Chiang and U.S. intervention in the Taiwan Straits have put the U.S. in a war-like posture against the 600 million Chinese people and cause an extremely serious threat to world peace.

All the recent statements of the U.S. ruling circles and their actions show that there is still no essential change in their "lunatic" policy towards China.

While talking of "cease-fire" the U.S. is stepping up its military aid to the Kuomintang, and taking an ever more direct part in supporting the Kuomintang forces. The U.S. air force has, for instance, taken over from the Kuomintang forces the task of anti-air raid interception in Taiwan. And the American naval patrols have intensified their activities in the Taiwan Straits along China's coast.

Five Passes To Be Crossed

If further proof is required, the despatch to Taiwan, of the second guided missile battalion of the 71st artillery regiment armed with "nike-hercules" guided missiles having atomic war-heads—the first of its kind to Far East—and the arrival of the equipment together with 700 troops to operate the missiles at Keelung on October 5 and 8, if anything, prove that essentially the U.S. persists in its "lunatic" policy towards China, and actu-

The Chinese People's Government has thus expressed again its willingness to negotiate with the U.S. "on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and abstaining from the use of force, and threats."

To the Chinese in Chiang's grip, the Chinese People's Government, as reported in today's papers, has given a further two weeks' respite by its decision to continue the temporary suspen-

WORLD WELCOMES CHINA'S MOVE

Consternation In U.S.-Chiang Camp

The U.S. Government's talk of "cease-fire" is meant to cover up the activities of its own aggressive forces as well as of the Kuomintang remnant forces, while tying China's hands in the struggle to defend itself and recover its own territory. Such a cease-fire not only would not bring peace, but on the contrary, by lending cover for provocations and aggressions, would eventually lead to a world-wide conflagration.

The U.S. Government, while talking of "cease-fire", not only does not say a word about renouncing its aggressive policy but on the contrary gives all indications that it will continue to occupy China's territory of Taiwan and Penghu.

The U.S. talk about "demilitarisation", "neutralisation", "trusteeship" etc., is meant to put across the idea of two independent "Chinas" and thereby to perpetuate in fact U.S. hold over Taiwan, aiming, obviously, at an eventual attack on the Chinese mainland.

The actions of the U.S., far from corresponding with its professed "peaceful aims" only substantiate its aggressive policy.

Military Build-Up

The U.S. has concentrated in the Taiwan area the biggest military build-up since the end of the Second World War.

ally its call for a "cease-fire" is meant to confuse and deceive world public opinion.


Guns Are Silent, But...

The guns are silent, but the storm rages.

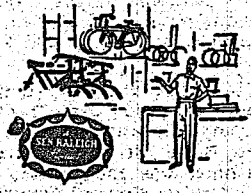
Will this time be utilised for silencing the guns for good, or for fanning the storm further? A heavy responsibility rests on the peace-loving countries of the world. And it is not enough, just to state one's own position. It is necessary to speak out against the U.S. persistence in its mad policy, for that policy is dragging along with it, the world as well, over the brink.

October 14,

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Sampurnanand In Trouble Again

C. B. Gupta Declares Open War

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW, October 13

Sampurnanand, the much-harassed Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, is once again in trouble. The factional war of attrition that has been going on inside the U. P. Congress has, now that the people's struggle against the Government has been withdrawn, again broken out in the open.

THE group led by C. B. Gupta, the so-called "Iron man" of the U. P. Congress, has been waging an incessant war against the Ministry since his second defeat in the Assembly election at Maudaha last April. With the lakhs placed at his disposal by the textile and sugar magnates of the State as well as by Birla, he has been organising his group and consolidating his scattered strength all over the State.

Apart from a fairly large following which he had before his dethronement from

the Ministry and which he has been able to retain, by and large, he has also gathered round himself all the discontented elements in the Congress. His men have been going from district to district and town to town preparing for the coming show-down.

With this strength Gupta has inflicted several defeats on the group in power in the last few months. The last of these was when he mustered his forces to vanquish Sri Algu Rai Shastri, ex-President of U. P. Congress and the joint

nominee of the Congress High Command and the State's Ministerial group for the Chairmanship of the U. P. Legislative Council.

Sri Shastri had been sent to U. P. from Delhi where he was a member of the Council of States and one of the Secretaries of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Sri Shastri was a sworn enemy of Sri Gupta and had only last year told me sarcastically to "take Gupta in the Communist Party as he had been left with no place in the Congress..."

Sri Gupta served notice on the Ministerial group and Sri Sampurnanand not to set up Sri Shastri for the Chairmanship against "his man"—if they wanted to "save their prestige".

The Ministerial group did not listen, so he inflicted a



crushing defeat on Sri Shastri. He could get only three votes out of 60, while his opponent, Gupta's man, Sri Dhulekar, an utterly obscure Congressman, obtained 47 votes! Such was the terror organised by Gupta's men that Sampurnanand did not even dare to come to the meeting in which the election was to take place.

Immediately after that Sri Gupta, who had resigned from the Vice-Presidency of the nominated U. P. Congress Executive after accusing Messrs Sampurnanand and Home Minister Pant of "betraying" him, declared that the Executive Committee of the U. P. PCC was "illegal".

He said that in the resolution passed by the U. P. Congress Committee authorising Sampurnanand and Pant to nominate its Executive and office-bearers they were given one month's time to do so. But they announced the results of their nomination after nearly three months when their mandate had expired. Hence the body nominated by them had no legal existence!

He further made it known that he would be moving a resolution of no-confidence against the Committee in the PCC meeting that was scheduled to be held in September.

Just then the food struggle intervened. Representations were made to the High Command by the supporters of the Ministerial group. Sri Gupta was summoned to Delhi and asked to meet Pant and Dhebar. They asked him "not to embarrass" the Ministry "at this time when it is facing the onslaught of the combined Opposition." The PCC meeting also was postponed.

That meeting is now taking place on October 18 and 19 at Lucknow. Both the groups have meanwhile prepared for it. Although there was supposed to be a "cease-fire" during the food struggle between these warring factions, none of them stopped their preparations.

Kamlapati Tripathi, Home Education and Information Minister of the State and presently the staunchest supporter of Sampurnanand, had, even during the struggle, found time to go round, specially to the Eastern Districts to gather his forces. Others like Mohanlal Gautam had also never stopped their efforts to groom up their forces for the coming battle.

On the other hand, Gupta,

too, never relaxed his efforts and took every opportunity to embarrass the Ministry. When the prices of foodgrains were spiralling up and the Ministry was unable to do anything Gupta called his supporters, the traders and speculators and got them to announce that from that day on they would be selling wheat at the rate of two seers for a rupee—just to show his strength.

Then again when, during the food struggle no Congressman dared to come out of his house despite the mandate of the U. P. PCC President to go out and oppose the movement by organising "Ghera Toru" movement, etc., it was only Gupta and his bands who, here and there, tried to oppose the people's movement and specially the general strike on September 12. Of course, they failed miserably, but they did show to the Ministry that they still had "courage to go out among the people with the policy of the Congress..."

Reportedly there is also a move to get from the PCC meeting a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry itself for, among other things, failing to tackle the food movement strongly and tactfully. Earlier Sri Gupta was prepared to work under Sri Sampurnanand if he could be the second man in the Government. But now he says openly that he would be satisfied with nothing less than the Chief Ministership of the State.

The Ministerial group is in panic. Gupta is hated by the people, but he controls the party machine. The Ministerial group also knows that the High Command represented by Pant and Dhebar has no love lost for anybody. These gentlemen will go with the winning man.

Further, Sri Algu Rai Shastri, the avowed opponent of Gupta has now crossed over to him "in the interests of the Congress," as he has put it! There are also rumours of Sri Charan Singh, the State's Finance and Revenue Minister, who is opposed to Sri Kamlapati Tripathi, going over to Sri Gupta's side. If he goes he will take practically all the Jat support as also some other Western U. P. Congressmen (specially M.L.A.s) with him to Sri Gupta, tilting the balance decisively.

Some months ago he had submitted a huge charge sheet against Sri Kamlapati Tripathi. At that time it was said that if those charges had been made public, the Ministry would have had to resign.

The recent movement has created further dissatisfaction against the Ministry. This also the opponents are utilising in their struggle against Sri Sampurnanand and his friends.

An S. O. S. has been sent to Pandit Pant to come to the fateful PCC meeting to save the Ministry. Efforts are also being made to enlist the support of Pandit Nehru against Gupta, whom Panditji does not like. It is quite possible that he, too, would come to the forthcoming meeting. Sampurnanand himself is rushing up to Delhi to meet his friends in the High Command there and get their help. He is manoeuvring to get all the proposed resolutions ruled out of order.

The meeting has roused the interest of lots of common people and they are watching to see what happens in it. They know they are witnessing the decay and disintegration of the Congress.

India-China Friendship Demonstrations

INDIA during the last few weeks has seen numerous demonstrations of solidarity and abiding friendship with China.

At the call of the India-China Friendship Association (ICFA), a "Friendship Fortnight" was observed in many places in the course of which besides mass rallies and public meetings demanding the vacation of U. S. aggression in Taiwan and the off-shore islands area and a widespread signature campaign on a national petition to the United Nations for restoration of China's right, Chinese film festivals have been organised at many places, one very successful one in the Capital itself was inaugurated by Union Education Minister Humayun Kabir and addressed by Ambassador Pan Tzu-li.

In Gauhati the Chinese National Day celebrations held under the auspices of the State Council of the ICFA achieved unsurpassed grandeur and turned into a true festival with thousands participating.

A photographic exhibition on China Today was inaugurated by Sri Debendra Nath Sarma a prominent Congress leader and Municipal Chairman of Gauhati. The Cultural Festival was inaugurated by Sri Gaurishankar Bhattacharyya, M.L.A., and leading cultural organisations like IPTA, New Art Players, Pragati Shilpi Sangh, and the leading danceuse, Miss Leela Nathan, participated in it besides many other noted film, radio and stage artistes of Assam.

The public meeting attended by seven thousand people was presided over by Assam's leading poet Raghunath Choudhary and addressed by Maheshwar Neog, Professor at the Gauhati University. D. N. Roy, Phani Bora, Dillip Sarma and Sunil Kumar Dhar. The presi-

dent of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee attended the meeting.

At Patna, during the Friendship Fortnight, sixty prominent lawyers were among those who signed the National Petition to the U. N.

On October 1, a public meeting presided over by Sri Nageshwar Prasad was held in the Anjuman-e-Islamia Hall. Sri Birendra Singh and Sri Ras Bihari Singh spoke and a resolution demanding immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from the Taiwan region and restoration of China's seat at the U. N. was unanimously adopted.

A pictorial exhibition on the life and achievements of the Chinese people was also arranged in the same hall.

The Saran District Conference of IPTA, meeting on September 26 and 27, attended by ten thousand people demanded immediate end to the U. S. threats to China, return of Taiwan and restoration of China's rights at the U. N.

In West Bengal, the Murshidabad Branch of the ICFA in the course of the Friendship Fortnight organised a public meeting on October 2, two film shows at Berhampore and one at Kandi and intensified the signature campaign on the National Petition. At Burdwan, too, a meeting and a film show were organised.

The Friendship Fortnight in Jodhpur (Rajasthan) concluded on October 3, with a mass rally. Cultural Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, Mr. Lin Lin, addressed the rally. Among others who spoke were Mathuradas Mathur and H.K. Vyas.

Earlier in the day a film show, presided over by the Deputy Education Minister of the State Sri Punamchand Bishnoi, was inaugurated by Mr. Lin Lin. General Secretary of the National Council of the ICFA Dwijen Nandy spoke at

the function.

The Secretary of the Jodhpur Branch of the ICFA who is also the Secretary of the local District Congress Committee Sri Tarak Prasad Vyas, handed over to Mr. Lin Lin scrolls with signatures on the National Petition to the U. N.

At Allahabad (U.P.), a meeting to celebrate Chinese National Day was held on October 1 at the Swadeshi League Hall under ICFA auspices.

At Ahmedabad also a public meeting was held on October 1 in the Premal Hall with Vajubhai Shukla in the chair. Yashwant Shukla, Chandrabhai Bhatt, Dhanwant Oza and P. K. Shah addressed the meeting. A resolution demanding withdrawal of the U. S. from Quemoy, Matsu and Taiwan and restoration of China's seat at the U. N. was adopted.

The public meeting in Bombay on September 30 was held under the Chairmanship of Mayor Mirajkar at the Sunderbal Hall and a Chinese film show was inaugurated on October 5.

The Bombay branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee organised two public meetings calling for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from the Taiwan Straits, the recognition of China by the U. N. and declaring that Taiwan and the off-shore islands belong to China.

The first meeting was organised on September 12 at the People's Jinnah Hall and the second on September 28 jointly with the Lok Sevak Samaj and Abhinav at Vile Parle.

Sri Mangaldas Pakvasa, Sri B. A. Dalal, M.L.C., Sri Balraj Sahni, Sri Daniyal Latifi, Dr. J. D. Vora and Sri M. N. Kot-hare addressed the meetings.

At Mysore, an India-China Friendship Day was held on October 1 with Tagadur Ramachandra Rao in the chair. The meeting condemned the U. S. concentration in the Taiwan Straits.