

HARD BARGAINING AHEAD OVER

AID TERMS

The consortium of Western Powers and the World Bank currently meeting in Washington as Aid Pakistan Club announced on June 2 the amount of loans they would be able to give to India for the first two years of the Third Plan.

THE announcement showed that the promise made with great fanfare by the USA that it would make the rest of the club members match its own offer had not been fulfilled. Except for West Germany raising its promise by 50 million dollars and France joining the Club as a member rather than an observer with a promise of 30 million dollars, there was nothing new that happened at the meeting. Even West Germany's additional offer had become known several days earlier.

It would appear that pretty little tangible business had been transacted at the meeting except for a juggling with figures so as to give the impression that the promise of 'matching' offer had been fulfilled. What else was discussed behind the scenes for three days remains a closely guarded secret.

An interesting dispatch after the first day's meeting

of the Club (when it was meeting under the 'Aid India' label) from the Times of India's Washington correspondent spoke of "No Surprises at Aid Club Meet" and mentioned some at least as "spurious aid". The increased West German offer of 381 million dollars, the dispatch said, included, "an element of 'spurious aid' as refinancing". Besides at that stage the U. S. did not want "the World Bank and IDA figures to be taken into account for 'matching' purposes."

The final figure of commitments totalling 2,286 million dollars announced in the World Bank's communique on the meeting—"subject to legislative action or other necessary authorisation"—was made up of USA: 1,045 million dollars; Britain: 250 million dollars; Canada: 56 million dollars; France: 30 million dollars; Japan: 80 million dollars; West Germany: 425 mil-

lion dollars; World Bank and IDA: 400 million dollars. The communique also found it necessary to mention U. S. having already made available to India "surplus commodities" worth 1,300 million dollars.

It will be seen that the above figures include both a lot of "spurious aid" as well as the World Bank and IDA figures which were not to be taken into account for "matching" purposes.

Even so the total commitment did not reach the expected figure of 2,400 million dollars (1,000 million from USA, a matching figure from other members plus 400 million dollars from the World Bank and IDA).

Hope is now sought to be pinned on the autumn meeting of the Club for further exercises in 'matching'.

Meanwhile a big propaganda barrage about Western generosity is let loose in the press seeking to drown the really important and practical questions regarding the terms on which these loans will be given and the hard bilateral bargaining that will have to precede. The Aid Club must have devoted itself principally to working out the strategy of this bargaining.

No indication has been given but it is clear that at every stage of the negotiations—and in fact of the entire unfolding of the Third Plan—the whiphand will be retained by them.

New Delhi is now said to be waiting for the return of its two key officers, L. K. Jha, Economic Affairs Secretary, and B. K. Nehru, Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, to get an idea of the possible terms.

'INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY'

Some indication of these so far as the USA is concerned is available from the testimony given by the Secretary of Treasury Douglas Dillon before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 6. Dillon told them that the U.S. Aid Programme was "an essential instrument of U. S. foreign policy," i.e. the principal objectives it sought to achieve were the objectives of U. S. foreign policy. All sweet talk indulged in, for instance, by Galbraith in India of U. S. economic aid being free from political strings should be regarded as what it has always been—an eyewash.

Dillon spoke plaintively of the "competition for the

friendship of the underdeveloped countries" from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries which gave long term loans at 2½ per cent interest as against seven and six per cent that the West charges. He suggested that the U. S. adopt equally low rates of interest and allow equally long periods for repayment.

Only snag in the competition now remained on the question of the currency in which U. S. loans will be expected to be repaid. Dillon said, this will have to be in dollars, not in the soft currencies of the borrowing countries, as the Soviet Union

and the Socialist countries accept.

The U. S. Secretary of Treasury further assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that provision would be made to prevent use of USA's easy loans for development of industries in competition with the USA—a forthright declaration warning India and all concerned that these "easy loans" are not for industrial development where you might some day become a competitor of the USA in the world markets. Provision will be made to prevent use of U. S. loans for such 'subversive' purposes.

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NDC APPROVES PLAN AS MORARJI EXPLODES

THE National Development Council meeting in Delhi on May 31—June 1 to consider the final draft of the Third Plan had a stormy session and came to a rather abrupt end.

A bitter controversy developed between the younger spokesmen of three States, Y. B. Chavan, M. L. Sukhadia and C. Subramanian on the one hand, and Union Finance Minister Morarji Desai on the other. While the former pressed that the financial outlay for the public sector should be raised to 8,000 or even 8,300 crores of rupees, Morarji Desai insisted that even the proposed outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores was optimistic. He did not demand its reduction but he did express his doubts about its achievement, unless the States also "dared and acted" as he had done through his last budget.

The younger leaders had suggested raising greater resources by more vigorous mobilisation of savings for the public sector, by economising in expenditure at the Centre and the States. The public sector projects, they said, should be able to contribute more and if necessary, a directive should be issued to them to fulfil certain fixed targets.

It was also suggested that measures should be taken to ensure that the public sector rather than the private sector obtain a

larger share out of the funds of the commercial banks. The contribution from the LIC could be higher and the State power projects could contribute more.

The Union Finance Minister's explosion on the second day calling for daring and action in terms of his own fleecing of the common people through heavier indirect taxation showed his utter incapacity to get out of the rut of traditional thinking even in a limited way. It also showed his determination not to allow the resources going to the private sector to be tapped for the public sector.

Nehru acting as the mediator said, that, at this stage, it might not be desirable to raise the figure of Rs. 7,500. Nevertheless the problem should be approached not only in a spirit of optimism but urgency or even "ferocity". He spoke of the necessity of creating a raging, flaming enthusiasm. He told the meeting that the whole structure of Indian society was capitalistic and "we are constantly brought back to this fact".

The meeting decided to retain the financial target of Rs. 7,500 crore for the public sector while keeping an actual physical programme of Rs. 8,000 crores. The Council broadly approved the final Draft of the Plan.

WELCOME BEGINNING

Editorial

THE KHRUSHCHOV-Kennedy talks have given fresh hope to the entire world. They have opened

new opportunities for the peace forces to assert their will and bring about a radical turn in the world situation. They mark a break from the continued deterioration in international relations that had been so disturbing a feature of the world scene.

The holding of the Vienna talks and their successful outcome is a big blow to the imperialist merchants of death who had been insistently preaching that the only alternative to mutual annihilation was surrender by one side or the other. It has now become clear that there is a third and sounder alternative—mutual concessions to establish peaceful coexistence.

The Summit parleys have been a crushing rebuff to those pessimists and sceptics who held that the only perspective was the continued worsening of the international situation till the final eruption of a nuclear holocaust. It has now become clear that negotiations can be imposed on the imperialists and skill and patience can bring success to these negotiations. Doubtless it is wrong to under-estimate the imperialist capacity to bring about catastrophe. But Vienna has demonstrated that it is far more wrong to under-estimate the capacity of Socialist might and diplomacy to preserve and extend peace in the world.

The tasks of the people to defend the peace are still onerous. The risks are still great. But it is with heightened confidence and greater élan that the immense army of peace can move ahead. Their immediate duty is clear—raise high the banner of Vienna, push aside those who seek to belittle it.

Rallying still more millions around this banner, the peace-lovers, not least in India, must press ahead for concrete gains. They must insist on a quick settlement of the Laotian question. They must demand that the disarmament talks in July come to a successful conclusion as also the test ban negotiations. They must demand that the remnants of the last war be ended in Europe through a German Peace Treaty and the demilitarisation of West Berlin.

The Vienna summit has truly elevated the hopes of entire mankind. Using it as a springboard, there must be the most intense activity to secure detailed and concrete gains so that in the end the world may be made safe for man.

(June 7)

SUMMIT SUCCESS

THE Vienna Summit has given a message of good cheer to the peoples of the world. The Khrushchov-Kennedy encounter has led to a certain lifting of the heavy international weather. Mankind can breathe freer and use to effective purpose the enlarged interval from heightened tension that the meeting's results promise.

It is easy enough to take a superficial glance at the communiqué and conclude that no great gains have been made. Indeed, it can be confidently predicted that this will be the lines along which all the enemies of peaceful co-existence will attack the very concept of summitry. K. S. Shelvankar of the Hindu (June 5) noted that when the talks began: "In both the American and Soviet camps there was a distinct air of 'wait and see'; but while the Russians appeared to be mildly hopeful, the Americans were more reserved and even pessimistic about the outcome."

This was followed by the differences at the official press briefing: "Last night's official statements about the Kennedy-Khrushchov meeting have given rise to speculation about a possible difference between the Americans and the Russians in their assessment of the day's talks. It was noted that Mr. Kharlamov's (the Soviet spokesman's) summing up of the day's talks was definitely optimistic in tone while Mr. Salinger (the U. S. spokesman) refused to go further than to say that they were 'frank and courteous'."

Shelvankar then makes the following significant observations: "Two explanations are currently offered for Mr. Salinger's more reserved tone: One, that Mr. Khrushchov may be getting more out of the talks and is, therefore, more pleased with the way they have gone than the Americans.

"The other is that though Mr. Kennedy may be equally pleased, it would be politically unwise for Mr. Salinger to admit that the President was 'satisfied' or that the atmosphere was 'friendly'. The use of such expressions might cause uneasiness among the West Germans, for example, and also produce unfavourable reactions in the U. S."

Despite these Jeremiahs and their interested proclamations of gloom, it must be said that the peace of the world has won a notable victory at Vienna. The concrete agreement on Laos apart, the biggest gain has been the vindication of the principle of negotiations, of the solution of international problems through discussion.

It needs to be recalled here that in September last, Pandit Nehru, as the spokesman of the neutral nations, had advanced a resolution in the U. N. General Assembly that contacts be renewed between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the U. S. Ferocious Western opposition and underhand manipulations had compelled the sponsors to withdraw their resolution. It is the spirit of that resolution which has triumphed at Vienna.

This is proved, above all, by

the fact that the joint communiqué speaks of the agreement of the two statesmen to "maintain contact on all questions of interest to the two countries and for the whole world." The break of contact following the U. S. sabotage of the Paris summit had been a gravely disturbing international factor. The insistence of Kennedy in his election campaign that he did not believe in summitry had added to the disturbance. The contact has now not only been re-established but is to be maintained.

Another feature of the Vienna talks that needs to be noted is that Kennedy came to the Summit following a succession of severe defeats—of which Cuba, Laos are only the most prominent. He came with the knowledge that the U. S. leadership of the Western bloc was under severe questioning by the other imperialist powers. As a matter of fact, we noted last week that one of the most powerful motives for Kennedy going it alone to the Summit was his desire to reassert U. S. hegemony over its imperialist allies.

This was demonstrated forcibly in the Paris talks just prior to Vienna. The Paris correspondents of the London Economist (June 3) have noted that the crowds that turned out for Kennedy were noticeably smaller than those that had greeted Khrushchov and Eisenhower. And the talks themselves resulted in precious little since de Gaulle refused to be cajoled out of his obstinacy on the need for the U. S. to recognise France as an equal in the NATO alliance and as entitled to all the nuclear secrets of the U. S.

As these correspondents note: "It is not surprising that this week's talks (in Paris) seem to have been genuinely little more than an exchange of views and that Mr. Kennedy's views have tended to roll off General de Gaulle's back more readily than vice versa."

In contrast was the position of Khrushchov. Under his leadership the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp had scored the most astounding triumphs in every sphere, not least in the field of international relations. Some of the political commentators of the West expected that this would lead to Soviet bragging and bluster, as a reaction to which Kennedy would have to adopt a "tough" and aggressive posture.

It is quite obvious that it never was—and never has been—the intention of the Soviet statesman to try to score a debating trick or two. It was his intention not only to adopt a reasonable and sober approach to all outstanding problems but to exert to the utmost to make it as easy as possible for the U. S. President to do the same. Not to nettle Kennedy neither to placate him but to get him to discuss—such was the Soviet leader's attitude. And the dividends have been high not only for the Soviet Union but equally for world peace.

It scarcely needs mention, however, that the success has been only initial. A prolonged period of hard work lies ahead. It looks as if the Geneva negotiations on Laos will proceed a little faster, but the

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

U. S. will have to redefine its concept of neutrality. It is certainly true that the test-ban talks, now recessed, and the disarmament talks due in July will get off to a fresh and better start, but the U. S. will need to agree to controlled disarmament (and not controls with rearmament) and to the principle of collective decisions with regard to questions of inspection of suspected infringements of the ban on tests.

Above all, the U. S. will need to revise its entire attitude to the problem of West Berlin and the German peace treaty. It is being predicted in various quarters that this will be the main topic for a Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Big Four, scheduled to be held some time this year. The communiqué with Macmillan gives the decided impression that a big mass campaign throughout the world and further defeats for the U. S. all along the line will induce this revision. Till then, the powder-keg in Europe will continue to remain perilously close to ignition point.

It has been said of Kennedy: "He made in the pre-inaugural period the basic decision to which he has adhered—to assimilate the conservative Eisenhower past to the 'new frontier' rather than to make a clean break with it." (Economist, June 3) It is that clean break that world peace camp must compel him to make, spurred on by the Vienna victory.

ANGOLA'S AGONY

THE agonised cries of suffering Africa have run out exceptionally loud in the past few days. Angola has been lacerated again and again. It has been rightly called the bloodiest outburst of genocide since the Nazi drive against the Jews.

The Tory London Observer's correspondent in Angola's capital wrote on June 4 that thirty to forty thousand men, women and children have been massacred in this Portuguese colony since the revolt began four months ago. He reports that "villages and towns are gutted ruins. For hundreds of miles as seen from the air, the only sign of life is here and there a rising smoke trail."

He states that "people arrested include school teachers, 'assimilades' (Africans with Portuguese citizenship) and almost every African who is literate. Possession of a gram-mar primer, a radio or even just a bicycle has been enough to lead to a man's disappearance. African priests have in many cases been inexplicably transferred to Portugal in an attempt to empty the country of every potential African leader."

With the end of the rains, this month, comes the time for the coffee harvest on which the Portuguese exploiters set great store. Hence the stepping up of their ferocious offensive against the armed Angolese insurgents. Hence, too, the urgency of immediate U. N. action to stop the impending massacre.

The Afro-Asian States are

reported to be preparing a resolution for the Security Council which would condemn the mass killings and call upon Portugal to abide by the injunctions of the U. N. Charter against genocide. It would call upon Portugal to cooperate with the U. N. General Assembly's sub-committee on Angola and permit the sub-committee to visit Angola and investigate the situation.

It is a great pity that the state of Afro-Asian unity is such even on an issue like Angola that this very tame resolution is all that the group can sponsor. It is high time that more was attempted. Nkrumah has called for consultations between all interested countries regarding other forms of action in case the U. N. proves ineffective, which is very likely to be the case. In view of the passionate speech of Pandit Nehru on Angola, it is to be hoped that on this occasion, the Government of India will respond to the voice of advanced Africa and render effective aid to Angola. Simply to wait till the U. N. moves would be to let down these embattled people in their darkest hour.

CONGO—AFTER DAYAL

THE removal of Rajeshwar Dayal was a clear indication that the imperialist plot against the Congo has advanced a stage further. Kasavubu has emerged as the instrument most favoured by the U. S. and it was his voice that was used by the imperialists to demand that Dayal should go if the Congolese "authorities" were to continue their "cooperation" with the U. N.

From this position it is only a very short step to Kasavubu demanding that the U. N. "cooperate" to reestablish "his authority" all over the Congo. It is likely that this demand would be made from the truncated and obedient Parliament that this arch traitor has decided to convene at Leopoldville.

Against this background we have the speech of Hammarskjöld in Oxford where he proclaimed his right to exercise "political judgement" and to take decisions even prior to sanction having been given by any of the U. N. bodies that are legally entitled to do so. This would mean that the U. N. troops could be marched against the Gizenga Government to drown in blood the Congo's freedom at his orders alone.

The forces of Congolese freedom are not unaware of these developments. Gizenga has called for the meeting of the Congolese Parliament in Kamina, under the protection of the African and Indian troops of the U. N. Command. It is such a Parliament that could provide the solution to the Congo's crisis. The Soviet Government has urged that the U. N. authorities take all necessary steps for the implementation of this suggestion, despite its known stand that the U. N. operation in the Congo should be concluded.

Since the Government of India has its troops in the Congo, very heavy responsibilities rest upon it. All the more so since Rajeshwar Dayal has been quite un-

ceremoniously removed. It has to ensure that its promise is kept and Indian troops are not used against the patriotic forces of the Congo whose legal representative is the Gizenga Government.

The peril and danger arise from the fact that India does not recognise this Government and has till now stubbornly refused any form of consultations with the advanced African States for solutions, not necessarily within the rigid framework of U. N. operations. Nkrumah has addressed a letter of desperate appeal to all the Governments whose troops are in the Congo. He has warned of the very serious crisis in which the Congo is plunged and urged that all these States should meet to devise ways and means to solve this problem fraught with danger to world peace.

The Government of India, in spite of Dayal's removal and these insistent appeals, remains curiously inactive. There is regrettably every indication that there will be no positive response by Nehru to Nkrumah's appeal or even to Gizenga's call. Such passivity in the face of a strong offensive by imperialism, can, if one wishes to be uncharitable, be called connivance. It is an intolerable position for our country from which it must move forward at once.

NO TEARS FOR TRUJILLO

THERE will be no tears shed for the murdered Trujillo who was one of the most blood-thirsty tyrants known to history. For thirty years he reigned with all the engines of terror over the Dominican Republic and its two-and-a-half million people. The Dominican Republic occupies the Eastern half of the island neighbouring Cuba, the other half is Haiti.

Trujillo was one of the most rabid opponents of Castro's Cuba and encouraged invasion attempts from his country. He was also notorious for the assassination plotted against the mildly liberal President Betancourt of Venezuela. Needless to say he was one of the favourites of the U. S. State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

For the last year of his rule the Latin American countries forced the U. S. to be publicly cool to Trujillo but trade continued despite calls from the Organisation of American States for a boycott.

Nine out of 16 major sugar exporting companies in the Dominican Republic are U. S. controlled, and more than half the industrial investment in the country is American.

Trujillo's death caused consternation in U. S. ruling circles who immediately raised a howl about a Communist plot. Dean Rusk was publicly perturbed and it is reported that a big U. S. naval force has been despatched to the area. It is certain that the U. S. will use the assassination for some kind of adventurous thrust against Cuba.

—MOHIT SEN (June 5)

AGREEMENT WITH B.O.C. SHOWS ZIGZAGS IN OIL POLICY

From Our Correspondent

THE recent agreement between the Government of India and the Burmah Oil Company for a joint oil exploration in North-East Assam over an area of 1,800 square miles in the neighbourhood of Naharkotiya and Digboi oil fields marks a significant step in the implementation of the Government's oil policy, even though in zig-zag moves.

The reconstitution of the Oil India Ltd. with a 50:50 participation of the Government and BOC is undoubtedly an advance over the previous position when the Government's participation was but 33-1/3 per cent.

The break of the exploration work from the production and distribution tasks, however unpalatable that may be to foreign oil companies, is a significant achievement of the Oil Ministry.

As reported in the press, under this agreement, all oil that may be found and produced by Oil India Ltd. (O.I.L.) will be sold to the Government for refining and marketing except for a limited quantity of crude oil which will be supplied to Assam Oil Co. to enable the Digboi refinery to continue to operate at its existing capacity.

Another welcome feature of the agreement is that at every stage of exploration and production, Indian technicians will be associated and trained by O.I.L. and Indian personnel will have equal share in management.

The Government was able to wring these concessions out of the hands of a foreign oil company solely because in the past couple of years, it had broken the foreign monopoly grip that existed on our oil industry—at the exploration, production and distribution points as well as on our technical personnel.

And it was precisely this breakthrough that we have been demanding all along, through these columns and through our MPs.

Achievements Result Of Firmness

In the words of the Oil Minister, K. D. Malaviya, "...but for the tenacious attitude adopted by the Government of India and the Ministry, oil would not have developed in the public sector in the way that it has developed. But for the fact also that the Government of India has stubbornly stuck to the policy that was enunciated by it under the Industrial Policy Resolution, we would not have created an efficient cadre in the country which has undertaken search for oil, has set up or is setting up two refineries under association with friendly countries and our helps the Soviet Union and the Rumanian Government, and is also planning to have a third refinery in Gujerat in the public sector."

"But for this tenacity and determination and clear decision we would not have decided to lay a chain of pipelines for the transport of petroleum production in the country with a view to tackling the distribution and marketing problems in a very economic way..."

"...but for this tenacity, there would not have been an

cal survey, the expenditure of the Commission was Rs. 14,500, while it was Rs. 35,000 in the case of the Indo-Stanvac project.

Thirdly, there is no guarantee whatsoever that in a joint venture, the exploration work would give better and quicker results, while in an exclusively public sector undertaking delays and disappointments are inevitable. Quite the contrary has been our experience.

Look at Cambay. And recall the defunct Indo-Stanvac Petroleum Project. Exploration for oil under this project, in which the Government had 25 per cent interest, continued in the concession area of 10,000 sq. miles in West Bengal, till the end of May, 1960. And now, after declaring the 8th, 9th and 10th test wells also as "dry and abandoned," the project has been wound up. The total contribution of the Government that went down the drain in this project

was Rs. 1,84,25,795. (Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel—Department of Mines and Fuel—Report for 1960-61).

Considering these facts, one can understand the eagerness of the BOC with which they must have signed the agreement on a 50:50 basis for "an indefinite period." The wind that is blowing today, is not quite favourable to them. But the Oil Ministry owes an explanation to the public, as to what counsels have prevailed upon it to accept such conditions.

In the matter of pricing also, despite the extreme caution in guarding its secrets, whatever has appeared in the Press is enough to cause serious apprehensions.

A week before the agreement was signed, the Times of India (May 23) gave out the news that (a) BOC was in favour of relating the price in some measure to the f.o.b. price of crude, as the cost plus

formula favoured by the Government, provided no incentive for economic organisation and functioning; (b) BOC had urged exclusion of royalty from the price; (c) BOC had urged an understanding in the price of refined products sold by it and the Nummati refinery which is expected to go on stream around the year-end, and on the marketing of these products.

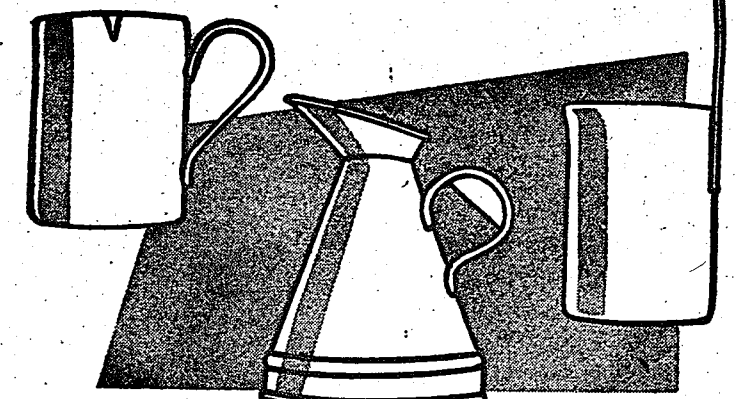
The paper also informed its readers that "the Government itself has been veering round to this proposition and presumably the matter has been settled on these lines."

Tax Exemption

On top of this, we now know that the Government has also given BOC an important tax concession which will enable O.I.L. to claim deduc-

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On to **METRIC CAPACITY MEASURES**



From APRIL 1, 1961, the use of Metric Capacity Measures is compulsory in the Union Territory of Delhi.

In selected areas in the rest of the country, Metric Capacity Measures have been introduced with option to use old measures for one year.

The unit of capacity is LITRE

1 LITRE
= 1.1 Seers approx.
= 3 Nazhis approx. (Kerala)
= 4.5 Olocks approx. (Madras)

METRIC SYSTEM FOR
Simplicity & Uniformity

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REFUGEE KISANS OF RAJASTHAN WIN AFTER YEARS OF SUSTAINED STRUGGLE

By H. K. Vyas

SOMETHING very important and significant for the life of the more than 20,000 refugee kisan families of Alwar and Bharatpur Districts has taken place.

At the beginning of May the situation was tense. Government repression was in full swing, attachments of the cattle and properties of these refugee kisans were taking place on a large scale, their leaders were being arrested and involved in cases, all as a result of a furious and concerted effort by the Government to recover from these kisans enhanced land revenue (Sawai Jama) and other dues.

Despite all efforts the kisans were standing firm refusing to pay these demands of the revenue authorities because they were unreasonable and unjust. The Action Committee of the Alwar and Bharatpur Purusharthi Kisan Panchayat had given a call and were actively preparing to launch a Satyagraha from the 8th of last month.

However, things changed. The united movement of these kisans, their determination and firmness paid dividends, and in a Conference called in the chamber of the Chief Minister on the May 25, 1961 where the representatives of the Action Committee were called, almost all the major questions affecting these refugee kisans were settled, and they were able to secure very significant concessions.

In order to understand the full import and significance of this big movement and its fruitful culmination into a proper settlement it is necessary to trace a little of the history of the whole problem.

A Little Of History
Immediately after partition when lakhs and lakhs of refugees came from West Pakistan many of them were settled on the lands in the Alwar and Bharatpur Districts, land left by the Meos who had gone to Pakistan. Such refugees were settled in other districts of Rajasthan also, and in other parts of the country too. But the bulk of them, about 60 per cent of those who were thus settled on land, were in these two Districts. The problem of the refugee kisans in these two districts thus forms a separate category, both because they happen to be the bulk of such people settled on land, as also because in these two districts the refugees kisans organised themselves into a united common organisation known as the Purusharthi Panchayat, an organisation in which were represented both Congressmen and Communists. They carried on a united and sustained struggle for the vindication of their rights.

What were the problems and demands of these kisans? When these refugees were "attracted" to this virtually Barani (unirrigated area) they were brought here on the understanding that they would be settled on land and they would thus become land-owning kisans. They were

given on an average 10 acres of Barani land per family, and some other aid in the form of loans, Taccavi etc., and were permitted to occupy the houses left by the Muslim kisans. The understanding was that all this was being done for these refugees in lieu of their claims for properties left in Pakistan.

This contention is borne out by the fact that when in 1950 the Government of India (GOI) issued a Notification calling for claims for Non-Urban Immovable property left in Pakistan, other than land, these kisans were left out of the purview of that notification. The notification laid down the specific condition that such claims could be filed except when the person concerned has a claim of less than 20,000 and has been allotted more than 4 acres of land. Some refugees of this nature who filed their claims despite this notification had their claims rejected. The Claims Officer did adjudge their claim for some amount as established, but referring to this notification rejected their cases.

However, after the lapse of some years, the GOI it seems refused to recognise this position, and these kisans were asked to pay the price of land (approximately Rs. 2,250 per family), price of houses occupied by them, all the loans and taccavis etc., notwithstanding the fact that these persons had been denied the facility of filing their claims. This was the biggest problem before these kisans.

There were other problems also. These kisans were asked to pay a 25 per cent surcharge on land revenue, being the "profit" for the Government for administering such evacuee property. As a matter of fact in other areas, such poor refugee kisans were asked to pay 100 per cent surcharge. Right from the beginning these kisans refused to accept this position and refused to pay the 25 per cent surcharge known as the Sawai Jama. They claimed full occupancy rights on the land and so demanded that they be charged only the settled land revenue.

Panchayat Organised

These problems moved these refugee kisans and they organised themselves into a Panchayat a common organisation and began an agitation for getting their claims accepted, or in the alternative the writing off of the price of land houses and the loans, and for the right of single Jama. Scores of Conferences were held. At many of these Conference Congress MP's and even Presidents of the Rajasthan State Congress presided.

So just were the demands of these kisans, and so wide and united their movement that even Congress Com-

mittees and Congress leaders of these districts supported their demands. Every year the recoveries used to be stayed but the problem remained.

The Government of India on its part continued pressing for such recoveries and finally last year more or less forced the State Government to use all its force to effect such recoveries.

The Rajasthan Government naturally enough "agreed" to this position and ordered measures of force to effect these recoveries especially the recovery of the arrears of the Sawai Jama. Under all this pressure of the GOI and the State Government, the Congress leaders too seemed to relent a little, there were vacillations too, and for sometime it appeared as if the unity built over all these years was probably threatened.

Unity Maintained

However, despite all this and despite the show of force by the authorities the refugee kisans maintained their unity and even strengthened it. The Alwar and Bharatpur Purusharthi Kisan Panchayat with Comrade Haroomal Tolani as President and Dr. Vazirchand as Secretary gave a call for a demonstration in front of the Assembly at Jaipur.

This demonstration on the March 28 was a sight to see. More than 200 refugee kisans from these Districts travelling the distance of more than 100 miles came to Jaipur and marched before the Assembly which was in session, raising slogans in support of their demand.

This successful demonstration marked a new stage in their movement. Such was the ferment in these refugee kisans, and the utter conviction of the justice of their demands was shared by all sections of the refugees alike, be the followers of the Congress and even others that all this had its impact even on the MLA's and MP's of this District. Almost every single MLA from these districts including eminent Congressmen associated themselves with the demands of these kisans, and they spoke some words in some form in the Assembly to indicate their identification.

Congress MP Shobharam raised this question in the Lok Sabha also, though in view of the concerted pressure of all Sri Shobharam unjustly conceded the position that Sawai Jama and loans should be paid by the refugees. He still supported the demand of the waiving of the price of land and houses. Congress MP's and even the Ministers of Rajasthan had to take up this matter at the highest level and raised the question before the GOI and Pandit Nehru asking how could the State Government accord two types of treatment to kisans in the same State. While all other kisans have been given Khatedari rights without payment why should these kisans be made to pay.

The GOI had to make concessions.

After the initial concessions made by the GOI negotiations began between the representatives of the Action Committee and the State Government and finally a settlement was arrived at.

The first point naturally was the question of permitting these refugees to file their claims as the other displaced persons were permitted to do under the 1950 Act. The GOI seemingly agreeing to this right in its Press note still sought to restrict this facility and somehow circumvent its benefit from accruing to these kisans. This question was raised in the Conference on May 25, and it was agreed by all (including the Chief Minister and Revenue Minister, Rajasthan) that these refugees should be given the same privileges and subjected to the same procedure of proof as was done in the case of the other DP's in 1950; and the State Government agreed to get the necessary clarifications issued by the GOI.

The second question was about the price of land. The GOI in discussions with the representatives of the State Government, as stated above, had scaled down their demand from the original 4.5 crores to one crore. However, as a result of discussions the Rajasthan Government further agreed to reduce this amount by a figure equal to the amount of compensation that it would be required to pay for this land for "abolishing" Biswedari. This amount would come to about another 20 lakhs, which will be reduced from this figure of one crore and only the remaining amount would be recovered as price of land. This would be done in 15 instalments.

Thus instead of the original figure of about 2,250 or so per family now these refugee kisans would be required to pay only about Rs. 400 to Rs. 450 per family and that too in 15 instalments. Moreover if any of them have their claims adjudged for a greater amount even this reduced price of land could be offset against such claims.

Another problem solved along with this price of land is the problem of the continuation of the recovery of 25 per cent surcharge on land revenue. It has been decided that on payment of the first instalment of the price of land the recovery of Sawai Jama would stop and these kisans would get full occupancy rights on that land and henceforth pay only the single Jama.

The demand of the refugee kisans was that since they have now been permitted to file their claims Sawai Jama should be recovered from them only till 1955. Since this matter concerned the GOI it was decided that a representation would be sent by the refugees to the GOI on the subject; and the Sawai Jama arrears would be recovered in two instalments, the first instalment covering the

period up to 1955; which in any case should be paid now.

Other problems connected with wrong assessment of dues etc., too were raised and a procedure for solving them was agreed upon.

The minutes of the meeting were properly drawn up with the concurrence of all including the State Government on all crucial matters. Now the thing has gone for final confirmation to the GOI.

There is no doubt that the terms of the settlement of the May 25, do secure considerable relief to the refugee kisans in the matter of their demands. But there is no need nor occasion to relent in the united efforts. The necessary clarification of the GOI on the question of Claims has to be secured and the claims to be got properly adjudged, the arrears of Sawai Jama after 1955, have also got to be written off. Many problems may arise in the implementation of this agreement. The need for the unity of these kisans, and the need for vigilance and activity of their united organisation is greater than ever before. The Conference of the Action Committee called on June 6 will most likely give a proper lead in this direction.

Major Lessons

However, there are some major lessons which can be drawn from this movement.

The movement of the refugee kisans of Alwar and Bharatpur shows the great strength of a united movement. The impact of such a movement, its capacity in warding off intense repression, in maintaining the morale of the fighting kisans and in all these matters is naturally very great indeed. The fact that this movement was united and remained united till the end was one of the biggest factors responsible for such a resounding success of this movement.

It has also to be understood that faced with a movement which is strong enough and widespread enough, even some of the major aspects of the policies of the Government can be changed and defeated. The problems of these kisans were no ordinary ones, they concerned the problem of the right of the tiller to the land he had been tilling.

Despite all the legal complications and many hurdles created by the policies of the Central and State Government, the movement was able to reverse them and virtually secure this right on land.

Apart from this, the movement has also demonstrated the supreme importance of correct and flexible tactics in conducting movements, the tactics of not rushing headlong into premature battles on the least provocation, yet standing firm and not conceding the least to threats and intimidation and always maintaining the unity, morale and activity of the vast masses of the people. These tactics too have contributed a great deal to the success of this movement.

INCREASE IN NATIONAL INCOME -AN ANALYSIS

The significant economic progress which India has made during the last decade is best shown in the increase in her national income. In statistical terms, even allowing for deficiencies in computation, this increase has almost equalled the increase over the last fifty years.

As such it is really heart-warming, especially in the context of the politico-economic set up under which the country had to initiate her plans of development. And yet, it will be a mistake both to regard it as the maximum which could be achieved, or to consider it adequate for meeting the country's requirements. Also, it will be wrong to take the available national income figures at their face value since they suffer from a good many statistical shortcomings.

A notable contribution on this question has recently been made by Prof. K. N. Raj of the Delhi University, who in a paper published in the Annual Number of the Economic Weekly, has subjected the national income figures to a threadbare analysis. What follows is largely based on findings contained in this paper, although only the present writer is responsible for any errors of interpretation, which the reader might come across in its perusal.

Let us take first the increase in national income over the last ten years of planned development. The official claims put this increase at about 42 per cent. Prof. Raj contests this figure.

Over Last Ten Years

According to him "it seems unlikely that the estimate of national income in 1960-61 will register a rise of more than, say, 36 per cent over the level in 1950-51". Prof. Raj has, however, selected 1949-50 and 1958-59 as the two years of comparison because of non-availability of sector-wise estimates for 1959-60 and 1960-61, and also because the first year of the First Plan, 1950-51, was a "bad year for agricultural production in India and also otherwise an exceptional year (on account of the Korean war)".

Since, however, the estimates for the two years, selected by him, are not very much at variance from those for 1950-51 and 1959-60 (the last year for which figures are available) respectively the increase in national income recorded between 1949-50 and 1958-59 can be regarded as "an approximate measure of the growth over the decade". The following table gives the official estimates of net domestic output at factor cost over these ten years:

	At current Prices		At 1948-49 Prices		Percentage Increase over the Decade	
	1949-50	1958-59	1949-50	1958-59	At current Prices	At 1948-49 Prices
Agriculture animal husbandry, etc.	4490	6190	4360	5580	37.9	28.0
Mining, manufacturing and small enterprises	1500	2140	1460	1870	42.7	28.1
Commodity production	5990	8330	5820	7450	39.1	28.0
Commerce, transport and communications	1660	2110	1640	2210	27.1	34.8
Other services	1380	2040	1380	2040	47.8	47.8
Services	3040	4150	3020	4250	36.5	40.7
Net domestic product at factor cost	9030	12480	8840	11700	38.2	32.4

over the entire country. These regional variations inevitably result from any process of growth, unless special attention is paid to the less developed areas. The table below gives the state-wise distribution of population and national income, 1949-50 and 1958-59.

	Population*		National Income (at 1948-49 prices)		Percentage Increase
	March 1950 (million)	March 1959	1949-50	1958-59	
Andhra	30.75	35.85	703.5	936.2	33.1
Assam	8.87	10.53	304.6	340.6	11.8
Bihar	38.26	43.55	764.6	1023.9	33.9
Bombay	47.30	56.85	1289.4	1780.4	38.1
Kerala	13.23	16.36	309.7	395.2	27.6
Madhya Pradesh	25.26	28.98	659.3	924.0	40.1
Madras	29.45	34.62	674.4	932.4	38.3
Mysore	18.97	23.04	353.1	472.1	33.7
Orissa	14.51	16.06	273.0	319.9	17.2
Punjab	15.80	18.98	522.5	771.3	47.6
Rajasthan	15.65	18.80	270.1	448.4	66.0
Uttar Pradesh	62.30	71.69	1632.1	2060.3	32.8
West Bengal	26.03	28.87	919.0	1150.1	25.1
India—Total	356.30	415.00	8840.0	11700.0	32.4

*Based on the estimates of the Central Statistical Organisation)

18 Per Cent

If now the increase in population of an order of 29 per cent over the decade is taken into account, it will give only an 18 per cent increase in per capita income over the first ten years of India's planned progress. As against this, the Planning Commission had in 1950-51 set a target of doubling the per capita income in about 25 years, requiring an increase of about 40 per cent during the first decade.

The present rate being only 18 per cent, it will not be before another 35 years, and not 15, that the country will be able to achieve this target. Also, if the population, too, continues to grow at its present rate it will necessitate an increase of 5.6 per cent per annum in national income (as against the present 4) if the per capita income is still to be doubled by the end of the Fifth Plan.

These calculations by Prof. Raj are based on official figures, about whose reliability, however, he has serious doubts. Closely examining the figures sector-wise he has shown, that, while the increase in some sectors has been over-estimated, in others it errs on the low side. But, as he himself has said, one cannot afford to be too "fastidious and critical" in this respect, for then no idea of the progress can be had; nor further investigations be meaningfully framed "to test the available data and improve their usefulness".

The discussion of the statistical and other deficiencies of the data has, therefore, been purposely left out of this article in order to pin-point some of the other more basic aspects of the country's growth during the past decade. One such aspect concerns the unevenness of the increase in national income

As this table shows Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and the Punjab are again the states which have gained the most during the past decade. A few others have made unspectacular gains, while in Assam the per capita income has actually declined. Obviously, such disparities could

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As this table shows some states like the Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Bombay have shown a higher increase in national income during the decade than the national average, while in quite a few it has been the same as in the country as a whole. These include Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Mysore and Uttar Pradesh. In the third group are states like West Bengal and Kerala, whose performance has been somewhat less than the average. In the last, are Assam and Orissa "which clearly lag far behind."

	Increase in total income from agriculture (Rs. Crores)		Percentage share of big farmers in total area	Share of Big Farmers in the increase in income (Rs. Crores)
	1949-50	1958-59		
North India	187.6	16.6	16.6	31.1
East India	149.1	16.7	16.7	24.9
South India	305.8	18.3	18.3	56.0
West India	113.7	16.9	16.9	19.2
Central India	159.6	27.3	27.3	43.6
North West India	297.3	33.9	33.9	100.8
				275.6

A much more glaring estimate of uneven development in different states can be had from a comparison of their per capita incomes. The Table below gives these incomes at 1948-49 prices:

	Per Capita Income in the Different States (at 1948-49 prices)		Percentage Increase—
	1949-50	1958-59	
Andhra Pradesh	228.8	261.1	+14.1
Assam	343.4	323.5	-5.8
Bihar	199.8	235.1	+17.7
Bombay	272.6	313.2	+14.9
Kerala	234.1	241.6	+3.2
Madhya Pradesh	255.9	318.8	+24.6
Madras	299.0	269.3	-10.6
Mysore	186.1	204.9	+10.1
Orissa	188.1	199.2	+5.9
Punjab	330.7	406.4	+22.9
Rajasthan	172.6	238.5	+38.2
Uttar Pradesh	262.0	287.4	+9.7
West Bengal	353.1	398.4	+12.8
India—Total	248.1	281.9	+13.6

is not confined to regions alone, it is as well marked in the distribution of the increase in national income among the various sections of the population. Prof. Raj cites the case of agricultural labourers, who in 1950 had a per capita income of only Rs. 125 per annum, as against the national average of Rs. 250.

If the agricultural labourers have not gained much to whom has gone the increase in the income originating in the agricultural sector? A big increase in agricultural production has taken place during the past decade in the holdings

of the big farmers. According to the National Sample Survey, these farmers, defined as those having incomes of Rs. 4,500 and above per annum, "operate" only about a fifth of the total cultivated area. But their share in the increase in national income on

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not have been there if the allocation of plan outlay during the two Plans had been made with a view to more account of higher production alone comes to much more than this. (see table below):

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The big farmers have also gained the most from the rise in agricultural prices on account of their greater capacity to hold stocks. In fact, according to Prof. Raj's calculation, this upper income group, which, although accounting for only about 3 per cent of the rural population, constitutes the new "leadership" in the countryside, has garnered nearly a third of the increase in the income at

* SEE PAGE 12

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GOVERNMENT-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS

S. A. Dange On Proposed Bill

The trade union movement has come to know about the proposed Bill on relations between the Government and its employees, through the talks that the Labour Minister had with some representatives of Government service organisations. The talks revealed only certain features of the Bill in broad outline. This broad outline raises certain questions to which the trade union movement has to give an answer.

THE Bill must not be looked at as only a matter between the Government employees and the Government. Once the principles underlying the Bill are accepted as part of the law by the trade unions, then those same principles will slowly be extended to the private sector also. This Bill, to begin with, may deal with what are known as Government employees. But, in fact, it embraces or will embrace very soon the whole of the State Sector, i.e., not only office employees but also the vast number of factory workers who today are working in Government factories and establishments or will be employed henceforward in the State Sector.

Government factories are occupying such an important place in production that very soon a question would be raised as to why, if certain principles are applied as valid in the relations between the Government as employer and its employees, they should not be extended to the private sector also. Hence, the general trade union movement is vitally interested in this Bill.

No Reason For Special Disabilities

The AITUC in its replies to the Questionnaire issued by the Government in the year 1952 had already made it clear that the relations between Government employees and their employer should be governed by the normal principles of trade unionism. There is no reason why the employees in Government service should be put under special disabilities in relation to their trade union and democratic rights.

Therefore, we hold that the disputes between the Government and its employees should be settled primarily on the basis of direct negotiations and collective bargaining between the trade unions of the employees, whether in the offices or the factories, and the employer, i.e., the State.

This should apply both at the factory and office level as well as at the national level. That should be the essence of any machinery that is designed to resolve disputes between the employer and the employees.

But, in India, alongside the unions, the Government has interpolated various organisations such as conciliators, tribunals, labour courts, arbitration board and so on. Therefore, the tendency has been that while some preliminary exchange of opinions takes place between the employer and the worker, more and more recourse is being had to tribunals and courts. This tendency is deprecated by all.

But, the employers and the Government, where the uni-

ons are not amenable to their influence, try to push in the use of these courts and tribunals more and more to the detriment of recognition and growth of unions and collective bargaining.

Therefore, it is necessary to once again emphasise that the trade union movement and the working class must insist on recognition of unions and direct collective bargaining to settle disputes, falling which workers' right to strike must be kept intact and unhampered.

Right To Strike

It must be recognised that in the absence of this weapon or power of strike, no employer or the Government, even of a welfare State will agree to give the working class even its minimum human needs.

Such should be the basic approach of all trade unions. Does the proposed Bill conform to this basic need and approach of the trade union movement? It does not.

It provides for the recognition of trade unions. But, in Indian conditions where Government and employers foster or utilise multiplicity of trade unions and encourage those which serve more the needs of the employing class than the defence of the interests of the working class, it is wrong to allow the Government the choice to decide which union it will recognise. The Bill reserves this choice to the Government, and as such, is retrograde. In the absence of a single united union, any union which commands a substantial following of the workers must be recognised.

And the volume of following must not be left to be determined by Government officials but must be determined by a ballot of all the unions in the field. Then alone, genuine unions and their federations will survive.

In the absence of such a provision, the recognition to unions accorded in the Bill is likely to foster only anti-working class forces and lead to more unrest.

After having provided for some trade union recognition and an avenue of negotiation, does the Government leave the process to the normal course of collective bargaining between the unions or federations and the Government? It does not appear to be so at present.

Joint Councils

Government wants to introduce a system of permanent

Joint Councils—composed of workers or trade union representatives, and Government nominees.

If this were merely a new name for the usual negotiating method being given a continuous standing character, as between the Government and the unions, one would not mind the name. But, if these councils were to convert themselves after formation into autonomous bodies, the unions would object.

The unions must have the right to nominate, control or recall their nominees on the councils at any time and must have all the delegated powers that unions enjoy as such.

In the absence of details, the constitution, function and power of these Joint Councils are not clear.

In any case, one thing must be clear: these councils must not usurp the powers of the Unions and gradually displace and become a substitute for the unions.

The crux of the question is what happens when negotiations fail?

The Government wants the right to compel the unions to agree to arbitration as and when it might please the Government. And if no arbitration is given, the workers will have no right to strike. Thus the right to strike is banned and no arbitration is also guaranteed.

Even where arbitration may be granted, it will not cover all the matters that affect the workers.

This is the most objectionable feature of the Bill. It disarms the workers completely and holds them bound hand and foot at the mercy of the Government. When can a negotiating machinery negotiate under such conditions? It will only be a dictation from the Government to the unions. The working class cannot agree to such a position.

Government says that in view of the need for development of the country, industrial peace is necessary, that it is impossible for Government to allow the administrative services the right to hold up the State machinery by the right to strike.

We agree that for developing the country in the interests of the people, industrial peace is necessary. But the last General Strike did not take place because the workers wanted to hold up the State machinery. It took place because Government refused to concede even the most necessary needs of the working class, refused heed to them for years.

Industrial peace cannot be secured by compulsion and banning strikes. It can be secured by a mutually agreed convention. The trade union movement can offer that, both the Government and the unions agree to abide by a voluntary convention to bring about industrial peace for the Five Year Plan period, on the following basis:

- Restoration of Recognition of Unions.
- Direct negotiation between Unions and Government departments on equal footing through a mutually

agreed suitable machinery at the departmental and national level, embracing all questions.

Falling negotiated settlement. Government to agree to refer disputes to arbitration where unions ask for it.

Providing time-limit for completion of the process of settlement of disputes, the total time-limit not to exceed six months.

No victimisation of any trade union worker.

Annual review of the cost of living and dearness allowance, control of prices and suitable steps in respect thereof to give continuous protection to workers. And no retrenchment.

Following this, a voluntary convention by unions not to resort to strike.

Only a voluntary convention mutually agreed, which preserves the rights of the working class and also gives it the assurance and means to defend its interests, can bring about conditions of industrial peace.

Government should give up its present proposals of compulsion and regimentation of unions and workers to their own policies which today do not work in favour of the people but strengthen the exploiting classes, more and more.

No bans on strikes and outsiders, not compulsions of law and ordinances but voluntary agreement and conventions can solve the problem of employer-employee relations.

We Demand

If Government insists on putting forward a Bill, then the TU movement must see that the Bill is fought and changed.

These changes cannot be put forward until the text of the Bill is known. But on the basis of the features that are known, we must demand:

- Recognition and representation, without any discrimination, must be given to all unions and Federations having 15% of membership in the given industry or undertaking; fractional unions of narrow craft type should not be encouraged or allowed to supersede the wider industrial union or federation.

One may say that this allows the Government to interfere in the internal affairs of the union. At present, this freedom is utilised by the IUTUC and others to make the unions their exclusive preserves and not submit themselves to democratic tests.

Therefore, if such "interference" does away with their arbitrariness in the present stage of the development of our TU movement, it should not be resented. We as a democratic trade union organisation, I think, have nothing to fear on that issue. In fact, Acts such as the B.I.R. Act giving us no democratic rights to challenge the IUTUC trend of unions.

So, if a single united union or federation is introduced in the Government services, with these provisos, we shall not be the losers.

- Freedom of action for trade unions to be preserved.
- There is one more problem and that is the functioning of the trade unions and their federations in the Government services. On this matter, some thought has to be given. The P & T Services succeeded in establishing a united trade union movement in which a helpful hand was given by the late Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. This unification eliminated unhealthy rivalries fostered by the employers by encouraging one union against the other, though, of late, these rivalries are cropping up again as a result of de-recognition.

In the railways and other services, such unification was not ripe and has not been taken place. Taking into consideration the fact that unity is essential, I think, the pattern that was followed in the P & T, with suitable variations, be tried in the other services also, which should bring about unification of all the trade unions.

The method by which this can be tried is to pool the membership rolls of all the existing rival unions and carry out elections of their executives which should then become the executive of the single united union. The same should be applied in the case of forming their federations.

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The method by which this can be tried is to pool the membership rolls of all the existing rival unions and carry out elections of their executives which should then become the executive of the single united union. The same should be applied in the case of forming their federations.

Another thing which is necessary is to provide for compulsory democratic functioning of these unions. The trade union law imposes a number of obligations on trade unions of one character or another in the matter of finance, accounts, elections, returns and so on.

It is time that in the governmental services at least, the procedure of democratic elections be laid down in which the specific points provided for should be: (1) that no one shall be denied membership, for any reason whatever; (2) nobody shall be denied the right to stand for election; (3) no official shall have the power to suppress or dissolve any branch or branches of the union; (4) that the verdict of the majority shall be obeyed and (5) that ballot shall be provided for deciding vital questions. Such provisions should be introduced in the trade union law.

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Therefore, if such "interference" does away with their arbitrariness in the present stage of the development of our TU movement, it should not be resented. We as a democratic trade union organisation, I think, have nothing to fear on that issue. In fact, Acts such as the B.I.R. Act giving us no democratic rights to challenge the IUTUC trend of unions.

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So, if a single united union or federation is introduced in the Government services, with these provisos, we shall not be the losers.

G. D. BIRLA IN SOVIET UNION

G. D. Birla visited the Soviet Union for ten days last month and has decided not to be reticent about his impressions. Two full length articles under his signature have appeared both in the Indian Express and the Hindustan Times (June 1 and 2).

The Indian magnate is convinced of the Soviet Union's genuine desire for peace. He states this quite forthrightly in several places and then sums up right at the end: "During my stay in Russia all that I, as an Indian, was asked to do was to help in the peaceful solution of our times—the more powerful, the more prosperous the Soviet Union becomes the better it is for world peace. Surely in the days of the Soviet cosmic victories nobody can dispute this."

Incidentally, Birla has got hold of some outrageously wrong facts about the Soviet standard of life. In his second article he states that "the average wage of Soviet couple is 125 roubles a month. He goes on to declare that "the purchasing power of the rouble for all practical purposes, is only 25 per cent more than the rupee," i.e., the average Soviet couple have to get by on some Rs. 160 per month!

Not is this all. He admits that Soviet rents are cheap and that education and medical expenses are nil. "But except for these essential requirements, all other commodities are awfully dear. When I was there tomatoes were sold at nearly Rs. 15 per seer. Vegetables are freely available only between June and September, and disappear after that. The price of cloth is nearly five times the price at which it is sold in India."

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this statistical picture is that most of the workers and employees in Birla's vast empire are far better off than the average Soviet citizen!

Unfortunately for Birla, at the same time as he, a veteran British trade-union leader, Ted Hill, was in Moscow. Though a firm Labour Party man he is a trade-unionist and a stickler for the truth. On return to London he told a press conference that the average Soviet worker, while lacking certain consumer goods which his British counterpart had access to, was better fed, housed, clothed, educated and cared-for than the British worker. It was precisely for this reason that Ted Hill saw the possibilities of a vast market for British goods in the Soviet Union. Even Birla will not claim that India's working even remotely approximating that of the British.

Here is a classic case of putting the cart before the horse. Right from its birth the Soviet leaders and people have wanted peace to quickly build the resplendent edifice of Socialism. Not only would this bring happiness to the Soviet Union but it would be the best argument for the cause of Socialism in all lands. Afraid of this competition for "prosperity" from 1917 down to today the West has done its damndest to disrupt the creative labour of the Soviet Union.

According to Birla's line of reasoning once the Soviet economy is developed enough to afford both armaments and a good standard of life, its leaders will say farewell to the principles of peaceful co-existence. The whole of contemporary history proves that the opposite is the truth. Hence, the great and most

But all these observations do not tell us the real reason for the Birla trip. He remarks that "the only picture of the world as seen by a Russian is the picture that is presented him by his own newspapers. The other side of the picture is completely missing. Call it Iron Curtain if you like." But surely Birla did not sally forth to remedy this deplorable state of affairs and to tear asunder the Iron Curtain through putting the Hindustan Times on Moscow's news stands.

The real purpose of the visit to the Soviet Union is not to be, business. He notes the fact that although since 1955 India's trade with the Soviet Union has increased from about Rs. three crores to nearly Rs. 45 crores each way,

GANPAT SAHAI, PSP AND THE INS

IT is only natural that Congress leaders are agitated over their candidate's defeat in the by-election to Parliament from the Sultanpur Constituency. An enquiry committee is being appointed as has become usual, some Congressmen have been suspended—as is becoming more and more usual after Congress defeats. But what is beyond comprehension are the deeds—or should one say misdeeds—of some of the PSP leaders.

The first news-agency report of the by-election result had said that the winning candidate, Sri Ganpat Sahai, was an Independent and that he was the President of the U.P. Kisan Sabha. The Special Representative of the Statesman had reported the same day that Sri Sahai was a "Communist-supported Independent" and that "among those who spoke in favour of Mr. Sahai was Mr. E. M. S. Nambudiripad."

Two days later the New Delhi Correspondents of both the Hindustan Times and the Statesman for the first time mentioned that

Sri Sahai had also the support of the PSP.

Now, it appears that the first PTI message filed by the news-agency's Correspondent in Lucknow had very much stressed that the PSP had supported and campaigned for Sri Sahai.

But the Delhi editor wanted facts. So an urgent message went from Delhi asking the Lucknow Correspondent a few questions:

Was he sure that Mr. Sahai was backed by the PSP? Why was the name of the PSP leader's name among those who took part in the campaign? Wasn't it the PSP's policy generally not to support any Communist-backed candidate?

The Lucknow Correspondent was asked to reply immediately and give names of names of PSP men who took part in the campaign. What reply the Lucknow man gave or whether he gave any at all is not known.

Democratic opinion would only have been happy to hear that the PSP had sup-

ported Sri Sahai and Communists and PSPers together had campaigned for the victory of this respected veteran of the national movement.

But the PSP leaders wanted to claim Sri Sahai for themselves. Apart from creating a little confusion for some time, one fails to understand what purpose they had.

So a report was put out from Lucknow—this time through the INS—saying that "The Communist-supported Independent... has joined the Praja Socialist Party."

Two days later, the Pioneer printed from its own Correspondent a report saying:

"Mr. Ganpat Sahai, President, U.P. Kisan Sabha, who has been elected to Parliament, contradicted Press reports that he has joined the PSP. Mr. Sahai says that the news is absolutely incorrect and that he will remain Independent."

We are still waiting for the INS to clarify this contradiction and the PSP leaders to explain what they hoped to gain by such inspired messages?

this is a mere fleabite compared to the possibilities. He told his Soviet hosts that Indian businessmen are lagging behind: "I admitted that we were backward in this respect. I told them that the general notion in India (1) was that in a Communist country like Russia there was little scope for businessmen to transact business. But this is a complete fallacy."

To his gratification he found that the Soviet heads of trade departments, despite their rigidity, were quite businesslike as well as "highly respectful and ready to argue and be convinced. They are not at all cold but as emotional as we are and highly hospitable. They have plenty of humour and are most likeable fellows."

The scales having fallen from eyes that had so far seen only vituperative anti-Soviet calumnies, Birla emphasises: "I see immense possibilities for India to cultivate trade with Russia. The time has come when the Indian business community, like the Britishers, should seriously consider the opening of a Fair in Moscow—maybe in 1962 or 1963."

"The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry should sponsor a delegation of businessmen—not in a formal way with a leader and deputy leader—but a collection of freelances—enterprising businessmen—who should go to Russia in hundreds, survey the market and sell and buy such capital goods as India needs."

This is certainly sound advice to India's bourgeoisie by one of the very innermost of their elite. It will certainly do the cause of the independent development of India good if sound trade relations on a rapidly increasing scale are established between the Soviet Union, as well as other Socialist countries, and the businessmen of India. It will be all the better if Birla's call to his clan—Go East!—rids them of some of their propensities to kowtow to the West.

This, however, is not the only—perhaps, not even the chief—intention of India's

monopolist. He says: "The question is: what can we buy from them and what can we buy from us?.... Only businessmen interested in a variety of lines could examine the Russian market and answer. However efficient an organisation may be, no centralised machinery can do this job. This could only be achieved by a large number of businessmen of different trades."

The gibe is obviously intended for the State Trading Corporation. It is clearly the intention of Birla to attempt to discredit this important element of our public sector in the vital field of trade with the Soviet Union. This is competitive co-existence within India with a vengeance!

It is scarcely necessary to point out that all the advantage Birla claims for private enterprise are quite fallacious. The trained officials of the STC can quite as well, if

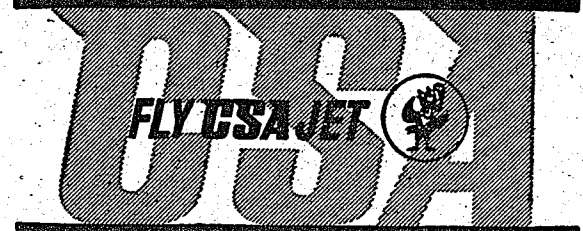
not better, examine the Soviet market and explain our needs to the Soviet authorities as any businessman on the make. All it requires is desire and determination.

As a matter of fact it will be far easier and more profitable for both sides if the STC steps up its activities in the sphere of trade with the Socialist countries. Where Birla sees immense possibilities the STC's potential for trade is surely limitless.

The only limiting factor will be the influence of the friends of the monopolists within the public sector and the topmost echelons of the Government who would be only too glad to see Birla outbid the STC. It is this influence that the democratic movement must defeat thus ensuring for the STC fair conditions for the competition for Soviet trade, which seems now to be in the offing.

—MOHIT SEN

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CEYLON'S FIGHT AGAINST REACTION

Under British rule, no industry developed in Ceylon. In the Central hilly parts of the island, the land was forcibly seized from the peasants and huge tea and rubber plantations were developed which were mostly owned by the British. Even today, 50 per cent of the plantations are owned by the British, the rest being owned by Indians and Ceylonese including Ceylon Tamils.

A SMALL cotton textile mill in Wallawatta near Colombo is all the industry that the country could boast of at the end of British rule. Big business houses in trade and commerce were mostly British. Banking and insurance also today continues to be in foreign hands. Even the loading and unloading of goods at the Colombo harbour was in foreign hands. The daily newspapers of the country are linked with British and American interests and have monopoly arrangements for news service.

No national industrial bourgeoisie developed. On the other hand, a powerful comprador bourgeoisie grew up. At the end of the Second World War, although the British Government was forced to confer dominion status on Ceylon, they had hoped to continue their exploitation with the help of their entrenched economic positions and with the help of the reactionary forces representing the big feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. After dominion status, the UNP representing these reactionary forces ruled the country till 1955.

The nationalist and socialist forces of Ceylon won an important victory in the general elections of April 1956. They routed the United National Party (UNP), the main imperialist party. A new Government headed by the late Sri S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was swept to power on a programme that included the declaration of a Republic, the removal of foreign bases, the nationalisation of foreign-owned property, the replacement of English by Sinhala as the State language, the opening of diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with the Socialist countries, an independent and neutral foreign policy and various measures of internal political and social reforms.

As a result of this victory, the anti-imperialist, democratic and working class forces were able to make some headway. British naval and air bases in Ceylon were liquidated. An independent and peaceful policy was established in foreign affairs. Certain measures of nationalisation and agrarian reform were enacted. The electoral system was made more democratic and the voting age reduced to 18 years. The working class won higher wages and a greater degree of industrial democracy.

Foreign imperialism and its domestic supporters fiercely resisted every advance of the people. By raising anti-Communism, provoking communal riots and through various other means they sought to prevent the implementation of the programme for which the people had voted in 1956.

However, division among the progressive forces and their failure to heed the Communist Party's constant call for unity against reaction helped reaction to gain the upper hand. Foreign and local reaction was able to split the

Government elected in 1956, driving out the Ministers and members associated with democratic reforms. When Mr. Bandaranaike refused to capitulate further to their demands, he was foully assassinated.

Assassination Of Bandaranaike

The assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike in September, 1959 was followed by nine months of intense political crisis in which the central question was whether progress or reaction would win. Reaction sought to stabilise itself through the caretaker Government of W. Dahanayake, who led the reactionary group in the Bandaranaike Cabinet, and, later, through a minority UNP Government which took power after the abortive general elections of March, 1960, but was unable to survive its first vote of confidence in Parliament.

Thanks to the fact that the lesson of disunity had been learnt and that the Communist Party's proposal for electoral unity between the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (the Party that the late Mr. Bandaranaike led), the LSSP and the C.P. was accepted, the people of Ceylon were able to resolve this political crisis in favour of progress in the general elections of July, 1960. The UNP caretaker Government was defeated and a Government of the SLFP, headed by Mr. Bandaranaike's widow, came to power with the support of the Left Parties, the C.P. and the LSSP.

Neither foreign imperialism nor domestic reaction, however, gave up the fight. Their campaign became more intense after the Government announced its initial legislative programme to Parliament in August, 1960. Even though the Government had an absolute majority by itself within Parliament and a majority of over two-thirds with the support of the Left Parties, the UNP leader, Dudley Senanayake, publicly boasted that the Government "would not last 18 months."

The programme announced by Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government was by no means a revolutionary one. But it challenged the entrenched positions of foreign imperialism and domestic reaction in certain political, economic and cultural spheres.

It proposed to challenge the monopoly of the American and British oil companies over the import and distribution of oil products in Ceylon by setting up a Government-sponsored Corporation to complete in this business and what was worse from the imperialist point of view—to import Soviet oil products at prices 20 per cent less than those fixed by the oil monopolies.

Its proposal to make life insurance a Government monopoly struck at the powerful foreign insurance companies. The hierarchy of the

Roman Catholic Church, which had hitherto dominated the educational system, was outraged by the Government's proposal to discontinue State grants-in-aid to private schools and to take over certain classes of such schools and incorporate them in the public system of education.

The monopoly daily newspapers, which were closely linked with American and British interests and had for decades acted as a vehicle for imperialist propaganda and an open ideologist, organiser and campaigner for reaction, saw the beginning of their end in the Government's proposal to take over and vest their management and assets in public corporations.

In addition, the Government revived the proposal which had been abandoned by the reactionary caretaker Government to use aid from the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist countries for industrial and agricultural development in the public sector, including an iron and steel factory.

Reaction opened its campaign against the new Government on the question of the Press. Although all the daily newspapers in Ceylon are owned by three companies which have monopoly arrangements among themselves, reaction raised a huge hullabaloo that the "freedom

of the Press" was in danger. After attempts to mobilise support in Ceylon failed to cut any ice with the people, who knew the Press monopolists only too well, a campaign against the Government was organised in the USA and Great Britain through the connections that the Press monopolists had in those countries. This campaign, whose common theme was that the Government should not expect "aid" from those countries if it persisted in this "Communist" move, however, petered out for lack of support.

The campaign of reaction, however, became more intense in November and December, 1960. It was in these months that the programme announced by the Government in August began to take practical shape. The various forces of reaction, too, had had time to re-group themselves after their defeat in July.

Against Schools Take-Over

On November 12, the Government tabled its first Schools Bill and, on November 16, announced its intention to negotiate the import of oil from the Soviet Union. Foreign and domestic reaction took this as a warning signal to launch their first major offensive. They took the schools issue as their main battleground and openly boasted that they would bring down the SLFP Government in Ceylon on this issue in the same way as they had brought

about the dismissal of the Communist Government in Kerala.

Cardinal Agagianian, the Vatican's main trouble-maker in South East Asia, had earlier come to Ceylon to master-mind the campaign and instruct reaction on the tactics used in Kerala. The local Catholic hierarchy, itself, had arranged for its own agents to study the campaign in that State.

A powerful propaganda campaign began, through Press, pulpit and Parliament, to denounce the Government as "worse than Communist" and willing tool of the Ceylon Communist Party and "international Communism." On November 25, demonstrations of Catholic women and school children began, organised by UNP Members of Parliament, and continued with increasing intensity over the next two months.

All schools whose management the Government intended to take over were forcibly occupied and barricaded. Under the guise of "fighting Communism", various detachments of reaction came into the open and joined forces in a common offensive. They were:

- i) The Catholic hierarchy and the subversive Catholic Action movement, whose members held high positions in the armed

forces and the public administration.

- ii) The UNP whose members actively organised demonstrations and meetings and assistance to "squatters" in occupied schools.
- iii) The Right-wing Ministers of the late Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet, who had been expelled from the SLFP in 1960 for their association with Mr. Bandaranaike's assassination.

The weakness and vacillation of the national bourgeois SLEP Government at this stage made the reactionaries more bold. Despite the overwhelming support given both by Parliament and the people to the Schools Bill, the Government took no action to eject the squatters from the schools or to quell the reactionary disturbances.

The Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party, which met from December 28 to 31, 1960, issued a call to the progressive forces to unite to defeat reaction's offensive and defend the victory of July, 1960.

Pointing out that the essential weakness of the reactionaries was their lack of mass support, the Congress called on the people actively and unitedly to oppose reaction, maintain order and assist the Government to enforce the will of Parliament and the peo-

ple. It called on the Government to take a firm line against the reactionaries.

Similar sentiments were voiced in other sections of the progressive movement, including among the ranks of the Government party itself. Counter-demonstrations started and, in certain areas, occupied schools were peacefully demonstrated led by Communists. The Government's position aiso stiffened against reaction.

As a result, reaction began to retreat. The UNP, conscious that it would have to face the open opposition of the Government and the progressive forces, cancelled its "defiance" meeting fixed for January 1. The Federal Party's hartal on January 2 was partial and half-hearted.

On January 3, following island-wide indignation at the attempts of the Catholic hierarchy to obtain legal injunctions against the Government in conducting the schools, the Government announced that the schools would be cleared of squatters and that a new Schools Bill vesting the schools totally in the Government would be introduced.

On January 5, the Catholic Archbishop called for a "compromise" and sought an interview with the Government.

On January 18, after finding themselves totally isolated and liable to lose even the secondary schools that had been allowed to remain private, the Catholic hierarchy, on the advice of the Indian Cardinal Gracias, called off its campaign and evacuated the occupied schools.

The first phase of the offensive of foreign and local reaction thus ended in failure. The reactionaries miscalculated badly. They had chosen an openly reactionary and unpopular issue, so much so that defections took place even in the UNP, with one of its MPs openly supporting the second Schools Bill in Parliament and others declining to vote against it. They had over-estimated their own strength and reckoned without the people. And in their attempt to "re-enact Kerala in Ceylon", they had ignored the concrete differences between the two situations.

Petroleum Bill

Although the struggle on the schools issue had failed, reaction's fight against the Petroleum Bill continued. But its tactics had necessarily to change. Lacking a mass base which it could exploit, reaction began a series of internal and external pressures on the Government in order to force it to retreat.

It sought to utilise the economic difficulties of the Government—and especially its false assumption that foreign "aid" from the West was necessary to overcome these difficulties—for this purpose.

On January 19, the Chamber of Commerce, the powerful organ of foreign capital in Ceylon, lodged a vigorous protest with the Government against the Petroleum Bill, in association with four Ceylonese capitalist organisations. It was followed by fresh representations from the British Government and protests in the British press.

Foreign and local reactionary newspapers peddled the line that, if the Government persisted with the Petroleum Bill, it would lose the chance of aid from the USA whose new President Kennedy, was portrayed as being "sympathetic" to small and neutral countries.

The West German Government which, up to now had shown little or no interest in Ceylon's economy apart from gratuitous advice on the virtues of free enterprise and the private sector, sent a delegation to Ceylon to hold out the carrot of "aid". And, in order to underline the possible consequences to Ceylon's export markets, if the Petroleum Bill was passed, the Government of Iran, under pressure from the oil companies, announced it would stop buying tea from Ceylon unless Ceylon continued to buy Iranian (i.e. Anglo-Iranian oil company) oil.

These concerted pressures had some effect on the Government which began to show signs of vacillation and retreat in both foreign and domestic policy. The Petroleum Bill too was thrust further down towards the bottom of the Parliamentary agenda and some aspects of it were to be "reconsidered" by the Cabinet.

Language Question Again

During this period (mid-January-March 1961), the language question once again came to the fore. Reaction had successfully used this question in 1958 to provoke communal riots, split the progressive movement and further its attempts to regain power. It was a seemingly reliable stand-by for further attempts by reaction.

We have seen how the leaders of the Federal Party suddenly and unilaterally broke off their negotiations with the Government on the still unsettled aspects of the language problem following the tabling of the Schools Bill, their jumping into the anti-Schools Bill struggle. We have noted how, by a curious coincidence they held an emergency meeting of their Working Committee on December 18, 1960—the very day the Catholic Action had declared as "D-Day" in their campaign and the UNP decided upon mass defiance of "unjust laws".

On January 30, 1961 (two days after the Minister who introduced the Petroleum Bill made a public speech referring to the pressures on the Government to withdraw or amend the Bill and declared, "I will not yield to pressure") the Federal Party inaugurated the satyagraha campaign.

Direct action began on February 20, following the rejection by the Ceylon Government of protests from the British Government against the Petroleum Bill.

At this stage, the Federal Party did not concretise in public the demands or aims of the satyagraha campaign apart from saying that they wanted a Federal Constitution and satisfaction of the "language rights" of the Tamils. It picketed the entrances to Government offices and prevented both Government officers and others from entering.

Following the brutal lathi-charge on the satyagrahis on the February 20 and the refusal of the Government to hold an enquiry, the movement became powerful and widespread in the Tamil areas.

Reactionary forces were quick to fish in troubled waters. UNP Members of Parliament began to show a new interest in what was happening. Its Muslim MPs in the Eastern Province sought to draw the Muslims of this Province into the campaign and themselves took part in it.

Catholic MPs from the UNP visited the areas and expressed their admiration and support. The newspapers reported the visits of "Western diplomats" to the scenes of satyagraha activity. School children from Catholic and other schools in the North and East whose management had been taken over by the Government began to organise boycotts of schools, demonstrations and participation in squatting outside the Government offices.

Vast funds flowed into the Federal Party coffers from collections among Tamils and from other undisclosed sources.

The Communist Party at this stage stressed the need to distinguish clearly between the reactionary aims of the

country and in Parliament, protesting against the Government's failure to take up and pass the Petroleum Bill.

The democratic weekly press, including not only the Communist weekly but the press of the SLFP and independent newspapers like the Tribune which supported the Government, had concretely exposed the manoeuvres of the oil companies and the reactionary foreign and local "oil lobby". This issue was taken up in the Parliamentary group of the Government party and resulted in a decision to give the Petroleum Bill priority. It also resulted in foreign and local reaction stepping up its offensive against the Government.

One aspect of this offensive was seen in the attitude adopted by the private commercial banks. These private banks, the most powerful of which are British-owned, continue to finance and dominate the present economy despite mass demands that they should be nationalised. They chose this moment to provoke a dispute with their employees by refusing to discuss long-standing grievances and thus brought about a strike which resulted in the complete stoppage of commercial banking activities.

The Government did make an attempt to settle the issue for talks on April 5 although the Federal Party did not withdraw nor even suspend the satyagraha. The course of these negotiations and their outcome has been described earlier in the first part of this article.

By now a new turn had taken place in the fortunes of the Petroleum Bill. The anti-imperialist and democratic forces, including the Communist Party had conducted a consistent campaign in the

country and in Parliament, protesting against the Government's failure to take up and pass the Petroleum Bill.

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* SEE PAGE 12

By P. RAMAMURTY

(The first part of this article appeared in the last week's issue of NEW AGE)

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Federal Party Joins


The Federal Party (in whose leadership Catholic Actionists occupied important position) also decided to support and actively participate in this reactionary offensive, even though

(a) the take-over of schools had nothing to do with the Tamil language (whose use as a medium of education is guaranteed by law);

(b) the vast majority of Tamil Hindus who elected them supported schools take-over and agreed to hand over their private schools to Government management.

U.S. and British diplomats also sought to encourage the campaign. The U.S. Ambassador approached a leading Cabinet Minister with the statement that he "guessed they would have to give in". The British High Commissioner, Morley, who had earlier personally gone on a Bri-

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LIGHT ON ANCIENT INDIA

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA, AS DEPICTED IN PALI AND SANSKRIT TEXTS, by Dev Raj Chanaana; People's Publishing House, Delhi; pp. 203; Rs. 10/-

THIS monograph is easily the best work available on the subject. It is based on an original study of Pali and Sanskrit texts, and the author, without being dogmatic, asserts his independent opinions in various places. The book is of great interest not only to students of Indian history in particular but also to those who study history in general, to students of historical materialism.

About the Indus Valley civilization, Dev Raj says that there was well-organized trade; governmental authority existed. In this Bronze Age society, "slave labour could have existed both in the country and the towns". About 1500 B.C. this civilization was destroyed.

"It is possible" that iron was introduced in India by a group of Aryans in 1000 B.C. The contradiction between foreigners and the indigenous population gave rise to slavery. Owing to differences in features and cultures, it was easy for the Aryans "to accept as slaves a whole people considered as inferior."

Slavery in the Vedic age should have been a form of racial oppression. This view is held widely by a large number of scholars.

It is not clear how this racial oppression was eliminated, how large masses of the aboriginal population became freemen. According to Dev Raj, "even before the beginning of the Buddhist epoch all distinctions of colour between the Arya and the dasa had completely disappeared."

What is even more intriguing is that some of the Rishis, the composers of the sacred Vedic hymns, were themselves the sons of slave-women! Dev Raj mentions the cases of Kakshivaban and Kavaasha Alusha. Clearly the theory of the Aryan conquest of India and the enslavement of the aborigines does not help us in understanding the evolution of the institution of slavery.

The societies depicted in the two epics are to be placed in the Bronze Age according to the author. If the Aryans brought iron with them, the legends of Rama and the Kurus should concern a people who were non-Aryan or pre-Aryan. The Kurus, however, are very much there in Vedic literature. Dev Raj thinks that the use of iron made the expansion of slavery possible. The earlier implements hindered "the production of a big surplus". Hence in the economy of such a society as that of the epics, "slavery cannot play a decisive role."

"At the beginning of the Buddhist period", we come across the Gana republics. Some of these were oligarchies "in which a whole section of the population inhabiting their territory is considered as the natural property of the rulers". Here then we seem to be facing genuine large-scale slavery. The oligarchs were very proud of their birth; the rest of the people had no rights. "The practice of regarding a whole

section of the population as slaves fits in quite well, therefore, into the oligarchic system."

In agriculture, work was "entirely carried out by slaves and servants." The author cites the case of the elder brother of the prince Anurud-daha. When renouncing the world, he advised his brother about his worldly duties thus: "It is necessary to get the land tilled and then have it irrigated. During irrigation water level must be the same everywhere... Once the crop is ready it is necessary to get it harvested, and to get the grain winnowed from the chaff. (Emphasis ours.)"

On this Dev Raj comments, "All these instructions are in the causative. Therefore, for the noble man, it is only a question of supervising the work."

Unfortunately this does not prove that it was necessarily the labour of slaves that was supervised; it might have been plausibly enough the labour of serfs. The next instance of the three Sakya princes who "do not even know

where the rice comes from" also does not carry conviction.

The oligarchies were defeated or assimilated by the monarchies. In these latter, the rich peasants and land-owners are said to have employed slaves. There is no evidence to prove that this was the case in all monarchies everywhere. Besides "wage-labourers are also employed or the land is given to tenants." Thus at no stage is Indian society found to be divided between slaves and slave-owners.

Fortunately Dev Raj does not try to prove that slavery is a mode of production inevitably arising out of the disintegration of primitive communist society. No doubt he asserts that slavery "was necessary at a certain stage of social development" but he has nowhere proved this necessity.

What are the causes of slavery? Conquest may be one. Did the Aryans conquer India? Did they engage in racial oppression? Could racial oppression be treated as a form of class-oppression? How did the dark-skinned Rama and Krishna manage to become the legendary heroes of these same Aryans?

BOOK REVIEW

In the period of the monarchies, "slavery has as its causes debts, famines, wars, legal punishment, etc." Debts, famines, wars, etc., are not social necessities. They are utilized for obtaining slaves but they do not explain the genesis of slavery.

Slavery did not exist among the society of the American Indians analysed by Morgan and Engels. It did not exist among the Germans and the Slavs. It did exist among Greeks and Romans but not in the whole of Greece or Italy. Slavery has flourished only in class-society, a society divided between rich and poor freemen.

The property-owners who learnt to enslave their own free brothers first had the skill to obtain slaves from other lands and tribes and make money out of their labour or by selling them as commodities. It is in Athens and Rome where money was used extensively that slavery flourished most. It was in the period of rising capitalism that slavery was practised on an unprecedented scale by white men.

The institution of slavery has everywhere modified the main contradiction between

the rich and poor freemen in a society. This was so even in Athens and Rome as pointed out by Marx and Engels. In India also feudalism succeeded primitive communism. This was inevitable with the concentration of land in the hands of a minority. Slaves have been owned by princes, priests and merchants—all typical products of feudal society. It is not without reason that the scriptures take great pains in defending and upholding the varna-system, not slavery.

The Purusha Sukta justifies the lower status of the Shudra by pointing to his birth from the lower limbs of the Lord. The Gita states that the four varnas were created by the Lord himself.

Slavery co-exists with feudalism, modifying the basic contradiction between the property owners and poorer people. This truth is confirmed by this excellent study of slavery in ancient India by Dev Raj Chanaana. Incidentally Greek or Roman slavery—existing in a predominantly feudal framework—did not differ basically from slavery in ancient India.

—Ram Bilas Sharma

SWATANTRA "SOCIALISM"

INDIAN SOCIALISM by Sampurnanand, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 53 pages plus appendixes Price: Rs. 9.50.

IN this short essay comprising seven chapters, Sri Sampurnanand former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, has propounded the whole range of his basic faiths—in the spheres of philosophy and religion, ethics and morality, economic and political organisation of society as these should stand in this seventh decade of the 20th century. He has drawn conclusions and issued warnings which though more directly and immediately addressed to our own country are considered by him as valid for the whole world.

As a leading light of our national movement, as one who held charge of our biggest State for so many years and was only recently the centre of a fierce controversy, Sri Sampurnanand deserves to be heard, with all the requisite effort on the part of the listener, on the fundamental problems of our times.

The most convenient sleight of hand with which Sri Sampurnanand and all those who think like him—whether they belong to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan or to the Bharatiya Jana Sangha—start is to treat entire ancient Indian thought as one monolithic whole of philosophic idealism and then appropriate "Indian thought" for themselves.

Following this method Sri Sampurnanand counterposes "Indian thought" against philosophic materialism, the basis of scientific socialism, and declares, "In Indian thought, the substratum of the universe is pure consciousness." Materialism is thus

of Socialism with which Communist literature had made us familiar, the edifice of Socialism can be built only on the bones of the capitalist.

Choice Pieces
"What is called Brahma in the state of pure consciousness is known as Paramatma, the universal Ego, when it becomes self-conscious."

"The individual ego is, of course, only a manifestation of the universal Ego on the body-plane and possesses all the attributes of the latter, though in a more or less latent condition."

"...the most powerful factor in evolution is the inherent nature of the Ego, the sea of consciousness which is the matrix of everything and permeates everything."

"The Indian socialist also admits the fact of the clash of interests and seemingly unending conflict. He also wants to put an end to this state of affairs, but not by liquidating one of the combatants. He wants to emphasize that the successful running of an industrial concern depends upon the cooperation and organised effort of a number of people, the directorate, the engineers, the clerical staff, the workers and others. Efficiency is lost to the extent these groups play at cross purposes. Why think of conflict at all?"

For Alignment With West
"The motives of the Western democracies even when they mean well—and I am sure they do—mean well in many cases—are suspect from the beginning and any setback which Western diplomacy suffers evokes a feeling of satisfaction even among those who consider themselves to be strong advocates of democracy and equally strong opponents of Communism. Such people fail to realise that it would be a grave misfortune if the States battling under the banner of democracy are beaten. They may have many blots on their escutcheon, they may not be as democratic as the logic of democracy demands and their actions may be dictated more by selfish regard for their own interests than by pure altruism but, with all this, it has to be remembered that they are the only bulwarks of democracy. If once they give way, nothing can stop the tide of Communism from engulfing the world..."

It is easier after this to make a plea to the Swatantraites, as Sampurnanand does, to join with him in bringing about a Swatantraite sort of "Socialism" in India.

It is further facilitated by the sort of foreign policy that Sampurnanand would like India to follow. Outlining this in the chapter called "Imperialism" Sampurnanand

makes an urgent, though rather pathetic, plea for a definite and open alignment with the West. For, according to him imperialism is now "dead and buried for all time". The threat today comes from "Communist imperialism" which is "more powerful than old empires and imperialisms". Says Sri Sampurnanand:

* SEE FACING PAGE

WITNESSING A ROCKET IN FLIGHT

HERE is the exciting story of how I saw a Soviet Rocket taking off and starting on its long flight of thousands of miles. I am the only lucky foreign correspondent who has seen a Soviet rocket in flight with his own eyes and I must say that it was a marvellous sight. It is only now that the story can be told and this is how it happened.

I was a member of the party of the President of the Republic of India and accompanied him as journalist on his tour of the Soviet Union which ended in Tashkent on the 5th of July, 1960. We bade good bye to the Rashtrapati and his party on the airport at midday and they left for Delhi. The rest of us, and this included K. P. S. Menon, our Ambassador in the Soviet Union and other members of the Indian Embassy, I. A. Benediktov the Soviet Ambassador in India and others left the same evening in a special TU-104 jet plane for Moscow.

After about an hour's flight when some of our party were happily dozing in the nice and cool atmosphere of the plane after the strain and heat of Tashkent and I was watching the sky through the large round porthole of the airliner a girl interpreter who was sitting on the opposite side in the same row suddenly shouted in an excited

voice: "Look Sputnik! Sputnik!"

At first I thought it was a joke but she was seriously pointing at something with her finger and I jumped and rushed over to the other side. And good gracious! There it really was. A Rocket blazing its trail in the twilight of the sky. You can imagine my excitement and as I say it was a wonderful sight.

Our plane was flying as usual at a height of ten or eleven thousand metres and at a distance of some thirty or forty kilometres or more (it is difficult to say in a clear sky with no objects to go by) we saw a white ball of fire climbing up from down below leaving a trail behind.

The front part of the rocket was not visible due to the dusk and the blaze of the fiery exhaust. In a few seconds the rocket had climbed thousands of metres vertically. Then something broke off and fell, perhaps one of the stages of the rocket, and the rest went on climbing higher and higher and slowly turning from its vertical direction to a more inclined trajectory till it moved horizontally in the direction opposite to the flight of our plane.

And this was the most beautiful sight of all. As the rocket reached the higher and thinner layers of atmosphere, much higher than our TU-104, and started moving horizontally its tail became wider like a fan and delicately transparent like that of a comet as we watched the flight spell-bound.

In a few more seconds the white ball of fire disappeared becoming smaller and smaller, but its trail remained in the sky sparkling in the twilight and I looked at it for a long time.

Then we all of us started talking excitedly. It was a sputnik somebody said, or just a practising rocket, someone else suggested. Anyway it was a new sputnik we shall read all about it tomorrow in the papers, the girl interpreter summed up. In two hours we landed in Moscow. Next morning there it was on the front page of Pravda, right on top in bold letters. No it was not a sputnik but a long range intercontinental ballistic missile fired into the Pacific, thirteen thousand kilometres away, and it had hit the water on the predetermined spot.

Yes, that is what it was and the whole thing had been announced much earlier and shipping had been warned to keep clear of the area but I had forgotten all about it during Rajendra Prasad's Soviet tour.

Where Gagarin Landed

Well that was eleven months ago, but yesterday's Pravda revealed that the Cosmodrome Bolkonur from where Gagarin's spaceship Vostok was launched is located at about 47 degrees north latitude and 65 degrees east longitude just east of the Aral sea and this is where we had seen the Pacific rocket taking off.

A Soviet representative gave some more interesting details to the International Aeronau-

tical Federation in Paris. He said that Gagarin on his return from outer space had touched the earth at a spot near a village Smelovka which is situated in Ternovka district, Saratov region, not far from the river Volga.

The report also revealed the rocket which orbited the spaceship Vostok had six motors with the colossal twenty-million horse-power thrust. This magnitude of power is quite unusual for any other vehicle and equals the combined energy resources of thousands of known heaviest planes. As an article in the Red Star says today about ten of the most powerful hydro-electric stations will be needed to produce together the power of this one rocket!

And after all hydro-electric stations do not fly about in the sky! And all this energy is spent in a few minutes to raise the ultimate weight of the spaceship weighing 4,725 kilograms to hundreds of kilometres and to give it its colossal speed. The huge amount of fuel is spent in a short duration but later, the spaceship can go on circuiting the earth and each circuit means a journey of fifty

thousand kilometres. So it is not such a spendthrift way of burning fuel as may seem at first glance.

Such rockets do not exist anywhere else in the world they are an achievement of Soviet science and result of the labour of Soviet technicians and workers. America will have to try hard to catch up, but where will the Soviet Union be by then?

"Granny, Look something flying", said six year old Rita pulling her grandmother Anna Akimovna Takhtarova that day at 10-55 in the morning on April 12. They had been planting potatoes in the field. So they were the first to see and talk to Gagarin after his return to earth. "But my grand-daughter Rita was the very first to see him land" insists the Tatar old woman from the collective farm called Lenin's Way.

The newspaper Red Star yesterday published a photograph of Takhtarova with her two grand-daughters (Nata-sha the younger one had gone to town with her mother that day) and another big photo of the spot on which Yuri Gagarin had touched Mother Earth that epoch making morning. The place is now marked and a small notice on a stick is

fixed there. People of the area visit this historical spot and numerous feet have already trampled a path to it.

And the old woman repeats the story again and again—how Gagarin in red flying suit came and greeted her and told her that he was an officer and she said that her son Yusif is also serving in the army; how she offered him milk thinking that he must be hungry or thirsty. But what he wanted was the nearest telephone.

Soon some tractorists came from a nearby field and then some soldiers who knew of the flight from the radio as it had been announced while Gagarin was orbiting the earth and had seen the spaceship coming down.

Already the collective farmers have decided to plant trees round the spot and make an asphalt way to it and the collective farm Chairman Nikolai Shpak proudly declares that he had never seen such enthusiasm in the work of the farm before "Now we work with a cosmic tempo and want to invite Gagarin in autumn to report to him on the results of our work."

—Masood Ali Khan

TRIAL & PUNISHMENT OF A NAZI

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

LAST Saturday I had the unique experience of witnessing the closing part of a trial which can be regarded as a continuation of the famous Nuremberg trial. In the dock sat a tall, stoutly built man in a blue suit. He could have been a factory worker or a peasant. He claimed to be the latter.

For fifteen years he was living in a small village in Thuringia as a farmer who had migrated from Czechoslovakia. Like all evacuees he was allotted a piece of land which he ploughed and harvested till the spring of 1960.

He had joined the Peasants' Mutual Help Organisation and later became its President.

Last year as the cooperative movement gathered momentum and groups of agitators went round the villages to convince the farmers of the advantages of cooperative farming, one such group visited the small village of Rohrensee. In this group was a man who had outlived the tortures of the notorious concentration camp in Buchenwald. He recognised the president of the village Peasants' Mutual Help Organisation as Hauptscharführer Wilhelm Schaefer, one of the most brutal inhumans who tortured innocent victims from almost every European country overrun by the Nazi hordes and also the best sons and daughters of Germany. I would like to remind the readers that the great leader of the German and international working class movement Ernst Thaelmann was murdered in this camp.

The man in the dock began

Berlin. his "outstanding" career in 1932 when he joined the Nazi Party and SS. Because of his active part in beating up anti-fascists and Jews and terrorisation of the local population not to buy from Jews, he was appointed a guard in the concentration camp in Lichtenburg. With the expansion of the Third Reich bigger camps were needed. The camp in Lichtenburg was closed and Buchenwald opened. Schaefer was transferred there and later promoted. There he took part in the shooting of 15,000 Soviet POWs of whom 150 he shot himself; whipped about 350 prisoners, of whom at least five died; hung about 35 prisoners by the hands, which were tied behind their backs, and this led to the dislocation of the shoulder joints. In order to inflict more pain he used to swing his victims. At least one prisoner died of this torture.

Making the prisoners work for 12 to 16 hours a day, standing on their necks, kicking, whipping with full force in the region of the kidneys, letting loose his dog on the prisoners—these were some of his misdeeds for which he was decorated at least thrice. It was really difficult to control sighs or tears as the presiding Judge Dr. Toeplitz (a well known anti-fascist) read the judgment for about two hours.

In 1943 Schaefer was transferred to Waffen-SS and took part in burning villages and shooting down peaceful inhabitants in Soviet Estonia. His career was cut short by the rapid advance of the Soviet Army. His division was liquidated and he returned to Germany via Czechoslovakia. With a blade he cut away the skin of his arm where his

Blood group was tattooed (a sign of SS). Even after 1945 he did not lose hope but waited for the time "when the sun would shine again" and he would be "useful again", as he put it.

But the sun will never shine for Hauptscharführer or his like, at least not in this part of Germany.

As Dr. Toeplitz handing out a death sentence pointed out, the German Democratic Republic regards it as its duty to punish all those who escaped their due trial earlier. This was a continuation of the difference that the prosecutor was a German, the Bench was German and it was held in a German State which has broken with the past and is removing from its midst the dirty remnants whenever and wherever they are found.

The defence counsel was also German but so unlike Servatius (who is defending Eichmann in Jerusalem). I asked him after the trial how he felt. He made a very sour face and told me that it had not been a pleasure to defend such a criminal but he had to do it as the Law of the land demands that nobody can be tried without a defence. I am sure he would have rather appeared for the prosecution.

The accused and condemned was not only this cowardly creature who broke into tears when the verdict was pronounced but also those who gave him a legal basis for his crimes. The most prominent among them is Dr. Hans Globke, Secretary of State in Bonn Chancery. It was he who drafted and wrote commentaries upon the notorious Nuremberg Laws which prepared the way for the "final solution of the Jewish problem". The main accused is the West German State.

CEYLON

FROM CENTRE PAGES

with the consequent pressure on the Achilles' heel of the Government, the deterioration of the economy.

The course of events of the bank strike proved conclusively that, while the Bank Employees' Union was anxious to settle the dispute as quickly as possible, the British and other commercial bank managements were interested only in prolonging the dispute irrespective of its consequences for the economy. The Government appointed an Authorised Officer to enquire into and report on the dispute. Although the report of the officer was not particularly favourable to the union, it decided to accept his findings. But the bank managements rejected his report and prolonged the dispute, thus making the economic position more difficult.

Separatism To The Fore

The leaders of the Federal Party, too, chose to make complete reversal of their former position at this stage. They chose to relegate the language question to a secondary position and to bring the question of separatism to the forefront.

On April 11, the Federal Party held a public rally in Jaffna where it announced a new and open stage in its campaign. At this rally, several of its leaders stressed that the question of language was not so important as control of its own territory.

By this time, the Federal Party's Tamil Youth Front had adopted a resolution which declared that "any form of political partnership with the Sinhalese people is utterly impossible" and "that the Tamil-speaking people and the Sinhalese cannot any more continue to exist as citizens of one nation."

The Youth Front, therefore, requested the Federal Party "to make a categorical declaration that nothing short of an independent sovereign State could satisfy the national aspirations of the Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon."

Sri Chelvanayagam, evidently was taken to task for meeting the Minister on April 5. The major part of his speech in the mass rally of April 11 was devoted to justify the talks. He said—

"There were a few amongst our ranks who felt that we should not have accepted the invitation for talks. That was wrong. Not only would the people in Ceylon but in other countries as well would have had reasons to blame them if they had declined that invitation. It was only that had the power and authority to solve the problems of the Tamil-speaking people of this country. Even the UNO had no power in this matter." (Daily Mail, Colombo, April 14)

Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, one of the chief spokesmen of the party in Parliament and outside stated in his speech in the same mass rally:

"There was a wrong notion among certain people that language rights alone would help Tamil-speaking people to live as free people in this country. How was their language to be preserved without the Tamils having authority and power? What they wanted was self-determination.

"A Sinhalese Government could not be entrusted with the task of preserving Tamil. So that now for 50 days there had been no Government in the Northern and Eastern Provinces (this is the admission that all Government work had been paralysed by mass picketing of offices—P. R.) they should take steps to form their own Government to look after the essential services of their country." (ibid)

Two days after the mass rally, on April 14, the Federal Party started a separate Postal Service in Jaffna, the details of which had been prepared at the beginning of the satyagraha campaign.

Sri M. Sivasithamparam, M. P., a member of the Action Committee of the Satyagraha Committee declared in a public speech that the establishment of a separate postal system was the first step towards the establishment of a separate state. The President of the Federal Party, Mr. Rasamanikam, announced that they would proceed to organise their own police force and undertake their own distribution of Government land in the North and East.

It had now become obvious that the Federal Party leaders who had raised only language questions during their satyagraha campaign and in their discussions with the Government, had now discarded even their former slogan of a federal constitution.

They had not merely publicly raised the question of a separate state but also, having paralysed the administrative organs of the Government, in certain areas in the North and East, they were also proceeding in practice to set up parallel administrative organs of their own.

In a situation of mounting tension, the Government declared a state of emergency on April 17, proscribed the Federal Party and arrested its leaders. Within a couple of days, the satyagraha campaign collapsed, although the tension remained.

The debate on the Petroleum Bill began in Parliament on April 20. The Government tabled a list of amendments which generally helped to strengthen the Bill.

British Ultimatum

The British Chamber of Commerce, supported by other reactionary Ceylonese business organisations, presented the Government with an insolent ultimatum threatening "loss of confidence" by foreign capital if the Bill were proceeded with.

In the meantime, reaction, and especially the British vested interests, was working hard to draw the Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin into the struggle. By this means, it hoped to pressurise the Government by stopping the production of tea at the height of the "flush" season and thus strike at the base of Ceylon's export market.

By involving these workers of Indian origin, it also hoped to strengthen the agitation that had arisen in South India and which it planned to use to engineer pressure on the Government of India either to intervene directly or to lodge a complaint with the United Na-

tions, which could be exploited to justify intervention from outside.

For this purpose, the reactionaries sought to use the leadership of the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC). This is a communal trade union with the biggest membership among plantation workers of Indian origin. Many of its leaders are themselves planters or merchants. It is the only trade union in Ceylon affiliated to the ICGTU with which it maintains close connection.

Workers' Congress

The CWC leaders had taken no part in the Federal Party's satyagraha campaign. But as soon as the campaign ended with the declaration of emergency, they issued an ultimatum to the Government, demanding the lifting of the emergency and the release of the Federal leaders. They began to prepare a political strike for these demands starting on April 25.

This decision of the CWC leadership was, to say the least, exceedingly strange. They had shown no real concern for the demands of citizenship and franchise, of which the plantation workers of Indian origin have been deprived for 12 years. They had not called a single general strike around any of the pressing economic demands of the plantation workers.

In 1953, they refused to take part in the general strike and hartal called to protest against the then Government's decision to raise the price of rice from 25 cents to 70 cents a measure.

But they decided to involve their membership in a purely political strike to assist the separatist campaign of the Federal Party. British planters and Ceylonese planters of the UNP did all they could to promote this political strike. They informed the workers that they would not oppose the strike in any way as it was "not against us, but against the Government."

Workers in other plantation trade unions were asked by the planters why they were not going on strike to "fight for their language". The CWC leadership was assured that there would be no victimisation of strikers.

After instructing the workers to prepare for a strike that might last several weeks, the CWC leaders called the strike on April 25. On the same morning, Mrs. Bandaranaike broadcast an appeal to the people.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party too issued a widely publicised statement, exposing the aim of foreign and local reaction, stressing that the struggle was not between communities, but between progress and reaction and urging the Tamil people and the workers of Indian origin to be vigilant against and oppose the attempts of reaction to use their grievances for its own purpose.

In the face of the strong public opposition to their tactics, the CWC called off the strike on the same day. The calling-off of the CWC's political strike blasted the hopes of reaction. The Petroleum Bill was passed by Parliament.

Realising its lack of a strong,

domestic base, reaction turned again to external pressures, especially when its hopes that the CWC leaders would resume their strike failed to materialise.

Thus, while recent events in Ceylon mark a further advance of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces of that country, they at the same time, represent a new stage in the offensive that foreign imperialism and domestic reaction have launched since 1956 to stop the advance of these forces.

The Petroleum Bill was the first serious challenge to the monopoly of the international oil cartels, which had made and unmade Governments in different parts of the world. The events since July 1960 described above, would show that ever since the Oil Bill was tabled, there had been a "strange coincidence" between the fortunes of the Bill and the tempo and pattern of anti-Communist activity.

December 1960, when the Bill was first tabled, saw not only the protests of the oil companies and other representatives of foreign capital but also the open offensive of the Catholic hierarchy against the schools take-over, the UNP campaign to defy the law and the Federal Party's decision to start a hartal and satyagraha campaign.

The period that followed was one in which reaction thought that the Petroleum Bill was jettisoned or its teeth drawn. Opposition to Government relaxed and even the Federal Party's satyagraha was symbolic and confined to language question.

Matters took a different turn when it became obvious that the Government

was not going to yield to the pressures of reaction and intended to proceed with the Bill. The slogan of separatism, which reaction had used in the Congo and Indonesia in its attempt to 'disintegrate' the independence of these countries was brought to the fore.

Just as the Government of Iran had been used earlier to threaten Ceylon's tea market in the Middle East in order to pressurise the Government on the Oil Bill, attempts to strike at the tea industry internally also began.

The leadership of the Federal Party had shown by their entire conduct during this period that language rights are not what they are very much bothered about. Is there any surprise then that suspicion gets strengthened that they were acting in collusion with the conspiracy of foreign and domestic reaction?

The leadership of the Federal Party opposed in 1957 the transfer of the Naval Base in Trincomalee from the British Government to the Government of Ceylon. It actively opposed the nationalisation of bus transport, a measure carried out by the late Sri Bandaranaike. It joined the landlords to fight the Paddy Lands Act which was intended to give greater security and a higher share of the crop to the Sinhalese and Tamil tenants cultivating paddy crops.

Its opposition throughout, to all democratic and anti-imperialist measures and development further strengthened the suspicions about the objectives and purposes that the leadership of the Federal Party pursues. (To be concluded)

NATIONAL INCOME

* FROM PAGE 5

current prices, originating in the agricultural sector. And if this is the extent of maldistribution in the agricultural sector, in other sectors it is no better. Prof. Raj has given the following estimates of the increases in incomes, accruing to certain categories of upper income groups. These are based on income tax statistics, and on analysis of company balance-sheets:

	Rs. Crores
Increase in income tax paying salary earners	138
Increase in income accruing to income-tax paying retail and wholesale traders	146
Increase in income accruing to income-tax paying banks, insurance companies, brokers, etc.	36
Increase in income accruing to income-tax paying contractors engaged in construction	16
Increase in income accruing to income-tax paying members of professions (lawyers, doctors, teachers accountants, etc.)	2
Increase in income accruing to the corporate sector (excluding wage and salaries and costs other than interest and tax payments)	110
	448

Summing up his findings,

—ESSEN

PATIENT WAIT FOR LAND YIELDS NO RESULT

Small Settlers' Plight In Tarai

from RAMESH SINHA

TUCKED away into the fastnesses of the terai forests, some seventy miles from Lakhimpur, is a colony called Sampurnanand Nagar. Under what was called the Kheri-Pilibhit Colonisation Scheme some ten thousand acres of land was reclaimed for the benefit of the landless, the educated and uneducated unemployed, in 1955. Thousands of land-hungry people from the crowded eastern districts of the State had rushed there for a patch of land. A few hundreds of them were allotted a few acres each.

Then came on the scene the vested interests, the friends and favourites of Congress leaders as well as of the big bosses in the Government. While the peasants, the real tillers of the soil were being given 10, 15 or 20 acres each, these other people, numbering 15 to 20, were given hundreds of acres each. There is one gentleman called Sadhu Singh who has been given 800 acres of land, at the cost of scores of destitute peasants.

About 1,000 acres of the land are left and hundreds of hopefuls have been waiting for months and years to get a chunk out of it. They have been eking out a terrible existence, slaving for the bigger landholders like Sadhu Singh. But under the obvious pressure of this new class of landlords they are not being allotted any land. The Colonisation Officer has recommended to the Government that this land should be returned to the forest department for reforestation!

Real Reason

The real reason however is that if the peasants who are living there in the hope of getting land are given land and they begin to cultivate on their own, the big landholders like Sadhu Singh will have no agricultural labourers to work for them. If they try to bring such workers from outside they will prove extremely costly.

The waiting peasants, whose applications for land have been lying unattended all these years, suggested that in the alternative they be given land in Pilibhit where land-distribution is currently going on. This request too has been turned down because the authorities who are with the Sadhu Singhs of the area do not want the colony to be denuded of cheap labour!

Besides these unfortunate landless, the smaller settlers too are being subjected to an

unconscionable variety of hardships and extortions. The authorities are now asking from each settler Rs. 1,000 for "development": the loans they had been advanced for settling down are being demanded back although they have hardly yet settled down; small quarters have been built which according to all who are there cannot cost more than Rs. 500 each, but the settlers are being asked to pay Rs. 1,300 each for them; there are hardly any irrigation facilities—the tube wells do not work because there is no proper supply of power and the canals are no good—yet the settlers are being asked to pay rent at the rate of Rs. 4 or 5 per acre.

There is nothing short of rack-renting because the circle rate in the area is Rs. 1-5 per acre. Probably they want to drive out a few hundred more of the settlers to free the land for the bigger ones, because it is almost impossible for the poor settlers to meet all these demands.

For years the landless—who have been patiently waiting—and the small settlers have agitated for redress of their grievances. They have petitioned from the lowest to the highest in the administration. They have held meetings and demonstrations to draw the attention of the Government. Nothing has proved of avail.

Hunger-Strike And Arrests

Ultimately, on April 15 some 250 settlers and the landless labourers went on a one-day hunger-strike. Then from May 27 they started an indefinite hunger-strike. From May 27 they launched a Satyagraha also. On that day a batch of 34, led by a member of the Executive Committee of the local Mandal Congress, courted arrest. They were detained illegally for over 24 hours without any food and then let off.

Meanwhile, another batch of 21 had joined them in the Satyagraha. Now they are not being let off. As these lines are being written, repression is in full swing.

The two hunger-strikers have been sent to jail. The Satyagrahis are being given a summary trial: the landless workers are fined Rs. 5 and often sent to jail for non-payment and the settlers are being fined Rs. 250 each! In the name of immediate realisation the police swoops down on their poor dwellings and takes away any and everything it likes. There is virtual looting of their property. The members of the Action Committee too have been thrown into jail. With this woeful tale of which any administration should be ashamed, when Kall Shankar Shukla, Secretary of

the U. P. State Council of the Communist Party and Jharkhand Ral, leader of the Communist group in the State Assembly, met the Home and Police Minister Charan Singh, he, instead of showing any sympathy or regret only scowled at them. He said, just because some people have given application for land they do not come to have a right to get it! He defended his administration and declared that he too was for expansion of the forests. His attitude was vindictive.

The landless labourers and the settlers in Sampurnanand Nagar have not been cowed down. They have enrolled 500 more satyagrahis to go to jail if necessary. They have also decided to start satyagraha in Lakhimpur town and the first batch of six has already courted arrest there. The forest area is on fire and if the authorities do not change their

attitude this small struggle may as well spark off a bigger and State-wide struggle.

CANE-GROWERS' DUES WITHHELD

SINCE May 24, Sardar Singh, Vijay Pal Singh and some others are on hunger-strike in front of the Mansurpur Sugar Mill in Muzaffarnagar district. They have been arrested and sent to jail where others will soon join them.

It Uttar Pradesh several crores of rupees of the sugarcane growing peasants are lying with the sugar mill owners. This has been admitted shamefacedly by spokesmen of the Government on the floor of the State assembly. The sugarcane growers have been agitating to get their money for years. In the

Mansurpur sugar mill area alone lakhs of rupees are owed by mill owners to the cane growers. They have tried every avenue to recover this money but without effect. The ministry kept quiet except for occasionally saying that it was asking the mill-owners to clear up the arrears.

But after the kisans launched struggle the ministry's repressive machine became instantaneously active. Now the police is prowling about the area to pounce upon the aggrieved cane-growers.

Naturally angered by this brutal attitude, the workers of the said mill, numbering about 1500, have also decided to lend support to their brother kisans by joining their struggle.

As the problem is Statewide and almost in every mill area agitations are going on with regard to payment of these arrears, categorisation of workers in the mills for wages as recommended by the Sugar Wage Board, integration of different clauses of these recommendations, etc., the struggle begun by the Mansurpur cane-growers and workers is likely to spread to other areas unless the Government intervenes to get justice for them.

AID INDIA CLUB From Front Page

Necessary To Strengthen Independence

U. S. aid would still seek to keep underdeveloped countries like India as industrially backward as possible. Finally, Dillon has also made clear that 80 per cent of the foreign aid in the fiscal year (July 61—June 62) would have to be used to buy American products and services and thus to help improve the U. S. balance of payments.

Congressional authorisation which is necessary will be available only if Congress is fully satisfied that all safeguards promised by the Treasury Secretary would be effectively enforced.

The World Bank in its communique on the Aid India meeting results has not omitted to mention its expectation that the Government of India would facilitate the inflow of foreign private capital at least as much, if not more, as that of foreign governmental loans. This is the abiding policy of the consortium members and the Bank itself, and as pointed out in these columns last week, it has been most blatantly demanded by West Germany in its recent policy declaration on aid to developing countries.

West Germany, again, is the most insistent on tying aid to specific projects. In the ensuing negotiations this stumbling block will have to be faced. It can be said that at the moment the announcement of the "massive aid" promise by the Western consortium is to be used more for massive propaganda purposes. Its real worth will depend upon the actual terms that are worked out. The gesture itself has been prompted not by any change in Western policy as the Dillon testimony cited above proves but by what has been described as "the increased Western apprecia-

tion of India's key position in the fight for democracy in Asia" (Prem Bhatia, Times of India, June 6).

It is certainly good that India's key position is now appreciated even by those who had been unable to do so till now.

But this 'key position' lies in India's independence and in her not becoming a pawn in "the fight for democracy." That has been the source of

her strong position in the world which has compelled the West now to come forth with this massive offer.

For the hard bargaining that lies ahead and in order to ensure that no detrimental conditions—neither political nor economic—are attached to the offered aid, this independent position should be strengthened and not weakened in any way.

—ZIAUL HAQ

PEACE COUNCIL HAILS SUMMIT SUCCESS

RAMESH Chandra and Pandit Chatur Narain Malviya, General Secretaries, All India Peace Council have issued the following statement to the Press: The All India Peace Council warmly welcomes the hopeful signs as a result of the first meeting between Prime Minister Khrushchev and President Kennedy. The announcement of agreement between the two heads of governments to "maintain contact on all questions of interest to the two countries and for the whole world" will be particularly hailed by the peoples of all countries. The agreement in support of "a neutral and independent Laos under a government chosen by the Laotians themselves, and of international agreements for ensuring that neutrality and independence" can prove useful in bringing about early success at the current Conference on Laos being held in Geneva.

A good beginning has been made towards understanding. This initial vic-

tory for peace must be followed by more concrete results particularly towards general and complete controlled disarmament and the ending of colonialism—the key problems facing humanity today.

However, dangerous voices are being raised by certain sections in the U.S.A. and their counterparts elsewhere, demanding an increase in the armament drive and thus stepping up international tension. But the peoples of the world can defeat the perilous course suggested by these circles and impose real lasting peace by going forward from the Vienna 'Summit' to agreements on the most urgent questions of the day.

The All India Peace Council appeals to all our countrymen to join their powerful voice with all those who desire an end to the cold war in the whole world and to redouble their efforts for disarmament, liquidation of colonialism, international cooperation and world peace.

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

TAGORE: TRIBUTE FROM CHINA

We publish below extracts from the speech by Prof. Chi Hsin-lin, member of the Tagore Centenary Committee in China, delivered at the celebration meeting held in Peking on May 15.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, the great modern writer of India, was born in Calcutta on May 7, 1861. His life was one of industry and of rich literary and artistic creation. At no time did he stop writing until his death in August 1941.

His rich and varied works occupy an important place in the history of modern Indian literature on which they exert a far-reaching influence. They enrich the treasury of Indian and world literature with a valuable legacy.

The 1890s were an especially flourishing period of the poet's literary creation. He wrote a great number of excellent short stories which expose the feudal marriage system in India and express deep sympathy with the unhappy lot of young women.

In the early twentieth century Tagore completed two famous novels *The Wreck and Gora*. *The Wreck* condemns the feudal marriage system in India. *Gora* sings the praises of the patriotic spirit of the Indian people while satirizing imperialism, the compradors and those who serve the interests of foreigners. Through these two novels readers can see how the Indian people demanded freedom from the double oppression of imperialism and feudalism.

In the years 1905-08, the British colonial viceroy Curzon schemed to divide Bengal into two parts in order to carry out the vicious colonial policy of "divide and rule" in India. This policy was violently opposed by the Bengali people and the people of all India. The Indian people launched a vigorous anti-imperialist, patriotic movement.

Tagore was also swept into the movement. Moved and influenced by the fighting zeal of his compatriots and filled with righteous indignation, he wrote many poems instilled with exuberant patriotism.

In such collections of poems as *The Crescent Moon*, *The Gardener*, *Stray Birds* and *Gitanjali*, Tagore used beautiful words to portray vividly the natural scenery of Bengal: quiet night, clear dawn, continuous rain, bright day, blossoms in profusion, butterflies, leisurely clouds, flowing streams; a myriad stars, light rain at night, flying birds, brown leaves—all picturesque, fascinating and animating.

Reading these poems, we feel as if we were actually on the spot, smelling the fragrance of flowers and listening to the birds singing, and we cannot help loving the poet's native land.

Outstanding World Figure

It is not fortuitous that Tagore has become an outstanding writer of the world. Not only did he passionately love the cultural heritage of his own country, but continuously imbibed the best in the culture of other countries to enrich his own works.

He made a conscientious study of many classics of different countries. He read the translations of many works of classical Chinese literature and philosophy. He was exceedingly fond of the writings of such ancient Chinese poets as Chu Yuan; Pai Chu-yi and

of the folk poets of Bengal. Having a tremendous interest in the poems and songs of the weaver Kabir, a great folk poet, Tagore personally translated them into English so that they should become widely known in the world.

He was filled with respect for his own national language and was the first in the University of Calcutta to give lectures in Bengali. Since the 1890s, he wrote poetry in the Bengali vernacular. This popular speech, which is highly musical, lent a novel rhythm and a fresh and robust air to his poems and songs.

Tagore was extremely successful in this respect, opening up a new world for Indian poetry. In short stories he assimilated the strong points of some folk story-tellers, writing his stories in a lyrical style.

Tagore was a friend of the Chinese people. Ever since his early youth, he took an interest in all that

concerned China. He was deeply conscious of the fruitful harvest that had been garnered by the Chinese and Indian peoples over several thousand years of friendship and cultural interchange. He highly praised Chinese culture.

He visited China twice and after his return to India he wrote articles promoting the study of Chinese culture. In *Visva-Bharati*, of which he was the founder, he inaugurated courses on Chinese language and culture.

High Regard

The Chinese people have always highly valued the centuries-old friendship and cultural ties between the peoples of China and India, and have always respected the culture, literature and art of the Indian people.

As early as 1915, Tagore's works began to be introduced in our country. Since the

founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a further advance has been made in this sphere of work. Instead of merely relying on English translations as before, we can now translate his works into Chinese directly from Bengali. Thus, Chinese readers now have the opportunity to gain a fuller understanding of this great Indian poet and through his works we can also gain a still better understanding of the Indian people.

Mutual understanding between our two peoples is of vital significance in promoting the traditional friendship between them. In the garden of friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, seeds of friendship have been sown by many persons in the past two thousand years or more.

As we commemorate the Indian poet Tagore today, we hope, and we are confident, that these seeds will at last blossom beautifully and bear rich fruit.

Dangerous Portents In B.O.C. Agreement

* FROM PAGE 3

(i) Giving an analysis of the international profits of the biggest oil companies, the Cost Accountant's Report had shown that the only place where they took so much percentage of profit on net block

capital investment in this industry, was India. (ii) The existing pricing agreements with foreign companies are such that the Oil Minister himself had to say last year in Parliament, that "we have to pay for freight charges also for the petroleum products that we produce in Bombay. The freight element is, I suppose, to be included in it as if it has been brought from the Persian Gulf."

(iii) Even if, due to the subsequent reductions in prices, "about Rs. 18 crores may be taken to represent the recurring accrual to the Government of India" (K. D. Malaviya in Lok Sabha, this year) the fact remains that on Government's own Report of 1956, the oil companies have been taking an excess profit of Rs. 50 crores every year.

It is, therefore, pertinent to ask: to what extent has the Government "veered round" in trying up price in the present agreement with the f.o.b. of crude, dragging along with it the prices of the Nummati refinery products as well? And what was the need, in the above situation, to grant tax concessions and royalty exclusion as well? It will, therefore, be rather amazing to qualify this agreement, despite its certain positive features as "the pattern for all future agreements on oil exploration."

Finally, Minister K. D. Malaviya is reported to have said in the Press Conference that "the Government would consider a request by any private oil company for minority participation in the State-owned refinery."

If these loopholes are only one of those "repairable dents", that are seen "from time to time" in the Government's oil policy—as the Oil Minister himself admitted in the Parliament—then the sooner they are blocked and the lesser they appear in the future, the better it will be for the country.

For, they are incompatible with the conclusion: "We must develop our own resources, our own techniques, our own initiative and our own control in order to make the oil industry prosper"—the conclusion to which the Oil Minister so correctly drew in the Rajya Sabha, last time.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, had included oil among industries which were to be "the exclusive responsibility of the State." And it was only in April, this year, that the Oil Minister had ably argued and defended in both Houses of Parliament, the Government's determination

to have refineries only in the State sector and its refusal to permit the expansion of the refineries of the private sector. Wherefrom: then, has cropped up this sudden need to invite private oil companies with their "minority participation"?

Quick indeed has been the "response" to such a declaration and to such a "pattern of agreement."

Hindu (of June 3) acclaims it as a "new policy" of "collaboration of foreign interests." The Eastern Economist (May 26), obviously aware of what was to come in the agreement had gone to the extent of advising: "Some foreign oil companies may like to come to terms with the Government of India on slight variations from the agreement with the BOC; instead of offering 50 per cent partnership to the Government, they may offer 25 per cent to it and another 25 per cent to the private Indian investor, which in effect, safeguards the principle of parity for India. This should be tried... Let us hope that there is an end to ideological brinkmanship."

The attack is hence on that very policy of the Government which had borne rich fruits, and which had forced the foreign monopolies to bend, whenever it was applied with "tenacity and determination." And the loopholes for the present attack are in the agreement itself.

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Contrast Of Two Municipal Administrations

RECENTLY, a so-called agitation in the name of defence of the rights of employees was started against the Municipal Committee, Chhehartya by the INTUC and the Amritsar District Congress Committee (Rural).

The President of the District Congress Committee Lala Manohar Lal also happens to be the President of the Jandiāla Municipal Committee. Out of nine members of this Committee eight are Congressmen.

Following comparison between the conditions of service of sweepers of Chhehartya Municipal Committee and those of Jandiāla Municipal Committee eloquently exposes the real worth of concern professed for Municipal employees and Harijans by the leaders of the Amritsar District Congress.

CHHEHARTYA	JANDIALA
1) Minimum wage is Rs. 67 p.m. for all employed against permanent posts	Minimum wage is Rs. 55/- for males and Rs. 37/- for females despite the fact that minimum has been fixed at Rs. 65/- by the State Government under Minimum Wages Act
2) Regular grades and scales have been fixed	No grades and scales of pay
3) Animal allowance is Rs. 45/- p.m.	Animal allowance is Rs. 20 p.m.
4) Paid weekly holiday for last 8 years	No paid weekly holiday
5) Other leave facilities as per civil service Rules.	No paid leave at all
6) Confirmation after one year's probation and Provident Fund	No confirmation even after years of service. No Provident Fund facility
7) Brooms, baskets, buckets etc. all supplied by the Committee	Everything has to be purchased by employees out of their meagre wages
8) Two summer uniforms every year with one pair of chappals and one woolen uniform every 3 years	No uniform at all
9) No one is required to work for more than 8 hours a day	A section is required to work for 9 hours a day

Will it not be better if Lala Manohar Lal were to show some human consideration for the employees of Chhehartya instead of frequent but futile visits to his committee?

West Bengal Newsletter

JUBILEE SESSION OF KISAN SABHA

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

A rousing call to build up a broad-based movement of all sections of the peasantry was given by the Seventeenth Conference of the West Bengal State Kisan Sabha, held in Balluk village in Midnapore district from May 28 to 31. It was also the Silver Jubilee Session of the Kisan Sabha.

THE decisions of the Conference were important in more than one respects.

In the first place, it decided to launch a statewide movement for real land reforms, stoppage of evictions, fixation of fair prices of crops and essential commodities, and for demands regarding canal rates, taxation, agricultural loans, rents, etc.

Secondly, the conference made it clear that if the various demands of the Kisan movement in relation to rent were not conceded by the Government within a year, the Kisan Sabha would be forced to take the path of a statewide movement to stop payment of rent.

The Conference had to take this decision because of several factors. There has been no reduction of rent till now. The Government's directive regarding remission of rent in "distressed areas" has not yet been given effect to in all cases and in all such areas.

The statutory provision, exempting one bigha of homestead land from rent payment, is yet to be implemented. On top of all this, arrears of rent are being realised in the most oppressive manner even from those kisans who have suffered heavily due to loss of or damage to their crops, because the Government has failed to provide irrigation and drainage facilities in the affected areas.

Lastly, for the first time in the history of the Kisan Sabha, the Conference decided to place before the public the views and demands of the Kisan Sabha in relation to the coming General Elections.

The Kisan Sabha will campaign among the masses of people for real land reforms and for the just demands of all strata of the peasantry. It will also put forward concrete suggestions for improving agriculture and raising the standard of living of the peasantry.

Support From Congress-Minded Kisans

A very important feature of the Conference was the large measure of support it received from Congress-minded kisans and other supporters of the Congress in the area. The hard core of the local Congress leadership tried to scare away these sections by propagating that the Kisan Sabha was merely an appendage of the Communist Party. But the spontaneous response from the mass of peasantry silenced them.

The political significance of this mass support lies in the fact that in 1957 one Cabinet Minister, one Minister of State and a Deputy Minister were elected from the area where the Conference was held. Evidently, the position now is not exactly what it was five years ago.

Four hundred and sixty-seven delegates from all over the State attended the Conference. It was the Silver Jubilee Session of the Kisan Sabha.

The Conference was held in an area, where the kisans have fought a heroic battle against landlord oppression and police zoolom for over two decades. Twelve villages in the area stopped payment of rent 22 years ago, and to this day they have doggedly held their ground in the face of intimidation and repression. This is why the venue of the Conference was appropriately named "Vidroh-

nagar" (a town of revolutionaries). The decision to hold the Conference in Balluk was taken more than a month ago. But as most of the organisers were engaged in Panchayat elections in adjoining areas, actual preparations started only 10 to 12 days before the Conference. Yet it was a big success.

The entire credit for this goes to the unstinted co-operation of the local peasantry and the yeomanry service rendered by volunteers, the subdivisional Mahila Samity and the squad of Communist girl students who had gone to the area to campaign among the rural masses. The huge pandal of the Conference was erected by kisans themselves after their day's work in the fields, and that, too, in course of just three nights.

Kisan Sabha workers visited every house in eight out of 13 unions in Tamruk police station and collected about Rs. 12,000 in cash and in kind. Besides this, the kisans of four neighbouring villages, the citizens of Tamruk town, Dhanayay Samanta of Balluk and Ganesh Thander of Charra village arranged, at their own cost, one meal each for the delegates, visitors and volunteers, numbering over a thousand. The kisans also gave straw bamboo for building the pandal, which could accommodate more than a thousand delegates.

ference. About 47 fraternal delegates from Calcutta and other districts were also present.

Bishwanath Mukherjee, President of the State Kisan Sabha, presided over the Conference.

On the first day, the Conference adopted a resolution, paying homage to the peaceful satyagrahis shot dead by the police at Silchar and condemning the blood-bath and the repressive policy of the Assam Government. By another resolution it mourned the deaths of Dr. Dharendra Nath Sen, Sachin Sengupta and kisan workers.

The whole session on the second day was devoted to the discussion of the 63-page report of the General Secretary, Harekrishna Konar, M.L.A. The report dealt at length with the problems of land reforms and surplus land, food, rent, agricultural loans and cooperatives, canal rates and other taxes, floods, irrigation and drainage, panchayats, agricultural labour, etc. and the organisation of the Kisan Sabha.

Thirty-three delegates took part in the discussions, and many of them made valuable contributions towards a better understanding of the situation in the countryside and the perspective and tasks before the kisan movement.

On the third day, the conference adopted a large number of resolutions, the most important of which were those on Peace, Tagore Centenary, land reforms, rent, panchayats, cooperation and the problems of agricultural labour and their movement.

Addressing the Conference, Jagjit Singh Lyallpur, General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Sabha, said that the Government had not merely failed to solve the agrarian problem, it was even going back on its declared policies under the pressure of vested interests. It was, therefore, an imperative task of the Kisan Sabha to build up a powerful movement to compel the Government to implement these policies.

Dealing with the problem of agricultural labour, he said that it was necessary to build a separate organisation of their own.

A special function was organised in the night of May 29 to celebrate Tagore's birth centenary. Over 7,000 people attended. Gopal Halder and Bhowani Sen addressed the gathering.

Next night, a peace rally was held, in which more than 10,000 people participated.

On May 31, the concluding day of the Conference, it was decided to enrol 100,000 kisan sabbha members by September next. By another resolution the newly elected Kisan Council was entrusted with the task of placing before the people the Kisan Sabha's statement on the Third General Elections.

The Conference elected a Council of 65 members. Bishwanath Mukherjee and Harekrishna Konar were unanimously re-elected President and General Secretary respectively of the State Kisan Sabha.

The Bulletin further said that between May-July, 21 lakh bales would be available as against 14 lakh bales needed by the mills. Moreover, there was the possibility of raw jute and "cuttings" from East Pakistan coming in the market a long with our new jute crop.

It was, therefore, quite evident that there would be no shortage of raw jute during May-July.

It is now plain enough for anybody to see through the game of the jute-mill owners. They want to force down the prices of raw jute and boost up those of jute manufactures by stopping purchases of the former and production of the latter for two weeks. They adopted the same tactics two years ago. But the plea put forward at that time was not shortage of raw jute but "accumulation" of stocks of manufactured goods! Prices of raw jute crashed, and in West Bengal alone, the jute-growing peasantry suffered losses to the tune of Rs. 30 crores!!

The Government took the decision, approving the closure, in the face of stiff opposition of the representatives of four Central trade union organisations who walked out of a tripartite conference in protest.

In a joint statement, they said that they were not convinced that block closure of mills was unavoidable due to the "alleged shortage of raw jute," on the contrary they felt strongly that the present "crisis" was entirely man-made and that it was combined result of "hoarding, speculation and employers' desire to boost up prices of manufactured goods by artificially restricting output."

In the circumstances, they pointed out, they considered that the proposal for block closure was totally unwarranted and, as such, they could not be a party to it. "It is now up to the LJMA and the State Government to decide the course of action on their own responsibility," they added.

They, however, warned that the workers, who had already suffered great losses in their earnings over the last six months due to reduction in working hours, would devise ways to register their disapproval of and protest against the reactionary policies of the LJMA.

Signatories to the statement included Indrajit Gupta, M.P. and Bhowani Roy Chowdhury (AITUC), Kall Mukherjee (INTUC), Jatini Chakravarty, BLA (UTUC) and Sibnath Banerjee (HMS).

200,000 workers employed in the jute mills.

The plea trotted out by the LJMA is, that there will be a shortage of raw jute from the current month. It is claimed that the total stock of the commodity with the 82 member mills is 420,000 bales. The LJMA contends that it is not possible to keep the wheels going continuously with this "meagre" stock in hand.

But the Bulletin of the Jute Balers' Association, published towards the end of May, pointed out that the real reason behind the closure proposal was not any shortage of raw jute but the mill-owners' manoeuvre to "safeguard their own interests".

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BLOCK CLOSURE OF JUTE MILLS

THE Government has

once again succumbed to the pressure of big business. For the past one month jute mill owners, who are organised in the Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA), had been putting tremendous pressure on the Government to permit them to close down the jute mills in and around Calcutta for a fortnight on the plea that raw jute was in short supply.

The West Bengal Government issued a Press Note on June 1, stating that, on the centre's advice, it had approved the block closure of jute mills for two weeks one from June 26 and again from July 24.

The proposed closure will seriously affect lakhs of jute-growing peasants as well as very large number of the

GOPALAN FASTS FOR SETTLEMENT OF EVICTED KISANS

★ FROM P. K. KUNHANANDAN

KUMILY, June 6.

A. K. Gopalan M.P., President, All-India Kisan Sabha went on an indefinite hunger-strike at Amravati today at 3.30 p.m. Gopalan accompanied by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, R. Sugathan, C. H. Kanaran and K. T. Jacob left Kottayam this morning for Amravati where the evicted peasants of Ayappankoil are huddled together in leaking sheds.

The purpose of Gopalan's fast is redressal of the evicted peasants' demands by the Government. Before leaving Kottayam, Gopalan and Namboodiripad visited the camp shed in the Collector's Office where peasant satyagrahis from Amravati are put up.

Gopalan was given a rousing reception at Vandiperiyar by the plantation labourers standing in pouring rains. A jatha of workers shouting solidarity slogans had left for Amravati. Gopalan and party reached Kumali at 1.30 where two thousand strong refugee peasants had gathered to receive them in torrential rains. Women and children shivering to their bones, little babies clinging to mothers to receive Gopalan, mostly Christians, hailed him as their saviour where the Alliance Government had failed.

Namboodiripad inaugurated the meeting. He announced wholehearted support to the evicted peasants, promised he and his colleagues will back their demands resolutely in the Assembly meeting.

Gopalan said he was resorting to the drastic step of fasting in order to focus attention of Kerala and all India on Amravati refugees. This alone could force the State Government to do justice.

Just before the meeting began a little child of a refugee had died in a cattle shed where an evicted family took shelter a few days ago; a lady gave birth in the open, shielded by sympathetic women. Already nine deaths have taken place, of which five are children. Cold, hunger, and exposure in rain are causing the deaths.

Gopalan and Namboodiripad led a big procession mostly of Christians and Catholics who marched the one mile long route to Amravati in

heavy non-stop rain and cold. Gopalan met pressmen who accompanied him just before he began fasting. He repeated the demands about which he has written to Nehru and Kerala Chief Minister. He wanted the whole of Kerala to wake up in support of the victims of cruel and calculated misdeeds of the Pattom Government.

The Government has stopped free rice ration supply to those who had completed 14 days in the camp. Hunger and destitution prevails in this high range refugee camp. In leaking sheds, people irrespective of age or sex clot together round the fire—this is a heart-rending sight. Peasants who worked and lived decently till yesterday have started begging. This man-made tragedy could be stopped by the Kerala Government.

SECOND DAY

June 7.

A. K. Gopalan continues hunger strike in his little grass thatched hut, amidst evicted hungry and cold-bitten peasants. Today is the second day of the fast. He is cheerful though he looks tired. He takes only sips of water with a pinch of salt.

Gopalan is having a never-ending stream of visitors—men, women and children—majority Christian peasants in whose cause he is fasting. Villagers from neighbouring plantation areas are also pouring, wishing success to Gopalan's fast.

Gopalan anxiously enquires about the condition of the peasants who are visiting him. Women with babies in arms in tears, explain their unprecedented sufferings. A young mother who gave birth only a few days ago said in tears that she has no shelter, no breast milk for the baby. Her husband is ailing from

broncho-pneumonia.

Diseases like dysentery, cough, pneumonia are spreading. No medical facilities are available. Women have to bring drinking water from far away forest streams; water is hard, impure to drink. People did not have bath or wash for the last three weeks.

It is surprising that no Government officials come here. The Kottayam Collector visited the area on May 3. Ministers seem to be afraid to face angry peasants.

Instead they have got free ration stopped on the plea

that they cannot be provided forever. Some 200 families have been given land one acre each but it is uncultivable and worthless. It is called Ottakathamedu or land like the head of camel. Wind blasts here relentlessly and nothing grows. People refuse to accept such land. Other lands given for cultivation are in woods where cultivation is possible only after lumbering and removal of trees. There is no possibility of cultivation for the next one year.

Only 200 families have got such land out of a total of 1700 families living in sheds on the roadside in Amravati.

Catholic peasants, hitherto supporters of Congress who took part in the liberation struggle feel that they have been badly let down by P. T. Chacko and the Alliance Gov-

ernment. Repeated requests to Chacko and other Ministers were not cared for and none came to help the suffering peasants.

Gopalan's special message to kisans all over India is:—Collect Amravati Relief Fund to send immediately to A. K. Gopalan, Hungerstrike Camp, Amravati, Kumily, Kottayam. Gopalan requests Malayalis outside Kerala also to send immediate relief. All Kisan Sabha workers are requested to be in the forefront of the collections.

Congress supporters and PSP sympathisers among peasants are working with Communists to organise relief here. United campaign against Government's cruel and calculated eviction drive in this monsoon is gathering momentum.

PUNJAB COMMUNISTS DISCUSS ELECTIONS

The Punjab State Council of C.P.I. at its recently concluded three-day session devoted considerable time to the forthcoming General Elections. It decided to start preparations for the election campaign forthwith. It has entrusted its Executive Committee to prepare an Election Manifesto at a very early date and has issued an appeal to all democratic classes to contribute liberally to its Rs. 3 lakh election fund call.

The Council decided to conduct its election campaign as a big political battle on a State-wide basis. The edge of the campaign will naturally be directed against the Congress regime which in the last 14 years has failed to solve the basic problems of the people—of land, food, housing, jobs, fair prices and clean administration. At the same time the Council decided to conduct ideological-political campaign against parties of right reaction which want to turn back the wheels of history and assail whatever is progressive even in Congress policies.

It will also carry on sharp struggle against communal parties which divide Hindu and Sikh masses on religious grounds, pit brother against brother, and disrupt the common movement of our people for a happier, better and prosperous Punjab. The Communist Party will not enter into electoral alliance with such parties.

The Council noted that since the last General Elections the gulf between Congress Government and the people has widened a great deal. There is acute discontent among the people against policies of the Government which hit their interest. There is every possibility for the C. P. and other democratic forces to register a considerable advance in the electoral struggle ahead. That possibility can be converted into actuality only through unity of these forces.

The Council, therefore, issued an appeal to all democratic parties, groups and individuals to form a united front to fight the general elections.

The Communist Party will carry its entire policy to the people. It will urge all patriotic forces of the nation to unite into a single National Democratic Front to carry out tasks of national re-birth—which are possible only on the

basis of liquidating all vestiges of foreign imperialist and feudal loot in every shape and form.

The Communist Party will support all that is progressive in Congress policies but at the same time expose and oppose all its anti-people policies. It will further place before the electorate its own alternative progressive policies for economic and cultural advance of Punjab, for happiness and prosperity of its people and for unity, for democratic scientific solution of the vexed problem of language and linguistic re-organisation of the State.

ON PROPOSED FAST BY MASTER TARA SINGH

THE Council passed the following resolution on the proposed fast by Master Tara Singh:

The decision of the general body of the Shiromani Akali Dal to permit Master Tara Singh to go on fast unto death with effect from August 15, 1961, on the issue of Punjabi Sooba is highly deplorable. If launched, such a step will create a critical situation in the State and might even accentuate communal feelings. It will be detrimental to growth of unity among Hindu and Sikh masses which is highly essential for permanent solution of the problem of language and linguistic re-organisation of the State.

The Communist Party while vehemently demanding re-organisation of the State on a scientific linguistic basis has always demarcated its stand from that of Akali leaders. It has invariably appealed to the latter to abandon the communal approach to the question which is not at all a concern of the Sikhs alone. To put it forward as a demand for protection of Sikh religion and community, as unfortunately Akali leaders and even some of the non-

Akali leaders put it at the general body meeting, is injurious in the extreme to the democratic cause of development of Punjabi language as the common language of all Punjabis and to the cause of Punjabi-speaking State.

A Punjabi-speaking State—whose formation is essential for unity of Punjabi people and for promotion of their cultural, economic and political life—can come into being only on the strength of unity of people and their united movement. This is the lesson underlined by the failure of the recent Akali morcha in which the great sacrifices made by ordinary Sikhs bore no fruit because of the communal approach of the leadership.

The Punjab State Council of C.P.I. therefore appeals in all earnestness to Master Tara Singh to give up the resolve to fast. It also appeals to other Akali leaders and ranks to ponder coolly over the matter. Nothing should be done in desperation which would harm the cause of unity of Punjab.

The Council once again reiterates on behalf of the Communist Party that the path to achievement of Punjabi State lies through united movement. It appeals to all those elements who desire consummation of the democratic goal to come together and build a united movement of Punjabis of all communities to achieve it.

The Council, while deploring the decision of Akali leaders at the same time, sharply criticises the attitude of the Congress Central Government which continues to deny acceptance of the very principle of linguistic reorganisation in case of our State—when it has been applied in the rest of the country. Wrong approach by a political party to the issue cannot be a ground for burking its solution on democratic lines. The Council is convinced that such acceptance of the principle on strictly scientific lines will help growth and unity of healthy secular forces among Punjabi people and weaken the hands of communalists.

The Council therefore urges the Prime Minister to reconsider the whole issue and take initiative to solve it on democratic lines.

MANIPUR RESPONSIBLE GOVT. AGITATION LEADERS RELEASED

COMRADE Bira Singh, Secretary of the Assembly Demand Co-ordination Committee and Secretary, Manipur State Council C.P.I. who was sentenced to 8 years' R.I. by the District & Sessions Judge, Manipur was ordered to be released by the Hon'ble Judicial Commissioner, Manipur on June 1, 1961. Bira Singh and five others were charged under various sections of the Penal Code and were sentenced to 8 years R.I.

The Manipur Administration had ordered release

of four others leaving behind Bira Singh and another comrade, Ch. Ibotombi Singh. The appeal petition of Bira Singh and Ibotombi Singh came up for hearing in the Hon'ble J.C.'s Court on the May 26 and 27 and the Hon'ble J. C. in his judgement ordered the release of Com. Bira and reduction of sentences of Com. Ibotombi from 8 years to 6 months. The Manipur Administration failed to prove the personal presence of Com. Bira Singh on April 25, 1960 when the police opened fire on the Satyagrahis.