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CANADA'S Prime Minister, Mr. John Diefenbaker, has been exuding the feeling of "Commonwealth Kinship" during his brief trip to our country this week. He has told us with touching affection that "we have much in common in those things that are of the spirit."

This globe-trotting Ambassador of Commonwealth goodwill, however, has given us a foretaste of his "Commonwealth concept" when he made profound observations about the military raj in Pakistan. In the very room where Pandit Nehru less than a fortnight ago, had declared that "nowhere in the world today there is such a naked military dictatorship", Mr. Diefenbaker could not even accept the premise that there is a military dictatorship in Pakistan. In Ayub Khan's move to continue the Martial Law but without the full-scale use of the Army, Mr. Diefenbaker could see "the full restoration of civil procedure within the State."

Like every Commonwealth crusader, Mr. Diefenbaker has claimed that in the Commonwealth "we manage fairly well to maintain the highest degree of democracy." But his brand of Commonwealth democracy was unashamed in paying, what a prominent Indian newsman has called, "the biggest testimonial given so far" to Pakistan's Government: "I believe Paki-

stan leaders generally desire a return of the fullest expression of democracy in Pakistan."

He is even "convinced" that Ayub Khan's purpose is "to achieve the highest degree of well-being and betterment for the people of Pakistan."

Does the arms aid that Pakistan's blustering satraps have been getting from the USA constitute a threat to peace and a menace to India? Mr. Diefenbaker could only say that he "had better not answer."

This Commonwealth missionary, who claimed to be "one who expresses himself in unmistakable terms," has tried to do tight-rope walking, talking of changing views on Kashmir, yet he has declined to indicate whether he would think plebiscite has become necessary.

How wonderful it must be to remain within the Commonwealth, in which the banner of the Free World is held aloft by the South African fascists and the tin-god badshahs of Pakistan—and the hallelujah of this glorious Commonwealth sung by Mr. John Diefenbaker.

We are often told that the Commonwealth stands for certain values. Is it not time that Pandit Nehru once again examines those values, uninhibited by the Mountbattens and the Diefenbakers?

AYUB KHAN

Many charges can be levelled against General Ayub Khan — bar one. He cannot be accused of being a patriot.

I remember — and I hope many commanders inside the Indian Army remember too — the black role Ayub played, as a senior Indian officer, in the massacre of hundreds of Indian drivers who fell victims to the British firing squads in the Libyan desert during the last World War.

THESE brave sons of Indian peasants — Muslims and Hindus — were made to drive their military vehicles hundreds of miles at a stretch through the desert that was like a burning furnace. At the end of their journey they were made to unload their vehicles while the British drivers got coolies to unload theirs.

Indian drivers courageously

refused to be subjected to this racial discrimination. They were declared mutineers.

In the early dawn of the Libyan desert hundreds of them were blown to pieces by the British firing squads. They bravely looked into the bores of the rifles and died like men with Bharat Mata-ki-Jai on their defiant lips.

Unceremoniously their bodies were dumped into the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

Ayub servilely supported this massacre. Gleefully rubbing his hands, he announced in the Officer's Mess: "The dirty dogs have met the fate they deserved."

Sixteen long years separate that painful event from today when Pakistan lies prostrated under the jack-boots of a fascist military dictator. The young infants of those martyrs would now be grown up young men and women. If they wish to know who murdered their fathers and who was their accomplice let them turn their eyes towards this man who today presides over the destinies of Pakistan.

Many of my colleagues inside the Indian Army, I am sure, remember the anti-British organisation of Indian officers which Ayub had blatantly refused to join.

The incident was reported by the officer who approached Ayub as follows: "Ayub drew his pistol and shouted 'how dare you subvert my loyalty to the king of England and Emperor of India?'"

SNAKE DANCE

Some, who now hold senior ranks in the Indian Army, would, I hope, vividly remember a burly Pathan, stripped naked, perched on the bar, dancing a snake-charmer's dance in an Officers' Mess in 1942. Late in the night the 'dancer' shrieked vulgarly and

TREACHERY AND BETRAYAL ARE HIS RECORD

by Jaipal Singh

madly, till an irate British colonel appeared on the scene and pushed the snake-charmer out of the Mess. It was Ayub, who today is dancing a frenzied, devilish dance on the soil of Pakistan, letting loose a million snakes over the prostrate bodies of its people.

Then came the fateful years of 1945-46. The Indian armed forces stood united and arrayed to lodge an onslaught against British rule in India.

At the behest of his imperialist masters, exerting his influence as a senior Muslim officer, Ayub tried his hand at disrupting the unity of the Indian armed forces with the communal virus of disruption.

JEHAD

After the Interim Government headed by Pandit Nehru was formed in 1946, Ayub, again at the behest of his masters, threatened to lead the Muslim soldiers in a jihad against what he called the 'Hindu-ridden Congress rule' and demanded Pakistan on a bloody platter. In September 1946, Ayub contacted all the Muslim officers in the Indian armed forces and attempted to organise them against the Interim Government. In those early days of the Interim Government he clashed with Sardar Baldev Singh, the then Defence Minister.

Nobody should mistake that Ayub was inspired by any patriotic feelings for Pakistan. He was merely carrying out the orders of his imperialist masters.

When the notorious 'Operation Asylum' — the British plan for the arrest of all the national leaders in 1946 for exposing which the Communist Party's journal People's Age was persecuted then — leaked out to the Indian people, Ayub got two innocent Muslim officers dismissed from service and frenziedly aided the British to detect the 'real culprits.' And to a great extent he did succeed in this betrayal.

This series of betrayals and

* SEE PAGE 13

KERALA'S MASTER PLAN



Kerala has framed a Master Plan for all-round development of the State. The Plan has ambitious but practicable targets: self-sufficiency in food, rapid industrialisation of the entire State and so on.

For a glimpse of the prosperous future that the Plan holds out for the smallest State of our country, and its people — See Centre Pages

Picture above shows Kerala's Irrigation Minister V. R. Krishna Iyer presenting the Master Plan to Prime Minister Nehru in the Kerala Pavilion in the India 1958 Exhibition in New Delhi.

editorial

B. H. U.

THE Banaras Hindu University was once the pride of the country. Today the state of affairs there constitutes a national scandal. The Union Government appointed the Mudaliar Committee but its partisan approach and reactionary recommendations became the subject matter of an adjournment motion in our Parliament, they stunned the professors and set the student body aflame.

The Report among other bad things had slandered the students as being immoral. The students went on hunger-strike demanding that the Vice-Chancellor repudiate the slander, uphold the students' honour and the reputation of the University. An old and seasoned bureaucrat had been imposed as the Vice-Chancellor. He refused to act as the guardian of the students and of the interests of the University.

The condition of the hunger-strikers became critical, senior professors intervened and promised to take up the issue as also the question of appointment of a Principal for the Ayurvedic College which had gone without one for the last ten years. The hunger-strike was withdrawn and the students took to peaceful picketing.

★

Studies and life went on as usual. Gandhi Jayanti was duly celebrated. Meetings and demonstrations were held daily after the classes were over.

Chief Minister Sampurnanand came and promised to solve all questions provided the picketing was given up. The students withdrew all picketing except from the main gate to prevent the Vice-Chancellor alone coming in till he made a statement defending the honour of the students.

On October 7, the Vice-Chancellor got the Executive Council to pass a resolution ordering all the students to clear out of the campus by the 11th. This was impossible, for the boys had not been given time enough to get cash from home. Besides, it was an unconstitutional order. The University Act does not permit the Executive Council to order closure but gives this right only to the Standing Committee of the Academic Council. Worse was yet to come.

On the 8th, within 24 hours, without waiting even up to the 11th, the Government sent over 500 armed police men of the semi-military Provincial Armed Constabulary unit who indiscriminately beat up the students, and the protesting professors as well and ultimately threw the students out of the campus by sheer physical force. The PAC set up camp within the precincts of the University. BHU became an armed camp, just then martial law was proclaimed in Pakistan and the Banaras citizens indignantly exclaimed that it was worse than 1942, as bad as it must be in Pakistan.

The University was to reopen on November 17 but did not. No further date has been fixed. The Government threatens to keep it indefinitely closed.

★

The Banaras Bar Association has passed a strong resolution of protest. The students of Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur and other places have demonstrated their solidarity with their BHU brothers through a peaceful strike on November 17. The Banaras students have appealed to M.P.s of all parties to save the University.

Their cause is just, their suffering and humiliation a public scandal, and the BHU is a national institution.

We demand that the Union Government be less bureaucratic in its attitude to the students and less partisan in imposing a Vice-Chancellor who has made a mess of a national institution. It must ensure that the University is opened immediately and the demands of the students sympathetically considered. The future of ten thousand youth is at stake and the worth of Indian democracy involved.

(November 19, 1958)

HOW FREE IS THE PRESS IN U.P.

THE WAYS OF CONGRESS MINISTERS

About the Government and Press in U.P. the Jaipur Session of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists some months ago said in a resolution:

"THIS session of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists invites the attention of our countrymen towards the publicity policy of the Uttar Pradesh Government under which laymen and journalists are paid to write to newspapers and periodicals, including letters to the editor, in praise or defence of the Government's policies; Government officials are permitted to act as correspondents of news-agencies and to hold bearing telegraphic authority; Government advertisements are funnelled through the agency of the Information Department thus misusing the power of patronage and coercion..."

All this is done, the same resolution pointed out, under what is called the "inspired publicity scheme" of the U.P. Government.

A little later, the U.P. Working Journalists met in their annual session at Lucknow. They once again drew the attention of the Government of U.P. towards these facts and said:

"This session of the U.P. Working Journalists' Union... regrets to note that so far no steps have been taken by the Government to change its policy which is detrimental to the growth of a free and healthy Press and which is leading to the regimentation of sources of information."

Begun By Pant

This 'policy' of corrupting news and newsmen was strangely enough, initiated and started by the veteran Congress elder, Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant, when he was Chief Minister. Things had already begun to go wrong with the Congress and he had many skeletons in the Government's cupboard to hide. And so, like everything else, he began to manipulate the free flow of news.

Since then the situation has become very much worse both for the Congress and its Government and the rulers have become even more desperate in their measures.

And so, besides the distribution of coloured news through the Information Department, sending daily telegrams, at State expense, to favoured papers, hiring people, both journalists and laymen to pen signed or anonymous panegyrics in the Government's praise and blackmailing and buying papers with advertisements, the present Ministers have also begun to interest themselves actively in the appointment and removal of correspondents and representatives of newspapers, specially the national newspapers.

The Chief Minister himself, according to reports, has been writing letters to the editors and proprietors of these papers in connection with such appointments.

Recently, the U.P. representative of the Statesman, after taking up a job with another paper, left Lucknow. Since then

From Our Correspondent

the Chief Minister and some other Ministers of the Government are said to be trying their best to have one of their men appointed in his place. Many letters and messages have, it seems, been sent to the bosses of the paper.

Recent Instance

Another recent example of interference with the work of newspapermen can be seen in the case of the representative of the Hindustan Times. The Ministers, particularly Sri Sampurnanand, do not like the independence of his views. Hence, after the last turbulent meeting of the U.P. PCC, when he went on short leave a report was sent to the bosses of the Hindustan Times.

Since Pandit Pant himself was involved very much with the PCC meeting and controversy, he also took interest in the matter. His old 'friend', Sri Durga Das, was called and spoken to. The correspondent was then summoned to the head quarters and asked to be "careful." Perhaps still unsatisfied some Ministers here are now trying to get him removed from U.P. They want somebody wholly their own to be appointed in his place.

How far sometimes local correspondents can be successfully blackmailed to send out tarnished news can be seen from the example of yet another national daily from Delhi.

During this whole PCC and Ministerial controversy the news sent out by the paper's Lucknow correspondent said one thing (broadly supporting the Chief Minister) and the editorial note that the paper wrote said altogether a different thing! It is obvious that the correspondent, fearing the wrath of the powers that be, could not write the truth and so for telling it the editor had to use the editorial columns.

People are known here to have lost their jobs after they fell out of Ministerial favour. A Times of India Correspondent was packed off from here—it is said because he refused to toe the line of the Chief Minister. The correspondent of another paper, who has since made up with the State's Congress bosses and has therefore been rewarded properly, was dismissed from his service due to the displeasure of some Ministers.

With this state of affairs in the capital, it is natural that in the districts worse things happen to correspondents if they fall foul of the authorities. During the Statewide food struggle many newspapermen in Azamgarh were arrested and sent to jail because they truthfully reported the brutal lathi-charge of the police on the peaceful

satyagrahis. Recently, a correspondent lost his life in Fyzabad for a similar crime. All attempts to have his death enquired into are being resisted by various interested quarters.

How real the pressure exercised is can be sensed also from the following extract from a despatch by the Correspondent of the Statesman. He had sent this despatch just a few days before he left Lucknow:

"In the prevailing atmosphere in this State to say anything in favour of Mr. Gupta is to court the displeasure of authority. Even giving publicity to his point of view in the controversy is resented. It is reckoned unpatriotic to do so..." (Statesman, October 31).

And this from a person who was considered to be friendly to Sampurnanand and some of his other colleagues.

As far as the question of misuse of advertisements in their hands is concerned, perhaps the most glaring example is that of the National Herald. It is a Congress daily. But for taking an independent line and occasionally exercising its right of criticising the Ministry in October last year, the U.P. Government had stopped its advertisements for six months. Later only after the intervention of Pandit Nehru, it is said, were the advertisements resumed.

The editor of Navjivan, Hindi daily belonging to the National Herald group of Congress papers, has also been several times threatened with dismissal for the same crime of taking a critical line occasionally. Once he was sent out on long leave. But for the intervention of some more powerful persons, he had the necessary funds to make the Plan work?

Pressure Thru Advertisements

In the Central Government though both the Information and Advertisement departments are under the same Ministry, for all practical purposes they are kept separate and have no direct connection with one another. But here, to be able to use the power that their distribution gives, advertisements are handled by the same agency that distributes Government information and news. Hence most papers are compelled to publish whatever material the Information Department does out.

There is yet another weapon in the hands of the unscrupulous elements: the weapon of labour laws. They threaten the proprietors and owners of the papers and presses that in case they show recalcitrance all the laws will be rigorously imposed. Those of them who are in their good books can do whatever they like with those laws!

If even a hundredth part of anything like this had taken place in Kerala, there would have been loud shouts about the murder of democracy and muzzling of the Fourth Estate and so on. But everything is forgiven under the regime of the Congress!

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

IN their bid to control the pace of economic development of the underdeveloped countries in the postwar period the U. S. imperialists, in league with their junior partners, devised various seemingly innocuous agencies to serve as conveyors for investment of their ill-gotten profits. Masquerading as Santa Claus, they hoped to exploit the assistance offered through these agencies to win the peoples of the recipient countries politically for their own brand of "freedom" and "democracy".

Among these agencies, the Colombo Plan had been assigned an especially significant place in the imperialists' calculations. Both from the stand-point of the region as well as the stake involved in its peoples' turning their face away from the path of colonial backwardness, it became necessary for them to deploy in it their maximum political and financial resources.

Unfortunately for them, however, theirs is a house divided within itself. Hence, while initiating the Colombo Plan in 1950 the United Kingdom, which had held the Far East so far under its leash, did not very much relish the idea of the United States also coming in to encroach on its traditional domain. But the "big brother" could not be held out for long either, for, who else, besides him, had the necessary funds to make the Plan work?

A MISNOMER

What is the Colombo Plan, however? As a matter of fact it is a misnomer to call it a Plan, since it is merely a conglomeration of the individual plans of the member countries. What then is its raison d'etre, one might ask. According to the British Information Service, "each participating country in the area was expected to submit its development programme for scrutiny by the others." Thus, in other words, through the agency of the Plan, and in the annual meetings of its Consultative Committee, it is mainly with this scrutiny of the national plans of the less-developed member countries that the more developed imperialist Governments of the USA and the U. K. have been annually concerning themselves.

No doubt, as a sequel to this scrutiny, and to save the hen that lays the golden egg, they also indulge occasionally in a good deal of talk about "meeting the challenge" of these countries' economic development. But in that line all that they have been providing ever since the beginning of the Plan are a few training facilities. As

for the direct loans and financial contributions, as for example, for the Kundah Project in our country, these could have been provided even without being routed through the Plan.

In respect of the training facilities also, to the extent they can help some of the young technicians in the underdeveloped countries to get the necessary schooling, they may be welcome. If, however, the lines in which the training is provided are not the ones chosen on the basis of the requirements of the recipient countries' basic development, the labour and the expenditure on it will be of little benefit. Under the Colombo Plan, however, it is just this type of training that has predominantly been made available—in irrigation, transport and communications, and not in industries, which should receive top priority.

FIVE POINTS

This year the Consultative Committee held its session for the first time in the United States. In his inaugural address, President Eisenhower made no bones about making the intentions of his Government very explicit. Without mincing words he stated that the USA intended "to take increasing advantage of your cooperative activities in shaping its own financing of development programmes in South and Southeast Asia." Later, he went on to expatiate on his "five points of economic progress", pursuing which, in his view, the countries in the region could achieve the desired results.

The first among these enjoined "expanded international trade"—a fine sentiment, indeed—but who obstructs it, one might ask the President—the countries in the region or the Government over which he presides? Leaving aside the unrealistic and positively harmful trade embargoes placed on dealings with People's China, who is it that restricts imports of primary products, to the detriment of underdeveloped countries?

The second point which the President laid down prescribed increased facilities for technical training. Another good idea, no doubt, provided the training is in lines of basic development and not merely in spraying DDT and artificial insemination of cows and buffaloes.

The third, and the key, point in the President's programme concerned the necessity of facilitating the inflow of private investments into the underdeveloped countries, for, as he said "if this country (namely, the USA) is to be of the greatest help... its private resources will need to be drawn to the greatest extent possible." Thus, from

Sinister Deliberations In Seattle

the Fund-Bank Conference at New Delhi to the Colombo Plan meeting at Seattle, it is the same tale of pushing the needy countries into the acceptance of U. S. foreign private capital as the saviour.

The fourth point concerned the desirability of the underdeveloped countries accepting normal bankable loans from the U. S. Development Loan Fund for projects "not attractive to direct private investment."

The fifth point prescribed the agency of the proposed International Development Association for securing loans for financing other sound projects "which will afford the borrower flexibility regarding the terms of repayment."

Hence, despite formal invitation by Under-Secretary Dillon to other "industrialised countries" to "help in meeting the need of development fund" it is the United States and United States alone whose funds the Colombo Plan countries will be increasingly receiving in years to come. The American colossus, so far content with manipulating the show from backstage has now finally decided to jump on the stage itself as the real master.

In so doing, no doubt, it has been persuaded by the considerations of containing what its leaders mistakenly call the "economic offensive" from the Soviet Union.

Apart from the fact that the fraternal assistance which the USSR and other Socialist countries have been offering to the underdeveloped regions has nothing in common with the type of "aid" which the Colombo Plan donors have been doling out to the less privileged member nations, even the willingness of all the sections of the American ruling circles to go all out even in this respect is now not taken for granted.

DISAPPOINTMENT

Thus, reporting from the United Nations Headquarters, Hindu's K. Balaram said that Asian observers were "disappointed that the President did not go further than speak in broad generalities and did not give any clue whether these countries can expect in the future assistance on a larger scale than they had been getting so far." In fact, he added, the President "might seek a reduction in the foreign aid budget for next year."

More than the uncertainty about increased direct assistance, however, it is the spectre of a continued drop in their export earnings which had been disturbing the primary producing countries. The Indonesian Foreign Minister rightly said, "one cent more on the price of rubber purchased by the USA is more

valuable than a gift of 50 million dollars." In the absence of any guarantee to stabilise these prices, and also the quantity of these products to be imported by the United States and other industrialised countries, the loss in export earnings is bound to surpass even the assistance that the Western countries can possibly offer.

The most sinister aspect of the Seattle deliberations was the heavy accent it put on the necessity to combat Communism. Meeting under the Chairmanship of the past-master-in anti-Communism, Dulles, it was perhaps inevitable. Yet, its irrelevance to a meeting

whose ostensible purpose was to discuss problems of economic aid and development was so evident that even the Times of India was forced to comment that "the result of such gaucherie may be to convince neutralist countries that so long as the cold war continues it is futile to expect... disinterested aid through any channel except that of the United Nations."

Of what use to India is membership in such a body, one wonders, if all that it provides is yet another forum where the pangs of its economic development are drowned in a chorus of anti-Communism?

COLLABORATION PLANS

THE reason behind the reluctance of the U.S. ruling circles to provide assistance on governmental level has to be found in their renewed drive to push in the investments of their private capitalists into the underdeveloped countries. The ground for this having been prepared at the Fund-Bank and the Colombo Plan meetings, delegations of American business and industrial interests have begun to move in to concrete deals of "collaboration."

BANKERS ARRIVE

In India, too, currently a delegation of U.S. bankers and businessmen, led by the Director of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Nathaniel Knowles, has been contacting the leaders of Government and industry to foster trade, as well as launch joint ventures for small-scale industries. Their discussions, according to Knowles, would centre round the market for Indian products in the United States, licensing, investment collaboration opportunities for Indian firms and increased production of Indian industries.

Being only the first of four missions which are to visit India in succession, the Knowles delegation has brought with it "specific detailed information from some 110 companies in the USA who wanted to try and establish contacts with Indian businessmen and do business with them on exports, imports or joint ventures."

Magnanimously, Knowles declared at a news conference in New Delhi last week that his delegation would not insist on fifty-one per cent participation in the capital of joint ventures in small industries though he did not care to state as to what part of the loss thus incurred would be making up through inflated charges for equipment and technical know-how.

What are the lines however in which the joint

ventures are being sought? Knowles listed textiles and handicrafts among the consumer industries, other possibilities being fertiliser factories and air-conditioning plants.

It was in textile alone, so far, that the indigenous capital had been priding itself as being the sole master of the industry. Now here too foreign capital is being allowed to assail its position. The uniqueness of handicrafts had also consisted in their being mainly a product of Indian labour and enterprise. Now with the advent of foreign investors their products would also lose their national lustre.

Of what gain to the country's development can such intrusion of foreign interests into hitherto strictly national domains be, one might ask. The problems of these industries being essentially other than of capital or technical know-how what possible benefit can foreign collaboration bring to them either?

NEW HALTERS

Moreover, the rate of inflow of U.S. capital having outstripped even that of the U.K. in the last two years (with the share of the U.K. declining from 80 per cent between 1948 and 1953 to 65 per cent in 1956, while the quantum of U.S. capital increased from 3.5 crores to 7.1 crores in the corresponding periods) why should it be necessary for the Government to relax its policies to make its further intrusion possible?

To the U.S., no doubt such investments offer an opportunity to gainfully employ abroad its surplus machinery and capital for which it has little use in its own recession-struck economy. As far as the Indian Government is concerned however, it is yet another instance of taking too many liberties with nationally accepted policies leading to newer halts round the country's neck.

—ESSEN

November 18, 1958.

RABI SOWING CAMPAIGN ENDS WITH ITS INAUGURATION

It was no less a person than Sri A. P. Jain who, during the last-food debate in Parliament, commended the "efficient food administration" of Bihar, and the State Government again earned encomiums when it announced that 60,000 village organisers had been mobilised to conduct the rabi sowing campaign in the State in response to the appeal made by the Rashtrapati.

A CAMPAIGN was in fact organised. Deputy Ministers on pad yatras in many places joined it. But after the campaign, the pad yatras, meetings, speeches, processions and slogan-shouting, when it came to actual work, it was found that there were no rabi seeds available to do the sowing. And so the rabi fields in almost every part of Bihar are mostly lying fallow. This is how the "efficient administration" of the Bihar Government functions!

Thus in Palamu, for example, the Indian Nation reported that "hardly five to ten per cent of land has so far been furrowed for rabi sowing. Shortage of rabi seeds has caused great anxiety among the cultivators. Rabi seeds available in the market are selling at exorbitant rates. Above 50 per cent of cultivable land would remain uncultivated if the State Government does not come to help the farmers with seeds on subsidised rates."

According to Sri R. L. Pandey, MLC, Palamu District requires at least 40,000 maunds of gram seeds, 20,000 maunds of wheat seeds. The Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Sri Chandrika Ram, who visited the district in the last week of October promised three wagons of gram seeds soon but, even in the words of the Indian Nation reporter, "this meagre quantity would not be sufficient for even three villages of the district."

Similar reports are pouring in from all other parts of the State. The Searchlight reported that in "Buxar 75 per cent of cultivable land will remain uncultivated owing to the shortage of rabi seeds."

In Motihari, "the rabi campaign was started by Sri Kedar Pandey, Deputy Minister. It is learnt that up till now no rabi seeds have been distributed." And this correspondent sarcastically wrote: "it appears that the campaign has ended with its inauguration." (Indian Nation, October 26)

Food Minister's Facts

But Food Minister Bir Chand Patel thinks otherwise. In his opinion, the "report about the scarcity of wheat seeds was not based on facts." And the fact that he dished out was that "the Government had about 50,000 maunds of wheat seeds in stock." Sri Patel cannot be said to be unaware that 50,000 maunds will be sufficient for at the most one or two districts.

But more was to come. Sri Patel was also aware that this 50,000 maunds of wheat which he was flaunting before

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

the seed-hungry peasants must be rotten wheat offered for seeds because in the same interview he admitted that "somehow or other there was not much demand for Government wheat seeds. But the Government was alert and it had deputed some officials to the Punjab for purchasing wheat seeds."

This callous complacency towards the problem of agricultural production in the

ZAMINDARI ABOLITION IN RAJASTHAN

★ FROM H. K. VYAS

THOUGH belatedly, the Rajasthan Assembly has begun consideration of the Rajasthan Zamindari and Biswedari Abolition Act of 1958. Some clauses have already been adopted and by the end of the month, the measure will become law.

The main features of the Bill are:

● All land which is at present held as Khudkasht (personal cultivation) by zamindars and biswedars will be handed over to them as a sort of khata and such landholders will become khatedars (permanent occupiers) on such land. They will be given a nominal compensation of 50 per cent of the land revenue for the extinguishment of their zamindari or biswedari rights on such land.

● In respect of the rest of the land which is being tilled by tenants, the zamindari and biswedari rights will be taken over and they will be paid compensation at eight times the land revenue.

● The tenants who are tilling these lands will get khatedari rights without paying any compensation. They will have to, however, continue to pay the rent to the State for a period of ten years. And rent, under the Rent (Agricultural) Control Act, means up to two and in some cases three times the land revenue. Thus tenants on these lands will get no rent relief for the next ten years.

● The Bill does not stipulate that when it becomes law, it will immediately come into force. It vests in the State Government the power to apply it to particular areas. This provision will give further opportunities to the land-

State, on the part of the Government, is not a new phenomenon. This has, however, been strengthened as a result of the really good prospects of winter paddy which will be ready for harvesting after a month or so. Sri Patel made it an argument to "rule out any possibility of ceiling on the prices of foodgrains."

That was in reply to the PSP which had demanded ceiling on foodgrain prices in a recent resolution of its Executive.

But the real reason for Sri Patel's refusal was not merely that after the harvesting prices will come down to some extent and ceiling on prices will not be necessary. It was something else. As he himself expressed, "the ceiling imposed an obligation on the Government to make foodgrains available at fixed prices."

And this the Bihar Government was not ready to do.

The Bihar Government has never taken seriously its responsibility towards people's food. Foodgrain prices in Bihar have risen by 25 to 50 per cent during the last four months. Even today despite the slight reduction in prices in view of the good prospect of winter paddy, thanks to the bountiful Hathia rains, prices still range high and much beyond the reach of the ordinary man.

But the State Government has taken practically no steps against the hoarders and blackmarketees. It has failed to procure almost any stocks of foodgrains internally. It has failed to prevent even the wheat obtained from the Central Government from percolating into the blackmarket.

In sanctioning and distribution of gratuitous relief, in test relief works and taccavi and other loans, it has been extremely niggardly.

According to a Press Note of the Government, between April 1 and September 10, 1958, a total of Rs. 19,942,142 has been distributed as agricultural loan and Rs. 279,400 as land improvement loan this year when even according to official admission 2.65 lakh people were affected by scarcity. Even if we assume 150 lakh persons or 30 lakh families to be in need of and actually deserving such loans, the amount actually distributed would come to less than seven rupees per family.

In actual practice very few families have received any taccavi loans at all. In many cases taccavi loans were given only on paper and the money was transferred towards payment of arrears of land revenue or earlier taccavi loans.

Popular Struggles

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NOVEMBER 23, 1958

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

IN their bid to control the pace of economic development of the underdeveloped countries in the postwar period the U. S. imperialists, in league with their junior partners, devised various seemingly innocuous agencies to serve as conveyors for investment of their ill-gotten profits. Masquerading as Santa Claus, they hoped to exploit the assistance offered through these agencies to win the people of the recipient countries politically for their own brand of "freedom" and "democracy."

Among these agencies, the Colombo Plan had been assigned an especially significant place in the imperialists' calculations. Both from the stand-point of the region as well as the stake involved in its peoples' turning their face away from the path of colonial backwardness, it became necessary for them to deploy in it their maximum political and financial resources.

Unfortunately for them, however, theirs is a house divided within itself. Hence, while initiating the Colombo Plan in 1950 the United Kingdom, which had held the Far East so far under its leash, did not very much relish the idea of the United States also coming in to encroach on its traditional domain. But the "big brother" could not be held out for long either, for, who else, besides him, had the necessary funds to make the Plan work?

A MISNOMER

What is the Colombo Plan, however? As a matter of fact it is a misnomer to call it a Plan, since it is merely a conglomeration of the individual plans of the member countries. What then is its raison d'etre, one might ask. According to the British Information Service, "each participating country in the area was expected to submit its development programme for scrutiny by the others."

The first among these enjoined "expanded international trade"—a fine sentiment, indeed—but who obstructs it, one might ask the President—the countries in the region or the Government over which he presides? Leaving aside the unrealistic and positively harmful trade embargoes placed on dealings with People's China, who is it that restricts imports of primary products to the detriment of underdeveloped countries?

The second point which the President laid down prescribed increased facilities for technical training. Another good idea, no doubt, provided the training is in lines of basic development and not merely in spraying DDT and artificial insemination of cows and buffaloes.

NOVEMBER 23, 1958

Sinister Deliberations In Seattle

for the direct loans and financial contributions, as for example, for the Kundah Project in our country, these could have been provided even without being routed through the Plan.

In respect of the training facilities also, to the extent they can help some of the young technicians in the underdeveloped countries to get the necessary schooling, they may be welcome. If, however, the lines in which the training is provided are not the ones chosen on the basis of the requirements of the recipient countries' basic development, the labour and the expenditure on it will be of little benefit. Under the Colombo Plan, however, it is just this type of training that has predominantly been made available—in irrigation, transport and communications, and not in industries, which should receive top priority.

FIVE POINTS

This year the Consultative Committee held its session for the first time in the United States. In his inaugural address, President Eisenhower made no bones about making the intentions of his Government very explicit. Without mincing words he stated that the USA intended "to take increasing advantage of your cooperative activities in shaping its own financing of development programmes in South and Southeast Asia." Later, he went on to expatiate on his "five points of economic progress", pursuing which, in his view, the countries in the region could achieve the desired results.

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The third, and the key, point in the President's programme concerned the necessity of facilitating the inflow of private investments into the underdeveloped countries, for, as he said "if this country (nameless, the USA) is to be of the greatest help... its private resources will need to be drawn to the greatest extent possible." Thus, from

the Fund-Bank Conference at New Delhi to the Colombo Plan meeting at Seattle, it is the same tale of pushing the needy countries into the acceptance of U. S. foreign private capital as the saviour.

The fourth point concerned the desirability of the underdeveloped countries accepting normal bankable loans from the U. S. Development Loan Fund for projects "not attractive to direct private investment."

The fifth point prescribed the agency of the proposed International Development Association for securing loans for financing other sound projects "which will afford the borrower flexibility regarding the terms of repayment."

Hence, despite formal invitation by Under-Secretary Dillon to other "industrialised countries" to "help in meeting the need of development fund" it is the United States and United States alone whose funds the Colombo Plan countries will be increasingly receiving in years to come. The American colossus, so far content with manipulating the show from backstage has now finally decided to jump on the stage itself as the real master.

In so doing, no doubt, it has been persuaded by the considerations of containing what its leaders mistakenly call the "economic offensive" from the Soviet Union.

Apart from the fact that the fraternal assistance which the USSR and other Socialist countries have been offering to the underdeveloped regions has nothing in common with the type of "aid" which the Colombo Plan donors have been doling out to the less privileged member nations, even the willingness of all the sections of the American ruling circles to go all out even in this respect is now not taken for granted.

DISAPPOINTMENT

Thus, reporting from the United Nations' Headquarters, Hindu's K. Balaram said that Asian observers were "disappointed that the President did not go further than speak in broad generalities and did not give any clue whether these countries can expect in the future assistance on a larger scale than they had been getting so far." In fact, he added, the President "might seek a reduction in the foreign aid budget for next year."

More than the uncertainty about increased direct assistance, however, it is the spectre of a continued drop in their export earnings which had been disturbing the primary producing countries. The Indonesian Foreign Minister rightly said, "one cent more on the price of rubber purchased by the USA is more

valuable than a gift of 50 million dollars." In the absence of any guarantee to stabilise these prices, and also the quantity of these products to be imported by the United States and other industrialised countries, the loss in export earnings is bound to surpass even the assistance that the Western countries can possibly offer.

The most sinister aspect of the Seattle deliberations was the heavy accent it put on the necessity to combat Communism. Meeting under the Chairmanship of the past-master in anti-Communism, Dulles, it was perhaps inevitable. Yet, its irrelevance to a meeting

whose ostensible purpose was to discuss problems of economic aid and development was so evident that even the Times of India was forced to comment that "the result of such gauche may be to convince neutralist countries that so long as the cold war continues it is futile to expect... disinterested aid through any channel except that of the United Nations."

Of what use to India is membership in such a body, one wonders, if all that it provides is yet another forum where the pangs of its economic development, are drowned in a chorus of anti-Communism?

COLLABORATION PLANS

THE reason behind the reluctance of the U. S. ruling circles to provide assistance on governmental level has to be found in their renewed drive to push in the investments of their private capitalists into the underdeveloped countries. The ground for this having been prepared at the Fund-Bank and the Colombo Plan meetings, delegations of American business and industrial interests have begun to move in to concrete deals of "collaboration."

It was in textile alone, so far, that the indigenous capital had been priding itself as being the sole master of the industry. Now here too foreign capital is being allowed to assail its position. The uniqueness of handicrafts had also consisted in their being mainly a product of Indian labour and enterprise. Now with the advent of foreign investors their products would also lose their national lustre.

Of what gain to the country's development can such intrusion of foreign interests into hitherto strictly national domains be, one might ask. The problems of these industries being essentially other than of capital or technical know-how what possible benefit can foreign collaboration bring to them either?

NEW HALTERS

Moreover, the rate of inflow of U. S. capital having outstripped even that of the U. K. in the last two years (with the share of 80 per cent between 1948 and 1953 to 65 per cent in 1956, while the quantum of U. S. capital increased from 3.5 crores to 7.1 crores in the corresponding periods) why should it be necessary for the Government to relax its policies to make its further intrusion possible?

To the U. S., no doubt such investments offer an opportunity to gainfully employ abroad its surplus machinery and capital for which it has little use in its own recession-struck economy. As far as the Indian Government is concerned however, it is yet another instance of taking too many liberties with national accepted policies leading to newer halters round the country's neck.

—ESSEN
November 18, 1958.

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

RABI SOWING CAMPAIGN ENDS WITH ITS INAUGURATION

It was no less a person than Sri A. P. Jain who, during the last food debate in Parliament, commended the "efficient food administration" of Bihar, and the State Government again earned encomiums when it announced that 60,000 village organisers had been mobilised to conduct the rabi sowing campaign in the State in response to the appeal made by the Rashtrapati.

A CAMPAIGN was in fact organised. Deputy Ministers on pad yatras in many places joined it. But after the campaign, the pad yatras, meetings, speeches, processions and slogan-shouting, when it came to actual work, it was found that there were no rabi seeds available to do the sowing. And so the rabi fields in almost every part of Bihar are mostly lying fallow. This is how the "efficient administration" of the Bihar Government functions!

Thus in Palamu, for example, the Indian Nation reported that "hardly five to ten per cent of land has so far been furrowed for rabi sowing. Shortage of rabi seeds has caused great anxiety among the cultivators. Rabi seeds available in the market are selling at exorbitant rates.... Above 50 per cent of cultivable land would remain uncultivated if the State Government does not come to help the farmers with seeds on subsidised rates."

According to Sri R. L. Pandey, MLC, Palamu District requires at least 40,000 maunds of gram seeds, 20,000 maunds of wheat seeds. The Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Sri Chandrika Ram, who visited the district in the last week of October promised three wagons of gram seeds soon but, even in the words of the Indian Nation reporter, "this meagre quantity would not be sufficient for even three villages of the district."

Similar reports are pouring in from all other parts of the State. The Searchlight reported that in "Buxar 75 per cent of cultivable land will remain uncultivated owing to the shortage of rabi seeds."

In Motihari, "the rabi campaign was started by Sri Kedar Pandey, Deputy Minister. It is learnt that up till now no rabi seeds have been distributed." And this Correspondent sarcastically wrote: "It appears that the campaign has ended with its inauguration." (Indian Nation, October 26)

Food Minister's Facts

But Food Minister Bir Chand Patel thinks otherwise. In his opinion, the "report about the scarcity of wheat seeds was not based on facts." And the fact that he dished out was that "the Government had about 50,000 maunds of wheat seeds in stock." Sri Patel cannot be said to be unaware that 50,000 maunds will be sufficient for at the most one or two districts.

But more was to come. Sri Patel was also aware that this 50,000 maunds of wheat which he was flaunting before

State, on the part of the Government, is not a new phenomenon. This has, however, been strengthened as a result of the really good prospects of winter paddy which will be ready for harvesting after a month or so. Sri Patel made it an argument to "rule out any possibility of ceiling on the prices of foodgrains."

That was in reply to the PSP which had demanded ceiling on foodgrain prices in a recent resolution of its Executive.

But the real reason for Sri Patel's refusal was not merely that after the harvesting prices will come down to some extent and ceiling on prices will not be necessary. It was something else. As he himself expressed, "the ceiling imposed an obligation on the Government to make foodgrains available at fixed prices."

And this the Bihar Government was not ready to do.

The Bihar Government has never taken seriously its responsibility towards people's food. Foodgrain prices in Bihar have risen by 25 to 50 per cent during the last four months. Even today despite the slight reduction in prices in view of the good prospect of winter paddy, thanks to the bountiful Hathia rains, prices still range high and much beyond the reach of the ordinary man.

But the State Government has taken practically no steps against the hoarders and blackmarketees. It has failed to procure almost any stocks of foodgrains internally. It has failed to prevent even the wheat obtained from the Central Government from percolating into the blackmarket. In sanctioning and distribution of gratuitous relief, in test relief works and taccavi and other loans, it has been extremely niggardly.

According to a Press Note of the Government between April 1 and September 10, 1958, a total of Rs. 19,942,142 has been distributed as agricultural loan and Rs. 279,400 as land improvement loan this year when even according to official admission 2.65 lakh people were affected by scarcity. Even if we assume 150 lakh persons or 30 lakh families to be in need of and actually deserving such loans, the amount actually distributed would come to less than seven rupees per family.

In actual practice very few families have received any taccavi loans at all. In many cases taccavi loans were given only on paper and the money was transferred towards payment of arrears of land revenue or earlier taccavi loans.

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THE FUTILITY OF ZHIVAGO

WHAT a furore! Seldom has a book or an author so stolen the headlines! Eisenhower who once confessed to comics being his sole reading matter, now would like to meet the author! To parody the cruel twist of Eliot, today among the smart set in the room the women come and go, talking of Doctor Zhivago! The irony deepens when we find that in the din of controversy, the book itself has seldom been read.

Cold War Intrusion

It gets clearer every day that the cold war leaves nothing alone. Pasternak now states that he was considered for the Nobel Prize some years ago. Since then only Dr. Zhivago has been added to his repertoire — obviously the motive for the prize. Hemingway tells the London Times that however much he may dislike the Soviet reaction, he cannot deny the political impulse behind the laurel granting. Joan Robinson pleads with the New Statesman not to join the cold warriors, if it is anxious for the ebbing of tension and the spread of its own values.

Negatively, Howard Fast undresses his god again and Albert Camus shakes off his unconcern just this once. And, of course, Thought and Current and the voices of America find they can prate of freedom again, despite Ayub Khan and Little Rock.

We could leave the lunatic fringe to their ideology if it were not for the fact that many respected friends, whose sentiments we value and understand, had not somehow overlooked this fact of cold war intrusion. It is not a question here of "the power of unarmed truth" but of arms dangerously taking up the man, whatever his intentions.

Surely, we have here an object lesson in the relation between art and politics. One never writes in a vacuum and when one is talented with the power to add "new wings to words" one must choose one's words with discrimination and sensitivity. Pasternak himself now admits this in a letter to Pravda, November 5, "I received the Nobel Prize award as a literary distinction. But I was mistaken... After a week when I saw the dimensions of the political campaign around my novel had assumed and realised that this award had been a political move which has now had monstrous consequences. I upon my own accord under no coercion, tendered my voluntary rejection."

The Western Press and their cohorts here have made much use of some of the extravagant phrases used by a Soviet youth leader in criticising Pasternak. They have chosen to ignore the very balanced and persuasive criticism made in a letter to Pasternak by the then Editorial Board of *Novy Mir* as early as September 1956 when he first submitted his manuscript to them.

Over some 20 typed pages the editors, who include Fedin and Simonov, go care-

fully over the book, section by section. They say, "there are quite a few first rate pages, especially where you describe Russian nature with great realism and poetic power." They refer to his earlier work. "To those who had earlier read your 'Year 1905', 'Lieutenant Schmidt', 'Second Birth', 'Waves', 'Early Trains' — poetry which we, at any rate, thought imbued with a different spirit, a different tenor—your novel was a distressing experience."

Their main theme of criticism is: "The spirit of your novel is that of non-acceptation of the socialist revolution. The general tenor of your novel is that the October Revolution, the Civil War and the social transformations involved did not give the people anything but suffering, and destroyed the Russian intelligentsia physically or morally."

"However painful it is to us, we had to call a spade a spade in this letter. It seems to us that your novel is profoundly unjust, historically prejudiced in the description of the revolution, the civil war and the post-revolutionary years, that it is profoundly anti-democratic and alien to any conception of the interests of the people."

After profuse quotation,

Adib of the Times of India and other friends have reacted strongly to the post-Nobel Prize criticism in the Soviet Union. Personally one would wish that the language used by some personalities in the Soviet Union had been more temperate and one may like to discuss and debate some of the resolutions passed there.

But one cannot with all due respect for Adib agree, that Pasternak should have been left alone... No! Not

by
MOHIT SEN

after Doctor Zhivago—that was a challenge and the gauntlet had to be picked up.

It is also wrong to say that the Soviet Union does not allow publication of critical novels and plays. Maybe that was true of the past, which itself has been subjected to self-critical onslaught. But following the big change we have had Ehrenburg's *The Thaw*, Dudinstev's *Not by Bread Alone*, Nechkin's *Collective Farm Sketches*, Kazakevitch's *House on The Square*, Granin's *Inventors*, Panova's *The Year's Span* and

It would be difficult also to find in Pasternak's hero much of Faustian conflict between choosing cruel means for a merciful aim. We can scarcely find here an echo of Bertolt Brecht's beautiful lines about voices raised in anger against injustice growing harsh.

Pasternak can hardly be said to have written a novel — the characters scarcely develop, there are all sorts of incredible jumps and coincidences in the plot and practically no internal justification for the events, even the tension of momentum is absent.

To put it simply, the author gets hold of two main characters — Zhivago and Lara — pulls them through a somewhat troubled childhood-cum-adolescence, confronts them with sordid love affairs, marriage, war, revolution, civil war, idyllic attraction, and then pulls them apart, ending with the total disintegration of Zhivago. It is really quite scandalous that anyone could see Tolstoy and Dostoevsky in all this.

What reminds us that the book is written by a poet of great subtlety and sensuous mysticism are some magnificent descriptions of nature. We frequently encounter passages like: "Now and then there was a quiet pale-grey,

But alas! This is only incidental to what is essentially a philippic against socialism, a pitiful paean of rather futile individualism — a reactionary book in the truest meaning of the much abused word.

Crisis Of Individualism

Doctor Zhivago, far from reflecting any "crisis" in Soviet life or thought, is the testament of the crisis of the philosophy of individualism given particular twist by the Greek mystic interpretation of the New Testament. As a protest against feudalism, this world outlook helped the growth of human personality but as a last-ditch stand against the new, richer and more complex collectivism of socialism it too easily slips from individualism to phillipic ego-centrism. In the socialist collective, we have the problem and fruitful contradiction of individuation (to use Caudwell) but we cannot afford to miss the struggle against individualism, against the putting of oneself above and before the community. In this collective the individual personality burgeons to integrity but individualism and selfishness wither.

To begin with, it seems the author would like Doctor

Pasternak's Novel Against Time And Progress

this letter says: "You have written a political novel-sermon, par excellence. You have conceived it as a work to be placed unreservedly and sincerely at the service of certain political aims, and this, which is the main thing for you, has naturally focussed our attention as well."

Appeal To Pasternak

Yet they conclude with an appeal: "As for your irritation with which the novel is written — and not your ideological position as such — we, recalling that you have works to your record which a great deal differ from what you have recently said, we want to remind you in the words of your heroine, addressed to Dr. Zhivago: 'You have changed, you know. Before you judged the revolution not so sharply and without irritation... If you are able to think about it seriously, please do so. In spite of everything, we wish it very much.'"

We would advise all who have disliked the words of the Komsomol secretary to read this letter, which is now available in English as a supplement to *New Times No. 44*. And they might also ponder why this criticism was passed over in silence in the Indian dailies, to say nothing of the British and American Press.

Korneichuk's *Wings* — to name a few which are personally known. Where has a state used its publishing houses to so pillory itself on this scale?

Whether we agree or not, we can understand many of our fellow progressives, friends of the Soviet Union and of socialism finding themselves out of tune with the strictness and severity with which the Soviet writers and citizens came down on Pasternak. Let us discuss this. Let our progressive writers and other friends who feel upset write to their Soviet colleagues about it. But right now, let us turn to Doctor Zhivago.

Hardly A Novel

Contrary to expectation in some quarters, the novel is not a horror story of so-called Stalinist "terror" — its main plot ends by about the middle 1920s. Nor is it an overdose exposure of bureaucracy or OGPU misdeeds. Only some laconic statements in this effect are scattered in the last few pages of the book.

It is not even a Fast-like discovery that what had started all right got perverted due to the "evils" of democratic centralism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Doctor Zhivago never gets on to that level at all.

dark rose evening, with birches, black and fine as script against the after-glow, and black streams, faintly clouded over with grey ice, flowing between steep white banks of snow blackened at the edges, where the running water had corroded them." (p. 341)

Philippic Against Socialism

Then in the poems there are some startlingly taut and counter-pointed images like "work seethes in the hands of spring, That strapping dairy maid" or the comparison of night to "a barefoot tramp" and autumn to an "old rag-and-bone merchant."

We have also extremely evocative lines like, to take a random example —

"Like gas butterflies the street lamps,
 Touched by the morning,
 Trembled."

I talked to you softly
 Like the sleeping distance."

Though in the poems and in the turning to nature we have a certain loneliness and the ache of despair — which possibly links up with the extreme individualism of Pasternak — yet if Doctor Zhivago was only this, one could perhaps have understood the Nobel Prize. One could also have known Pasternak.

Zhivago and his heroine Lara to understand this. He gets Zhivago to tell his dying foster-mother who is terrified by her own mortality:

"You in others are yourself, your soul... There is no death. Death is not our department. But you mentioned talent—that's a different, that's ours, that's at our disposal. And to be gifted in the widest and highest sense is to be gifted for life." (p. 71)

Expressing compassion for Lara's fate — a morbid seduction by the elderly Komarovskiy—he frequently describes her as: "She was here on earth to make sense of its wild enchantment and to call each thing by its right name, or if this were not within her power, then, out of love of life, to give birth to heirs who would do it in her place."

Attitude To Revolution

In the early pages we have a highly personalised, individualistic acceptance of the revolution: "The revolution broke out willy-nilly like a breath that's been held too long. Everyone was revived, reborn, changed, transformed." "Here too were his loyalty to the revolution and his admiration for it, the revolution in the sense in which it

* SEE CENTRE PAGES.

HIGHLIGHTS

THREE-FOLD INCREASE IN FOOD PRODUCTION

A three-fold increase in the state's rice production by 1991 is the target set by Kerala's Master Plan.

Kerala is acutely deficit in foodgrains. At 16 oz. per head per day, Kerala requires 22 lakhs tons of rice a year. At present the total production in the State is 8.9 lakh tons annually, cultivated on 13.25 lakh acres of land — an average yield of half a ton per acre per crop.

Investigations have shown that the total cultivable paddy lands in the State can be increased to 14 lakh acres of which 12 lakh acres can be irrigated by the major irrigation schemes and the rest through medium and minor irrigation works.

Taking a conservative estimate of 2½ crops only on the average, producing 1½ tons per acre, the output will increase by 12 lakh tons, putting the annual production at 21 lakh tons.

By intensive and improved methods of cultivation, production can be further increased to two tons per acre of three crops, and 1½ tons per acre of two crops. This will take the total annual output to 27 lakh tons of rice.

From the present 8.9 lakh tons of rice annually to 27 lakh tons by 1991 — this is what is envisaged in the Master Plan. Kerala will thus be self-sufficient in rice even allowing for the normal increase in population.

Further such a programme of development of agricultural production will assure fuller and continued employment to the agricultural population and also give impetus to many subsidiary developments.

IRRIGATION PROGRAMME

THE irrigation programme of the Master Plan consists of 68 major irrigation schemes out of which five schemes have been completed and seven are under construction.

The phasing of the major irrigation programme, which will cost about Rs. 80 crores, is —

At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan (1961) — 294,500 acres can be brought under irrigation, increasing production of rice to 13 lakh tons annually.

At the end of the Third Plan (1966) — the acreage of paddy-fields benefited by irrigation will be 472,240 and food production will go up to 17 lakh tons of rice.

At the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971) — 727,850 acres of land will get irrigation facilities.

When the second stage of development is completed in 1991, the area irrigated will be 1,185,800 acres and annual production of rice will be 27 lakh tons.

ABUNDANT ELECTRICITY AT CHEAP RATES

A highlight of the Master Plan is the generation of hydro-electric power.

The Plan provides for 27 projects for hydroelectric power production in nine major river basins which include three projects already completed and four projects now under construction.

The Plan, which will cost Rs. 178 crores, is so phased that power generation at 60 per cent load factor in kilowatts will be:

At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan (1961) — 218,400

At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan (1966) — 414,700

At the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971) — 887,300

After completion of the second stage (1991) — 2,091,300

The cost per kilowatt of power generated will vary from Rs. 970 to Rs. 1,410 — which is the lowest in India.

By developing the entire hydel potential in Kerala, it will be possible not only to supply cheap electricity for industrialising the entire State, but supply power at cheaper rates to the neighbouring States also.

KERALA'S MASTER PLAN

For All-Round Development

TARGETS : SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD, RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION

Kerala's engineers have an ambitious but optimistic plan to solve the State's baffling problem of food shortage caused by the fast-increasing population and pressure on insufficient land area. The plan is to harness and exploit to the full the State's numerous rivers, both for irrigation and electric power.

THE scheme of development is outlined in a Master Plan for Development of Water Resources, which the State's Minister for Irrigation and Power, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, presented to Prime Minister Nehru on November 6, at the Kerala Pavilion in the India 1958 Exhibition in Delhi.

Only Solutions

The entire economy of the State revolves round agriculture but the per capita area of land under cultivation is as low as 30 cents (one acre=100 cents). Intensive cultivation under conditions of assured water supply and rapid industrialisation with the aid of cheap electric power are, it has been realised by the State Government, the only solutions to the serious socio-economic problems confronting the State.

Kerala has heavy rainfall, copious mountainous catchments and 43 rivers, big and small, cascading into the Arabian Sea. The rapid flow of these river torrents erodes the soil and floods the lands on the flanks before they waste themselves into the sea without proper exploitation.

By careful planning and application of science, by the construction of a series of reservoirs, canals, flood banks, tunnels and other measures of water transfusion and conservancy, the rivers of Kerala might well, in future, make the fields and gardens yield golden harvests; they may also cause an acceleration of the industrial development of the State, with the hydro-electric power generated at comparatively cheaper cost than elsewhere in India, besides facilitating the development of a convenient and cheap water transport system from one end of the State to the other.

Promise Of Prosperity

All this involves the formulation of a comprehensive plan to make the rivers an increasingly constructive and many-sided contributor to the well-being of the people at large. The Master Plan now

The break-up of the Plan is as follows:-

Plan	First phase	Second phase	Total
	(In crores of rupees)		
Hydro-electric	86.0	92.0	178.0
Major irrigation	41.0	39.0	80.0
Salinity control	2.0	2.0	4.0
Medium and minor irrigation	5.0	3.0	8.0
Lift irrigation	1.5	1.5	3.0
Flood control	5.0	7.0	12.0
Seashore protection and reclamation	10.0	16.0	26.0
Drainage and reclamation	4.0	16.0	20.0
Inland Navigation	16.0	33.0	49.0
Minor Ports	4.0	5.0	9.0
Fisheries	4.0	5.0	9.0
Urban and rural water supply	30.0	67.0	97.0
Tourism and water sports	1.5	3.5	5.0
Total	210.0	290.0	500.0

Taking the first phase works to be completed by 1971, the

programme, the Plan may have to be stretched and

spread over a longer period and priorities adjusted. The

West-flowing rivers of the State is about 2,560,800 mcf. Of this the hydel and irrigation schemes together will need about 560,000 mcf. For maintaining a steady draft in the rivers and canals, about 188,000 mcf. will be required. Domestic and industrial consumption will require about 155,000 mcf. and kari lands about 176,000 mcf.

Kerala is even now sharing her river waters with the neighbouring State of Madras. Apart from the utilisation of the Periyar river, which has been dammed at its early reaches and the impounded waters used both for irrigation and electricity, Madras is using about 52,000 mcf. from the Aliyar branch of the Bharatapuzha before the river enters the Kerala State. After meeting all these requirements a balance of 1,430,000 mcf. will flow down the rivers into the sea, the bulk being from the drainage area in the midlands and coastal region during the monsoon months.

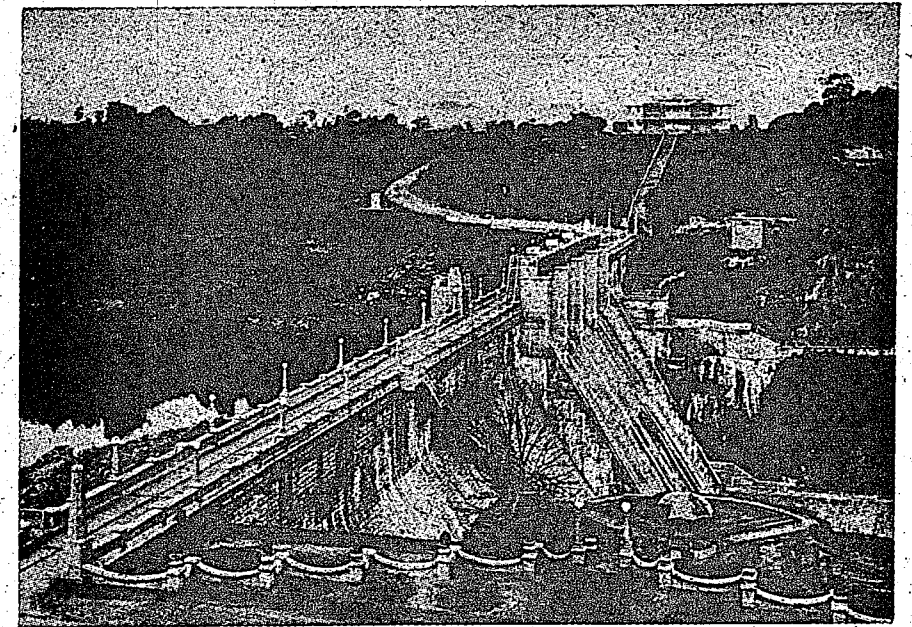
People's Cooperation

Under the Parambikulam-Aliyar Project the Madras Government has schemes proposed on the tributaries of the Bharatapuzha Chalaky and Periyar tributaries which lie in the Madras State. The question of sharing these waters which had been under active discussion between the Madras and Kerala Governments has now been settled.

Realising the need for public cooperation and participation in the quick and efficient implementation of schemes it is proposed to constitute River Valley Boards one for each river valley. The Boards will have branches and sub-branches for each project or canal or distributory. They will consist of elected representatives of the ryots besides officials directly concerned with the projects. It will be the duty of the Boards to educate the people, secure their cooperation and assist the officials in the development of the projects and their proper upkeep.

Experts Are Optimistic

Thus does the smallest State of the Indian Union propose to untie the knots that strangle her. The abundant optimism of the State's planning experts as to the ultimate success of the scheme is based



A view of the Peechi Dam and Peechi House near Trichur.

on the conviction that Nature wisely provides, in one form or another, for the sustenance of life in every region of the Earth. And it is on her rivers, two score and one (the most numerous, area for area, for any single part of India) that Kerala's prosperity mainly depends.

The Minister for Irrigation and Power, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, who gave the inspiration, encouragement and impetus to the State's engineers

in preparing the Master Plan in record time (few other States have completed their Water Resources Plan) stated the other day after complimenting the officers:

"I have myself been inspired by the Prime Minister's moving message to the irrigation and power engineers. I am convinced that the future of Kerala depends, to a large extent, on how we enable Nature to help us in irrigating our fields in order to grow better

crops, providing electric power in order to vivify our industries and opening waterways for cheap transport and, in all these processes, affording work and food for our teeming population. And as for rivers, these have been for us, from the Vedic times, one of the primal elements that have compelled our homage. Our rivers, accepted as holy and worshipped as such, have also been the symbol of our abiding unity."

Pasternak's Zhivago

*FROM PAGE 7

was accepted by the middle-classes and in which it had been understood by the students, followers of Blok, in 1950."

But barely fifty pages after all this, the attitude slips, slides and finally crumbles into one of total rejection. In between these fifty pages nothing has happened except that the Zhivago family finding life too physically hard in Moscow have decided to go to a town in Siberia, where the doctor turns amateur farmer.

It is this peevishness against inevitable hardships at a time of historic change that writes pettiness into Zhivago's attitude. The October Revolution which has lit up the dark of the world was exchanged against the discomfort of a logless winter. This is the "hero" of the west.

Now we have complaints: "History hasn't consulted me. I have to put up with whatever happens." Revolutionary decrees are sneered at: "It was their single-mindedness that appealed to us. But such things keep their original purity only in the minds of those who have conceived them, and then only on the day they are published. By the day after the casuality of politics has turned them inside out." (p. 218) The philosophy of the revolution is now decried: "I don't know of any teaching more self-centred and further from the facts than Marxism." (p. 235)

The complaining soon enough changes to angry hostility, especially after the partisans have recruited his services as a physician — which at a time of distress he had deliberately withheld.

Zhivago's partisans are the crudest caricature — men filled with blood-lust, aimless chatterers and drug addicts. The complaint has turned to hatred since it has found a point of focus — life must be let alone, to try to change it is blasphemy. Here we have a quietist hatred: "Reshaping life! People who say that have never understood a thing about life — they have never felt its breath, its heart." (p. 305)

Naturally Zhivago cannot stand those who, finding life a rotten thing under tsarism, set about shaping it — at great cost and sacrifice — to something more humane, more worthy. He says of the partisans: "I'll admit that you are Russia's liberators, her shining lights, that without you she would be lost, sunk in misery and ignorance, but I still don't give a damn for any of you, I don't like you and you can go all to the devil." (p. 306)

The next step is taken — fight from the partisans back to Lara and a private affair, shutting the world out. "Even more than by what they had in common, they were united by what separated them from the rest of the world." (p. 55) And in keeping with all this, we have the formulation of an alternative philosophy — borrowed, one fears, from the stock-in-trade of Western irrationalism which actually is as old as the fears of the oppressors from time immemorial: "All that's left is the bare, shivering human soul, stripped to the last shred, the naked force of the human psyche for which nothing has changed because it was always cold and shivering and reach-

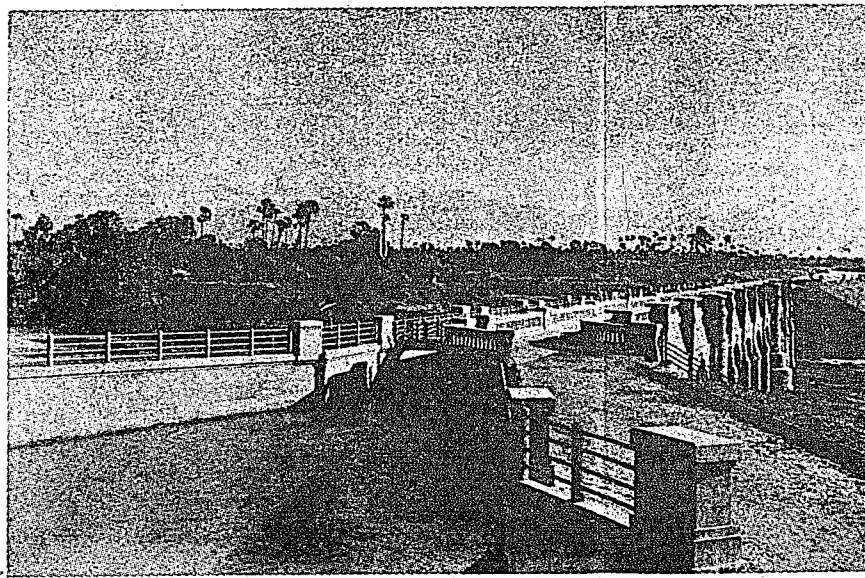
ing out to its nearest neighbour, as cold as itself." (p. 362)

With this philosophy comes self-destruction. Zhivago allows Lara to leave with Komarovskiy, her old seducer, who strangely enough pops up at this moment — knowing full well that her whole life has been a flight from the misery and degradation he represented. Zhivago himself drifts back to Moscow, picks up another mistress and finds his friends unbearable since they believe in the Soviet way of life, in spite of all its hardships. He dies in the street and Lara who returns to Moscow oddly enough just at the time of his death cries out the epitaph:

"The riddle of life, the riddle of death, the beauty of genius, the beauty of loving — that, yes, that we understood. As for us, petty trifles as reshaping the world — these things, no thank you, they are not for us." (p. 448) — The mystic has understood heaven and missed this only earth of ours, with all its promise of historical liberation.

Thus we have the final collapse with a few pages of conclusion and epilogue which have no relation to the rest of the novel. It is the collapse of individualism into a shapeless mass of selfishness. And since, as Pasternak says, "beauty is the joy of possessing form," we have in Doctor Zhivago something other than that.

When Zhivago says: "Only the superfluous is sordid" he has written his own obituary. Pasternak has written that he will now write afresh. We await with eagerness his resurrection from Zhivago's futility.



A view of the Malampuzha Project — it is already irrigating extensive areas in South Malabar.

all the items of work proposed to be executed under irrigation, power generation, flood control, sea-shore protection, drainage, reclamation, inland navigation, water supply, minor ports, fisheries and tourism will cost Rs. 500 crores split up into two phases, costing Rs. 210 crores and Rs. 290 crores each. The first phase is for execution during 1961-71 and the second phase during 1971-91. The average annual expenditure will be about Rs. 20 crores in the first phase and Rs. 15 crores in the second phase.

average expenditure to be incurred in a year will come to about Rs. 20 crores. The total provision in the Second Five-Year Plan under all the above heads together is Rs. 40 crores, yielding an average allotment of Rs. eight crores per year.

Increase In Pace

What is contemplated, therefore, is a substantial increase on the pursuit pace of development. If funds do not permit of such an ambitious

Plan includes existing schemes as well as new schemes.

Some of the physical targets of the Master Plan are as follows:

ELECTRICITY — 18,72,900 at 60 per cent load factor

MAJOR IRRIGATION — to benefit 896,300 acres

SALINITY CONTROL — to benefit 61,900 acres

MEDIUM AND MINOR IRRIGATION WORKS — 400,000 acres

LIFT IRRIGATION — 150,000 acres

It has been estimated that the annual run off of the

ICFTU COLD-WARRIORS IN INDIA

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has of late intensified its activity in India to bring about a rapprochement between the INTUC and the HMS in order to isolate the AITUC.

Seven members of (West) German Federation of Labour (DGB) have been touring our country and are reported to have called upon the INTUC and HMS to close their ranks. According to them, "Unity among trade union organisations wedded to democratic methods was essential to counteract the influence of the Communist-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress." (Hindustan Times, October 2, 1958)

Earlier Mr. J. H. Oldenbrock, General Secretary of the ICFTU, personally came to India for an "on-the-spot" study and is reported to have suggested to both the INTUC and the HMS to "agree to a demarcation of their spheres of influence." His aim was "to end the rivalry between the two organisations so that they can present a united front against the Communist-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress."

United Front —Against Whom?

So the united front is to be against not the greedy monopolists—both foreign and native—but against the AITUC. Unity is not for defending and advancing the interests of the workers, but is meant to isolate the AITUC. This is not building a trade union movement—it is a despicable effort to break it on the basis of anti-Communism. This is spreading cold war into the ranks of Indian labour.

Such are the red-baiting and union busting activities that these germ-carriers of cold war are intending to carry on amidst our labour ranks.

The INTUC has only too readily agreed to fall in line with these dictates from abroad. But the HMS is reported to have rejected this plan because of the INTUC's close alliance with the ruling party and its consequent inability to take an independent line on matters affecting the working class.

Ramanujam's Claim...

Sri G. Ramanujam, the INTUC chief, is indignant at this suggestion and has said that the INTUC is an "independent body", and the "only link" between it and the Congress is "ideological." But facts are stubborn and not in favour of Sri Ramanujam's contention.

Some time ago the Searchlight, Patna, reported a very high level meeting of Congress bosses, notable among them being Sri Dhebar, Sri Nanda, Sri Khandubhai Desai, Sri M. John and the Labour Ministers of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa. These dignitaries were reported to have discussed the ways and means of strengthening the INTUC as against the "rising tide of Communism in the industrial areas of

Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa in the Eastern Zone." Still later, the Hindustan Times reported on September 9, 1958, that a meeting of the Central Board of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh was held to discuss the question of bringing about closer cooperation between the Congress and the INTUC to combat Communist and other extremist influences in the trade union movement."

And The Truth

The Congress High Command has since given a directive that Congressmen should not work in trade unions other than those belonging to the INTUC and that the INTUC should have functional representation on Congress Committees at different levels. Still Sri Ramanujam says that INTUC is an independent organisation.

And tragically enough, as if to belle Sri Ramanujam, the National Herald, Lucknow, very recently reported: "A Coordination Committee to coordinate the activities of the Congress and the INTUC on State and district levels was formed... at a joint meeting of the UPCC Sub-Committee of the Labour and the office-bearers of the U. P. Congress Committee."

"The Committee has been formed on the instructions of the AICC in pursuance of a decision taken at the meeting of Presidents and Secretaries of State Congress Committees held at Delhi recently."

The HMS, too, has certain very bitter memories of not too distant a past when it tried unity with the INTUC to its own detriment. In the railways this unity was tried. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation merged with the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen. It turned out to be not unity of railwaymen and further advance of their movement but the tightening of the INTUC grip and the annihilation of the railwaymen's movement. The AIRF is out again but is much weaker than what it was at the time of the merger.

United Actions

However much the red-baiters of the ICFTU may dislike and whatsoever may be the bosses of INTUC rave in rage, the logic of life is teaching the Indian working class a very simple lesson—the lesson of overcoming the split, by certain "politicians" on grounds of politics and ideology, and build united action to win their demands.

CATTLE FARM WORKERS ON STRIKE

Eight hundred workers of the Hissar Cattle Farm are on strike from November 7, 1958, demanding wage increase, fixed hours of work, weekly holiday, sickness and casual leave, and provision of blankets, lanterns and medical aid facilities. The strike is complete and peaceful.

LABOUR NOTES

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

The Calcutta tram strike, the plantation strike in the Terai and Dooras region of West Bengal and the recent Kerala plantation workers' general strike of October 25 were all united strikes, led by united action committees. Mobilisation of the mass of workers on vital and easily understood demands was the force that brought all the unions together. When the AITUC, the HMS and the UTUC and the independent unions come together, the appeal is so strong that sections of INTUC begin to sympathetically react and finally even the official INTUC falls in line as happened in the Calcutta tramway action and the Statewide plantation labour struggle in Kerala.

Agreements Not Implemented

Himachal Pradesh has no rules of its own for the various labour acts—such as the Industrial Disputes Act, the Payment of Wages and the Minimum Wages Act etc. Nor has the Government declared that Central rules for these Acts are applicable to Himachal Pradesh.

The Director of Industries is also Development Commissioner and also the Labour Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner is the Conciliation Officer. And the files hardly move in these offices.

HIMACHAL PRADESH: A STATE WITHOUT ANY LABOUR RULES

THE young working class of the Hill state of Himachal Pradesh is fast developing into an organised force. The workers and employees of the State Road Transport, the P.W.D., the local bodies and such industries like the Nahani Foundries have all formed into good functioning trade unions. The teachers, too, have a very good Statewide organisation.

The plight of the P.W.D. workers in the State is horrible. There are workers who have worked for 30 years, but are still "temporary". The Government now says that all workers who have worked for three years will be considered "regular" workers and those who have worked for six years will be made "permanent".

Quite an ingenious device to cheat the workers! Permanence should as a matter of course be conferred on all labour after six months.

There are no rules that govern the service conditions or the employer-employee relations in the State Transport of Himachal Pradesh. Charge-sheeting and suspension on the most flimsy and even frivolous grounds are a common feature.

And the hazards to which transport workers are subjected are unimaginable. They are expected to be at the steering wheel for even 13 to 14 hours. The steering time proposed even by the Motor Vehicles Act does not seem to apply to Himachal Pradesh. On an average there are six fatal accidents every year in Himachal Transport.

And surprisingly enough, Himachal Pradesh has no regular Labour Department, no machinery to settle disputes and grievances.

The P.W.D. union was registered five years after application. One other union had

applied for registration. The Registrar, who ironically enough is himself the Assistant Judicial Secretary, referred the case to the Law Department to ascertain whether it could be registered as a trade union. After eight months the reply came that it could be registered. And yet registration is not in sight.

Such is the workers' choice.

The Director of Industries is also Development Commissioner and also the Labour Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner is the Conciliation Officer. And the files hardly move in these offices.

It is amazing that even agreements reached between the Transport Union and the Lt-Governor and signed by both are not implemented or are only partly implemented. All questions are referred to the Central Government for approval with the result that everything is delayed.

Such is the inefficiency, lack of authority and bureaucratic methods of the Himachal Administration. Teachers' services have been transferred to the Territorial Council. Service under Territorial Council is not Government service, it is only quasi-Government like that under a local body and hence teachers do not get any pension.

The Territorial Council has adopted a resolution saying that teachers' services would be treated on par with Government service. The resolution has gone to the Central Government for "approval".

Such is the plight of the Territorial Council. Prices in Himachal Pradesh are higher than those in the Punjab. But the salaries that the teachers of Himachal Pradesh are getting are lower than those of their counterparts in the Punjab.

They are protesting. But the administration does not even reply to their letters.

Such are the conditions to which workers by hand and by brain are subjected in Himachal Pradesh.

STRIKE IN GYPSUM MINES

FEW miles from Bikāner lies Jamsar, the centre of the biggest and richest deposits of gypsum in the whole country. This gypsum which is extracted by crude methods—with pick-axes and shovels—

is sent to Sindri for manufacture of fertilisers.

The extraction work is done by the Bikaner Gypsums, Ltd., in which the Rajasthan Government has 40 per cent shares and hence a strong voice in its management.

Daily about 80 wagon-loads weighing about 1,500 tons of gypsum are loaded from here for Sindri. The State Government gets a royalty of one rupee per ton on such export. This company is earning fabulous profits—on a share capital of about Rs. five lakhs, profits last year were 100 per cent.

But workers' conditions are miserable. They are given wages at the rate of about 14 annas for every maund of ore extracted.

The workers' union, which is led by the PSP leader Murlidhar Vyas, formulated demands including those for wage-increases, bonus of four months' wages and other facilities. Despite months of effort the management has refused to concede the demands and the Government also did not utilise its position as 40 per cent shareholder to bring about a settlement. The workers have finally gone on strike.

On November 12, the strike had already gone on for 49 days. Union leader Murlidhar Vyas had to undertake a two weeks' hunger-strike.

Brutal Repression

The authorities have resorted to the most reprehensible methods of repression to crush the worker. Women workers have been brutally lathi-charged, goondas have been let loose to terrorise the workers, arrests have been made in large numbers. Workers injured in the lathi-charge were not given any medical attention for six hours, women workers were taken in trucks and left in the jungle near the Pakistan border, children were forcibly removed from their mothers and thrown on the streets. For some days the company even stopped the supply of drinking water to the striking workers.

And every day the strike continues, the Sindri fertilisers does not get about 1,500 tons of gypsum, the railways do not get freight charges to the tune of about Rs. 40,000, the State Government is losing royalties of about Rs. 1,500. And the peasant and the country are deprived of much-needed fertilisers. But all this does not matter to the company and the Government, they refuse to concede the workers' legitimate demands.

The Rajasthan Trade Union Congress and other trade unions and democratic parties have condemned the repression and the Government's attitude. The demand is gaining ground that since the Government already owns 40 per cent of the shares, the company should be nationalised.

MONSTER OF MILITARISM REARS ITS HEAD AGAIN

West Germany On The Path Of Hitlerite Madness

Fifteen years after it was crushingly rebuffed by the mighty Soviet Union, German militarism is again in full bloom. The same forces which reared up Hitler after the First World War with the same objective—"destroying Bolshevism"—are once again responsible for raising this monster. All the postwar agreements arrived at between the USSR on the one hand and the USA, Britain and France on the other to root out militarism from German life have been violated step by step by the Western Powers till now there is hardly anything left of them.

THE Government of the German Democratic Republic on November 12 released the latest data on revival of militarism in West Germany and the threat to peace created by the armament policies in a Memorandum delivered to practically all member States of the U.N.

"In West Germany," states the Memorandum, "a new war is being prepared with all means. Pursuing this end an army of aggression is being built up there. By means of revanchist propaganda, chauvinism and psychological warfare, the soil is being prepared for bloody adventures of aggression."

CORROBORATION

Corroborating this the American Time Magazine's issue of the West German War Minister Straus opening the Staff College in Hamburg for training up officers with the exhortation that German soldiers need not feel ashamed of the German military traditions.

"Free of false prejudice and erroneous ideas of collective guilt," Time reported Straus telling the would-be officers, "our Bundeswehr can assume a new attitude towards the traditions."

The recent traditions consisted of cold-blooded mass butchery of six million Jews all over Europe of whom half were from Poland alone, the unspeakable crimes committed in the concentration camps like Buchenwald.....

It consisted of the appalling destruction and colossal casualties inflicted by the Hitlerites particularly in the Soviet Union and other East European countries. War casualties of the Soviet Union alone numbered 37½ million, including 12 million dead. Six million Poles and 1.7 million Yugoslavs killed by the Nazis were also part of this tradition.

The German Democratic Republic's Memorandum on West German military preparations states: "The build-up of the West German Wehrmacht is being speeded up. Since the introduction of conscription the Federal Wehrmacht has developed into a pronounced army of aggression."

By the end of 1958, it is planned to have ready for action in NATO nine West German divisions, four air squadrons, and 12 naval squadrons. Already today West Germany has the second strongest NATO contingent in Europe. It is planned to extend the basic period of conscription service to 15 months or 18 months. By 1961 the Wehrmacht

a special unit organised and equipped according to the principles of atomic warfare, made it quite plain that atomic warfare is being prepared in West Germany. At a manoeuvre conference, General Inspector Heusinger cynically declared that the West German army is today faced "with the same task as in 1939". "At the same time Heusinger demanded the use once again

shall be 350,000 strong, made up of 220,000 men in ground forces, 80,000 in the air force, and 23,000 in the navy.

The aggressive character of the West German forces is underlined by the fact that the decisive positions of command are occupied by officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht. All the 104 Generals of the Federal Wehrmacht served in the same rank, or similar rank in Hitler's forces, and planned, prepared and carried out the attacks on the nations of Europe.

The Memorandum quotes the instances of General Speidel, Chief of the Department of Foreign Armies in the West in Hitler's General Staff who is now Commander of NATO Ground Forces in the Central European sector, of General Heusinger, Chief of Operations in the General Staff of the Hitlerite Army, 1940 onwards who is now Chairman of the Military Leadership Council (the revived General Staff) and several others.

The German Democratic Republic's Memorandum states that West Germany is increasingly becoming "the main European deployment area of NATO, and an arsenal of frightful weapons of mass destruction in accordance with the plans of the West German Government...."

"The West German 1958 autumn manoeuvres, which were mainly devoted to testing the so-called 'Brigade 59',

Wehrmacht with weapons of mass destruction started long ago. In 1958 training courses were held for officers of the General Staff in the former fascist training schools at Sonthofen and Cologne; the aim of these courses was to prepare the Federal Wehrmacht for atomic warfare. Since this date, this special training for West German officers has been given in the USA, particularly in the General Staff school at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

A number of facts show that the Federal Government is no longer satisfied merely to receive atomic weapons from the USA; the Government wishes to equip the Federal Wehrmacht with atomic weapons of its own construction.

The Federal Government has already demanded the revision of the Paris Treaties, and it is today laying suitable technical foundations which would make possible the production of atomic weapons in the near future. The Federal Government granted a lump sum of seven million marks and a yearly contribution of five million marks to the West-German-French St. Louis Research Institute, in which under the direction of Professor Schardin, one-time head of the ballistic institute of the Air Warfare Academy in Berlin-Gatow, 100 leading West German rocket technicians are working.

The comprehensive memorandum describes how propaganda of the Hitler-Goebbels pattern is carried on to condition the minds of the people for a "war of revenge" against the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and for starting the Germans on another march to the East; "Fifth columns" and espionage activity on the Hitlerite pattern are sought to be organised.

When the Anglo-French aggression against the Egyptian people took place in 1956 the West German Government lined up openly on the side of the imperialist aggressors. In the Federal Parliament Adenauer described as "legitimate political targets" the efforts of the imperialists to regain the Suez Canal by force.

Even before the start of the attack on the Lebanon the West German Government transferred to the American military authorities complete control over the West German airfields from which American troops took off for their employment in the Near East.

War Minister, Strauss gave full support to the American airborne troops which started in West Germany for targets in the Near East. This support went so far that West German planes were made available to convoy American transport planes. Adenauer justified all this as vital to West Germany.

It is against this background that one has to see the clear-cut, unequivocal warning Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov has given to the West German rulers and their allies. The situation today is not what it was twenty years ago. The Socialist camp is immeasurably stronger and the balance has decisively shifted in its favour.



of the criminal principles of breach of treaty, which are contradictory to International Law, warfare against the civilian population, and the scorched earth tactics, he said: "We should recall our past, and we should not neglect the main principles of leadership which bring success. Let us re-introduce the old principles which we used to have."

West Germany has become the centre of atomic war danger, says the Memorandum.

On March 25, 1958 the West German Government, with the support of the USA, pushed through the parliamentary decision on the atomic equipment of the Federal Wehrmacht, against the openly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the German people. The equipment of the West German forces with American atomic and rocket weapons is in full swing. The preparations for the equipment of the Federal

Khrushchov Warns

THE imperialists have turned the German question into an abiding source of international tension. The ruling circles of Western Germany are doing everything to whip up military passions against the German Democratic Republic, against the Polish People's Republic, against all the Socialist countries. Speeches by Chancellor Adenauer and War Minister Strauss, the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr and various military exercises, all speak of a definite trend in the policy of the ruling circles of West Germany.

We want to warn the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany: The road followed by Western Germany today is a road dangerous to peace in Europe and fatal to Western Germany herself. Indeed, can realistically minded politicians today hope for the

success of a new "March to the East"? Hitler in his time also did everything to fan up war psychosis to prepare the ground for an attack on the Soviet Union. However, it is well known how it all ended. It is not hard to imagine the fate of those who would try to unleash a new aggression against the Socialist States. No speeches by Chancellor Adenauer or his Minister Strauss can change the balance of forces in favour of imperialism. To march against the East would be to march to death for Western Germany.

It is high time to realise that the time when the imperialists could act from "positions of strength" with impunity have gone never to return, and try as they may, the imperialists will not be able to change the balance of forces in their favour. Nor can they forget

the geographical position of Western Germany which—with military techniques such as they are today—would not last a single day of modern warfare. We do not want another military conflict. It would be fatal to Western Germany and would bring untold calamities to the peoples of other countries. The Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries are doing everything to keep the adventurists dreaming of new wars from making the fatal step. The West German policy-makers would do well to consider more soberly the existing situation and to desist from whipping up military passions.

—From Khrushchov's speech at the Soviet-Polish Friendship meeting in Moscow, November 10, 1958.

PARTY NEWS

WEST BENGAL Statewide Campaign To Be Launched

THE West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India met from November 4 to 6 to review the present national and international situation and to formulate its immediate tasks and took the following decisions:-

The State Committee viewed with grave concern recent developments in neighbouring Pakistan. The hidden hand of imperialism is evident behind the military coup in Pakistan—aimed not only at liquidation of popular liberties but also at aggravation of Indo-Pakistani tension, threats of war, and further consolidation of imperialist positions.

These ominous developments demand the immediate mobilisation of the widest sections of the Indian people in defence of their own hard-won democratic and constitutional rights and against all theories and manifestations of "authoritarianism", however innocently cloaked they may be.

The State Committee, therefore, resolved to conduct a political explanatory campaign throughout West Bengal to rouse the people's vigilance and determination to defend and extend their democratic rights against all threats from domestic and foreign reactionary circles.

The State Committee decided, in particular, to focus attention on the inherent dangers of increased dependence on U.S. "aid" which has, in many countries, opened the way to imperialist intervention, on the need for friendship between the peoples of India and Pakistan, on the anti-democratic utterances and activities of certain Congress leaders and monopoly capitalist circles, on the dangerous implications of Sri Jayaprakash Narain's new-fangled theory of a "party-less" democracy, on the gross violations of all democratic principles and constitutional proprieties in the attempt to discredit, obstruct, and overthrow the legally-elected State Government of Kerala.

The State Committee discussed the economic situation in the State and decided to mobilise the workers, peasants and middle-classes to demand a properly-planned, co-ordinated, and democratically-administered food policy. The present acute crisis of soaring prices of rice and other essential commodities can be overcome only if the West Bengal Government is made to abandon its policy of appeasing the big traders, rice millowners, hoarders and speculators, and to adopt an effective procurement policy and anti-hoarding and anti-profiteering measures.

The Government must be made to purchase at least five lakh tons of rice from the next "aman" crop, guaranteeing a fair price to the peasants and stable supplies through fair-price shops. This is perfectly feasible if the Government takes a firm decision about pro-



Left: Group dance by students of the Jubbulpore University and Right: The audience at the evening's show.

Get-Together Of 'Varsity Youth

★ From A Special Correspondent

The Inter-Varsity Youth Festival, which for the fifth time brought together some of the finest talents in our youth world to the Capital, has just concluded leaving behind a trail of vibrant, youthful vigour and posing some new problems.

AMIDST the rich and colourful fare of dance, drama and music provided by nearly 1,600 boys and girls for ten days, was revealed again a crop of promising talented artistes. The high level of the performances at the Fifth Festival, according to many an art critic, gave an index of the impact of the cultural resurgence in the country on our student population. Though mostly of the amateur level, quite a few items touched the professional mark. University teachers who have attended previous Festivals are of the view that the standard this year has definitely shown signs of improvement.

THE PROGRAMME

The Festival programme, as in previous years, had a wide range of items—group songs, dances, classical dances in Bharat Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak and Manipuri styles, classical music, both instrumental and vocal, drama, and so on.

Group dances from our folk life, surely were the most popular with the young participants and the audience too. In an enjoyable artistic event, it also provided stu-

dents with opportunities to develop a team spirit, and a glimpse of the true-to-life environment. The attachment of our students to the soil was seen in the selection of themes for dance items. Here we got the life of the peasants invariably portrayed in dances by the young artistes, whether it be through the harvesting story, the fishermen and nomadic tribes or the Holi festival. Only in a few cases were mythological subjects taken up.

Group dances closely related to folk traditions stole the show. Bhangra, a vigorous dance of Punjab's peasants, and the Naga dance from Assam received what was perhaps the biggest acclamation from the audience. The Sputnik, too, had caught the imagination of young artistes. A tale of adventurous boys flying a rocket to another planet and bringing fairies to a feast of dance and music was told in a group dance, Milky Way, presented by Delhi students. Another play centering on the Sputnik was staged by the Agra group. Choral songs gave a glimpse of the rich and varied melodies of India. Here again, the

students showed their preference for folk lore and songs depicting the people's life and displaying patriotism. The problem of our times, the problem of peace, was also the subject of a number of songs. The dignity of labour, satisfaction at the emancipation from feudalism and the dawn of the industrial age were blended in one song by Patna University students.

Among the classical styles, Bharat Natyam has undoubtedly occupied the pride of place at the Festival. Critics are of the view that two girls from Kerala and Gujarat, whose performances were commended, and quite a few others who could not catch the eye of the judges, have the makings of professional artistes. It also seemed, as if stimulated by the success of Bharat Natyam, students from some of the Northern Indian Universities were trying to compete in the promotion of Kathak, which was represented through a large number of dances.

Moving among the participants and watching their performances, one was struck by two impressions: the discipline displayed by the students and their awareness to serve the country.

Sri M. N. Masud told me that there was not a single case of serious breach of discipline by the Festival delegates during the entire ten

days. The student delegates took the Festival with all seriousness. Though they gave free play to their youthful exuberance and there was quite a bit of gaiety, chirpiness and hilarity in the delegates' camps and the campfires, they no less displayed a keen sense of duty and organisation. A reflection of the spirit of service to the country was to be seen in some of the symposia, group songs and dances. A student in a symposium summed up perhaps the common sentiments of his community when he said that students have to return to the country with interest in the investment made on them, which is five times the national per capita income.

Useful suggestions about the forms which students' contribution in reconstruction work can take emerged during the discussions. These included a campaign for adult literacy, collection of statistics, popularising the aims of the Five-Year Plans, imparting hygiene knowledge to rural folk and slum-dwellers and participation in local development schemes. However, students who had practical experience of such work, were aware of the limitations of these activities and were particularly critical of the bureaucratic administration.

The Festival has posed a few questions which assume importance—What will be done with the talent discovered at the Festival? Will it be allowed to dissipate itself?

The experience of five years is that much more attention has to be paid and concrete steps need to be taken in this direction, or else much of the gains of the Festivals will be lost. The Government should consider such steps as offering scholarships and facilities for adequate training thrown up by each Festival. Closely connected with this is the need for improving facilities for cultural pursuits and training in the institutions. Every college and University should have a whole-time instructor in charge of cultural activities.

Yet another problem posed by the Festival is the enlarging of the participation of the students so as to bring it within the reach of considerable numbers of students, apart from the actual performers. At present they are unable to have even a glimpse of the shows.

first week of February 1959.

—To reintroduce the system of a compulsory, graduated monthly levy on the incomes of all Party Members (except those earning less than Rs. 50) in order to augment the Party's funds and enable it meet its growing commitments.

Among important organisational decisions are:

— To hold the next State Conference of the Party in the

CALL FOR FUNDS TO EXPAND DAILY

The State Committee has issued a statement calling upon all Party Units, Party Members and sympathisers to launch a mass drive for the collection of an additional sum of Rs. 130,000 for the rotary printing machine for the Party's Bengali daily, Swadhinata, so as to enable it to appear as an eight-pager from next January.

Licence for importing the machine from China has been

granted by the Government of India. The machine is ready for shipping. The current mass campaign for Rs. 130,000—the additional amount required to transform Swadhinata into a full-fledged national daily—is the second phase of the Rotary Fund drive. During the first phase, Rs. 155,988.17 nP was collected of the target of Rs. 200,000.

MONSTER OF MILITARISM REARS ITS HEAD AGAIN

West Germany On The Path Of Hitlerite Madness

Fifteen years after it was crushingly rebuffed by the mighty Soviet Union, German militarism is again in full bloom. The same forces which reared up Hitler after the First World War with the same objective—"destroying Bolshevism"—are once again responsible for raising this monster. All the postwar agreements arrived at between the USSR on the one hand and the USA, Britain and France on the other to root out militarism from German life have been violated step by step by the Western Powers till now there is hardly anything left of them.

THE Government of the German Democratic Republic on November 12 released the latest data on revival of militarism in West Germany and the threat to peace created by the armament policies in a Memorandum delivered to practically all member States of the U.N.

"In West Germany," states the Memorandum, "a new war is being prepared with all means. Pursuing this end an army of aggression is being built up—there. By means of revanchist propaganda, chauvinism and psychological warfare, the soil is being prepared for bloody adventures of aggression."

CORROBORATION

Corroborating this the American Time Magazine's issue of the week carried the story of the West German War Minister Strauss opening the Staff College in Hamburg for training up officers with the exhortation that German soldiers need not feel ashamed of the German military traditions.

"Free of false prejudice and erroneous ideas of collective guilt," Time reported Strauss telling the would-be officers, "our Bundeswehr can assume a new attitude towards the traditions."

The recent traditions consisted of cold-blooded mass butchery of six million Jews all over Europe of whom half were from Poland alone, the unspeakable crimes committed in the concentration camps like Buchenwald.....

It consisted of the appalling destruction and colossal casualties inflicted by the Hitlerites particularly in the Soviet Union and other East European countries. War casualties of the Soviet Union alone numbered 37½ million including 12 million dead. Six million Poles and 1.7 million Yugoslavs killed by the Nazis were also part of this tradition.

The German Democratic Republic's Memorandum on West German military preparations states:

The build-up of the West German Wehrmacht is being speeded up. Since the introduction of conscription the Federal Wehrmacht has developed into a pronounced army of aggression.

By the end of 1958, it is planned to have ready for action in NATO nine West German divisions, four air squadrons, and 12 naval squadrons. Already today West Germany has the second strongest NATO contingent in Europe. It is planned to extend the basic period of conscription service to 15 months or 18 months. By 1961 the Wehrmacht

shall be 350,000 strong, made up of 220,000 men in ground forces, 80,000 in the air force, and 25,000 in the navy.

The aggressive character of the West German forces is underlined by the fact that the decisive positions of command are occupied by officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht. All the 104 Generals of the Federal Wehrmacht served in the same rank, or similar rank in Hitler's forces, and planned, prepared and carried out the attacks on the nations of Europe.

The Memorandum quotes the instances of General Speidel, Chief of the Department of Foreign Armies in the West in Hitler's General Staff who is now Commander of NATO Ground Forces in the Central European sector, of General Heusinger, Chief of Operations in the General Staff of the Hitlerite Army 1940 onwards who is now Chairman of the Military Leadership Council (the revived General Staff) and several others.

The German Democratic Republic's Memorandum states that West Germany is increasingly becoming "the main European deployment area of NATO, and an arsenal of frightful weapons of mass destruction in accordance with the plans of the West German Government...."

"The West German 1958 autumn manoeuvres, which were mainly devoted to testing the so-called 'Brigade 59',

a special unit organised and equipped according to the principles of atomic warfare, made it quite plain that atomic warfare is being prepared in West Germany. At a manoeuvre conference, General Inspector Heusinger cynically declared that the West German army is today faced with the same task as in 1939". "At the same time Heusinger demanded the use once again



of the criminal principles of breach of treaty, which are contradictory to International Law, warfare against the civilian population, and the scorched earth tactics, he said: "We should recall our past, and we should not neglect the main principles of leadership which bring success. Let us re-introduce the old principles which we used to have."

West Germany has become the centre of atomic war danger, says the Memorandum.

On March 25, 1958 the West German Government, with the support of the USA, pushed through the parliamentary decision on the atomic equipment of the Federal Wehrmacht, against the openly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the German people. The equipment of the West German forces with American atomic and rocket weapons is in full swing.

The preparations for the equipment of the Federal

Wehrmacht with weapons of mass destruction started long ago. In 1956 training courses were held for officers of the General Staff in the former fascist training schools at Sonthofen and Cologne; the aim of these courses was to prepare the Federal Wehrmacht for atomic warfare. Since this date, this special training for West German officers has been given in the USA, particularly in the General Staff school at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

A number of facts show that the Federal Government is no longer satisfied merely to receive atomic weapons from the USA; the Government wishes to equip the Federal Wehrmacht with atomic weapons of its own construction.

The Federal Government has already demanded the revision of the Paris Treaties, and it is today laying suitable technical foundations which would make possible the production of atomic weapons in the near future. The Federal Government granted a lump sum of seven million marks and a yearly contribution of five million marks to the West-German-French St. Louis Research Institute, in which under the direction of Professor Schardin, one-time head of the ballistic institute of the Air Warfare Academy in Berlin-Gatow, 100 leading West German rocket technicians are working.

The comprehensive memorandum describes how propaganda of the Hitler-Goebbels pattern is carried on to condition the minds of the people for a "war of revenge" against the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and for starting the Germans on another march to the East; "Fifth columns" and espionage activity on the Hitlerite pattern are sought to be organised.

Inherent in the nature of the revived German Federal Republic is its hostility to the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

sed with the help of U.S. dollars besides German marks. How the West German Government has destroyed democratic rights and liberties of the people of West Germany is described in detail. The Memorandum says: Since 1951 a total of over 200 democratic parties and associations have been banned. An atmosphere of fear of free expression of opinion has been brought about by brutal measures by police and courts.

LIKE HITLER

The Memorandum says: "Like under Hitler the Communist Party of Germany was banned. This ban is a threat to all other opposition parties and associations, including in particular the Social Democratic Party and the West German trade unions.

"This is proved by repeated statements made by leading West German Government politicians. Theodor Blank, Minister of Labour of the Federal Republic, made the following threat in West German parliament on June 27, 1958: "We shall force the German Trade Union Federation into a position of neutrality (on the question of the equipment of the West German army with atomic weapons—Ed.) or we shall draw the consequences from its attitude."

"In a similar open and threatening manner, Adenauer called on the Social Democratic Party of Germany on September 21, 1958, to abandon all opposition to NATO and West Germany's atomic armament policy.

"War Minister Strauss did not refrain from using the word "traitor" for all those who support the movement "Fight Against Atomic Death" and threatened to have them tried for high treason."

When the Anglo-French aggression against the Egyptian people took place in 1956 the West German Government lined up openly on the side of the imperialist aggressors. In the Federal Parliament Adenauer described as "legitimate political targets" the efforts of the imperialists to regain the Suez Canal by force.

Even before the start of the attack on the Lebanon the West German Government transferred to the American military authorities complete control over the West German airfields from which American troops took off for their employment in the Near East.

War Minister Strauss gave full support to the American airborne troops which started in West Germany for targets in the Near East. This support went so far that West German planes were made available to convoy American transport planes. Adenauer justified all this as vital to West Germany.

It is against this background that one has to see the clear-cut, unequivocal warning Soviet Premier N. S. Khrushchov has given to the West German rulers and their allies. The situation today is not what it was twenty years ago. The Socialist camp is immeasurably stronger and the balance has decisively shifted in its favour.

Khrushchov Warns

THE imperialists have turned the German question into an abiding source of international tension. The ruling circles of Western Germany are doing everything to whip up military passions against the German Democratic Republic, against the Polish People's Republic, against all the Socialist countries. Speeches by Chancellor Adenauer and War Minister Strauss, the atomic arming of the Bundeswehr and various military exercises, all speak of a definite trend in the policy of the ruling circles of West Germany.

We want to warn the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany. The road followed by Western Germany today is a road dangerous to peace in Europe and fatal to Western Germany herself. Indeed, can realistically minded politicians today hope for the

success of a new "March to the East"? Hitler in his time also did everything to fan up war psychosis to prepare the ground for an attack on the Soviet Union. However, it is well known how it all ended.

It is not hard to imagine the fate of those who would try to unleash a new aggression against the Socialist States. No speeches by Chancellor Adenauer or his Minister Strauss can change the balance of forces in favour of imperialism. To march against the East would be to march to death for Western Germany.

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the geographical position of Western Germany which—with military techniques such as they are today—would not last a single day of modern warfare.

We do not want another military conflict. It would be fatal to Western Germany and would bring untold calamities to the peoples of other countries. The Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries are doing everything to keep the adventurists dreaming of new wars from making the fatal step. The West German policy-makers would do well to consider soberly the existing situation and to desist from whipping up military passions.

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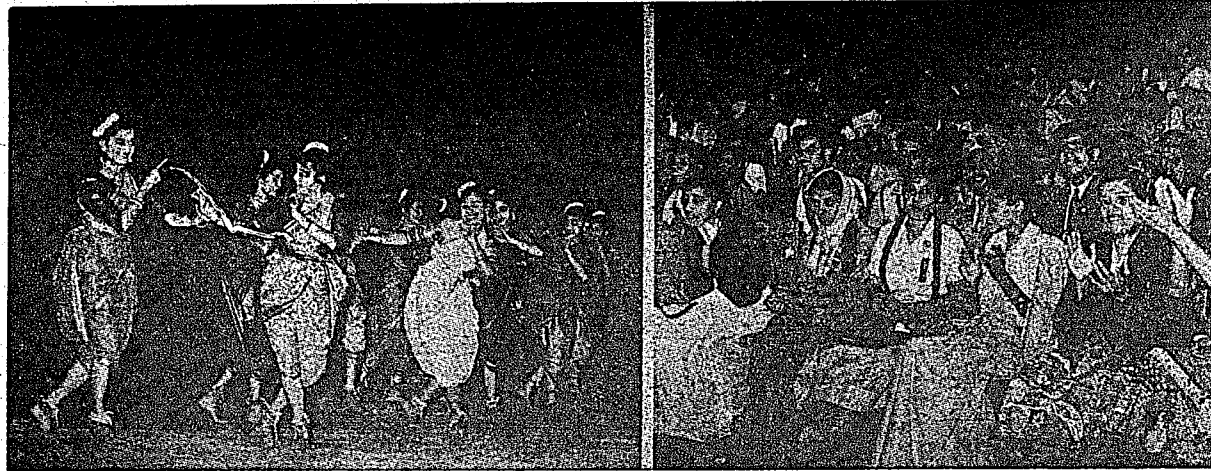
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Get-Together Of 'Varsity Youth

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The Inter-Varsity Youth Festival, which for the fifth time brought together some of the finest talents in our youth world to the Capital, has just concluded leaving behind a trail of vibrant, youthful vigour and posing some new problems.

A MIDST the rich and colourful fare of dance, drama and music provided by nearly 1,600 boys and girls for ten days, was revealed again a crop of promising talented artists. The high level of the performances at the Fifth Festival, according to many an art critic, gave an index of the impact of the cultural resurgence in the country on our student population. Though mostly of the amateur level, quite a few items touched the professional mark. University teachers who have attended previous Festivals are of the view that the standard this year has definitely shown signs of improvement.

THE PROGRAMME

The Festival programme, as in previous years, had a wide range of items—group songs, dances, classical dances in Bharat Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak and Manipuri styles, classical music, both instrumental and vocal, drama, and so on.

Group dances from our folk life, surely were the most popular with the young participants and the audience too. In an enjoyable artistic event, it also provided stu-

dent, announces it publicly, expedites the setting up, as agreed, of popular food committees at all levels in both rural and urban areas, fixes the maximum prices of all essential commodities under the Ordinance promulgated some time ago and vigorously enforces them.

The State Committee reiterated its opposition to the Government's announced policy of winding up all refugee camps and compelling the refugees to go to Dandakaranya by stopping payment of doles to them and decided to give all-out support to the just struggle of the refugees.

While welcoming the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Committee for higher pay-scales and amenities for municipal employees in West Bengal, the State Committee demanded that in view of the extremely weak financial resources of most municipalities,

students with opportunities to develop a team spirit, and a glimpse of the true-to-life environment.

The attachment of our students to the soil was seen in the selection of themes for dance items. Here we got the life of the peasants invariably portrayed in dances by the young artists, whether it be through the harvesting story, the fishermen and nomadic tribes or the Holi festival. Only in a few cases were mythological subjects taken up. Group dances closely related to folk traditions stole the show. Bhangra, a vigorous dance of Punjab's peasants, and the Naga dance from Assam received, what was perhaps the biggest acclamation from the audience.

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Moving among the participants and watching their performances, one was struck by two impressions: the discipline displayed by the students and their awareness to serve the country.

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first week of February 1959.

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Useful suggestions about the forms which students' contribution in reconstruction work can take emerged during the discussions. These included campaign for adult literacy, collection of statistics, popularising the aims of the Five-Year Plans, imparting hygiene knowledge to rural folk and slum-dwellers and participation in local development schemes. However, students who had practical experience of such work, were aware of the limitations of these activities and were particularly critical of the bureaucratic administration.

The Festival has posed a few questions which assume importance: What will be done with the talent discovered at the Festival? Will it be allowed to dissipate itself?

The experience of five years is that much more attention has to be paid and concrete steps need to be taken in this direction, or else much of the gains of the Festivals will be lost. The Government should consider such steps as offering scholarships and facilities for adequate training for the promising talent thrown up by each Festival. Closely connected with this is the need for improving facilities for cultural pursuits and training in the institutions. Every college and University should have a whole-time instructor in charge of cultural activities.

Yet another problem posed by the Festival is the enlarging of the participation of the students so as to bring it within the reach of considerable numbers of students, apart from the actual performers. At present they are unable to have even a glimpse of the shows.

NEWS FROM STATES

LUCKNOW, November 17

Rather unexpectedly Sri Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister of U.P., has acted very cleverly. He has taken no new member into the Cabinet. Reshuffling of portfolios has been done and a few Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries have been promoted. That is all the Chief Minister has done to fill up the gaps created by the resignation of nine members from the Cabinet.

THE work of the Ministry is certainly not going to suffer on account of this decision. There were as many as 28 ladies and gentlemen in the huge Ministerial set-up that the Congress leaders of this State had created in order to provide pelf and power to as many of their cronies as was possible. That was the largest number of men in any State Ministry in the country. So the exit of a few of them will only lessen the unnecessary burden on the people.

Part Of The Game

But Sri Sampurnanand and his 'astute' advisers have not been driven by any such motive. What they have done is part of their game to somehow retain their perilous balance on the sword's edge in the legislature party.

They used the vacancies, as was mentioned in an earlier despatch, to secure support for their group. At that hour of danger, agents of the Chief Minister went round offering places in the Ministry to almost everybody who seemed to matter. The result was that by the time the resignations became a fact, there were as many as 150 'candidates' for the nine vacant seats. Everybody was dead certain that he or she was being taken in by the Government. I myself had occasion to meet at least three of these important gentlemen who told me, in whispered confidence, that they were, in any case, being included in the Ministry.

To have chosen nine out of this crowd would have without doubt meant turning the rest of them hostile to the Ministry and throwing them into the arms of Sri C. B. Gupta. After that the Ministry would not have lasted another week. And so, after long deliberations and consultations with their men in Delhi, they have decided to leave the candidates 'hoping' and guessing till at least Sri Sampurnanand has re-secured a vote of confidence from the Congress Legislature Party. As long as they are kept hoping, most of them are not likely to associate with Gupta's clique—this is the calculation.

Sri Sampurnanand and his trusted henchmen are also using this time to seal up other sources of danger to their positions. After all the Ministry itself is a divided house. There are at least four factions inside it, each one of them lying in ambush to do the others in and step into their position.

One of Sri Sampurnanand's measures has been to clip the wings of Sri Charan Singh by taking away the important portfolio of Finance from him. The background to this step is: during the last crisis, Sri Charan Singh was reported to have carried on negotiations with the Gupta group to form an alternative Ministry after helping Gupta to overthrow the present one. Sri Charan Singh was doing so because he was reportedly fed up with the corruption in the Ministry. He had already levelled serious charges against some of his most important colleagues. Obviously, such a man could not be trusted.

Secondly, since he had become Finance Minister, this 'Jai peasant' of the Cabinet, as he is often called, had earned the wrath of some of the biggest financiers of the Congress, the Kanpur and Banaras (where Sahu-Jain are setting up a huge Soda Ash factory with Government aid) capitalists by ordering enquiries into the use of huge sums of money that had been advanced to them by the U.P. Government. It is feared that these enquiries would reveal some very ugly facts.

He had also irked the Sahebs of the Civil Service,

the Secretaries who actually run the Government for the Ministers whose intrigues leave them no time for anything, by stopping their pleasure trips to the hills and other places and by daring to look into the files himself.

Some of the relatives of some of the important Ministers have also been after his blood because he has exposed their dirty doings.

Sampurnanand who needs the support of both the millionaires and the minions of the Secretariat in his fight for survival against Gupta, cannot keep such a man in such an important position.

Sampurnanand and his nearest men do not trust Mohanlal Gautam either though he is a sworn enemy of Sri Gupta. And therefore, he has been strictly kept where

he is with his inconsequential portfolios of Agriculture and Cooperation. Sampurnanand and his supporters think that Gautam too would, at the least opportunity of becoming the Chief Minister himself, turn against him and join hands with anyone. It is a fight of each against all!

However, these 'safety measures' themselves are not without danger. They may provoke these gentlemen to leave Sampurnanand in the lurch and precipitate his fall sooner than otherwise. This then is the situation: whichever direction they turn their face they find danger lurking, because it is no more any principles, except the principle of self-aggrandisement, that are guiding these Congress leaders.

There is going to be no peace in the fratricidal war. Gupta is as determined as

ever to throw out his opponents. Contrary to what many have tried to say, I found him more confident than ever before when I happened to run into him accidentally the other day. Asked what he proposed to do, he said very meaningfully and confidently, "wait and see."

The Congress High Com-

mand has, I suppose at Nehru's insistence, lent its support to Sampurnanand in this fight. It means that any step taken by Sri Gupta and his clique against the Ministry now will also amount to a step against the High Com-

mand. This is what, in a way, the Ministerialists were wanting to bring about. The result may well be disciplinary actions against many Congressmen as well as desertions by some of them from the Congress Party.

WEST BENGAL

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

PROFITEERS' PARADISE

Govt. Breaks All Its Promises

CALCUTTA, November 17

The steps that the West Bengal Government has taken so far under the Anti-Profiteering Ordinance, promulgated about three weeks ago, have only served to bring grist to the mill of big traders and to legalise their profiteering.

It all began with the Government fixing the prices of baby food at 50 pP to one rupee above the prices in the open market.

The Government has now issued another notification, fixing the maximum prices of about 451 items of medicine. In this case also, it is abundantly clear that it is the interests of a handful of traders and importers which have weighed with Dr. B.C. Roy's Government.

This Is Control!

The main features of this medicine "control" order are—
● The prices of a large number of imported items like Peacock's Bromide, Olive oil (Italian), Parke Davies' Terradol, Benadryl Syrup and cream, etc., which are in short supply due to import restrictions, have not been fixed. There is large-scale black-marketing in these medicines, and their prices have been forced up by 75 to 200 per cent in the past few months. A pound of olive oil of Italian make, for instance, now costs Rs. 14 to 15 as against Rs. five six months ago.

A leading firm of chemists and druggists in Calcutta is the sole importer of such medicines as Winthrop's

Frenol, Aralen and Aralis. They are not easily available and, as such, they offer big opportunities for profiteering. Yet, the prices of these medicines are not fixed. The rumour goes that this firm is some way closely connected with a big gun in the West Bengal Cabinet.

● Almost all the drugs which are absolutely necessary for dispensing doctors' prescriptions and are also indispensable as ingredients for the manufacture of patent medicines, have been left out of the purview of the so-called control order in the sole interests of a few importers, although their prices have gone up sharply in the past two or three months.

● To quote a few instances, the price of Phenactin has risen from Rs. five to Rs. 9.50 per pound and that of Thy-mol from Rs. ten to Rs. 25 to 26 a pound.

● The list of controlled medicines has been unnecessarily inflated by the inclusion of even those items that are manufactured here and are easily available in the open market. But, the price of such an important medicine as Emetin has not been fixed.

Not only that. The control prices fixed by the Government and the retail prices quoted in the price-lists of the firms concerned are the same!

The actual position in the market is that these medicines normally sell at ten to 15 per cent lower than the quoted prices.

The main beneficiaries of this official generosity are, as I said, a handful of traders and manufacturers. To cite one instance B-Complex prepared by the Gluconate Co., Calcutta, which is reported to be a benamdar of a West Bengal Minister, was selling for Rs. two a phial before its price was fixed at Rs. 2.75!

On The Food Front

The way the Anti-Profiteering Ordinance is being "enforced" clearly shows how the West Bengal Government is going back on its promises. But, that is not the only case in point.

A powerful struggle for food had forced the West Bengal Government to give a number of definite assurances.

But, the last one-and-a-half months have proved beyond any doubt that the Government has no intention of keeping its promises. This cynical attitude was further demonstrated at the meeting of the State Food Advisory Committee held on November 12.

Asked by Opposition members as to why the Advisory Committee was not being consulted when prices were fixed, the Food Minister, Sri P.C. Sen, bluntly stated, "It is not possible to fix the prices of hundreds of arti-

cles" and, "I do not consider it necessary to seek the advice of the Committee on this matter!"

He refused to make any commitment when Opposition members demanded that the Government should procure five lakh tons of rice at a reasonable price directly from the producers before the new paddy crop started coming into the market.

The Government had given an assurance that additional agricultural loans to the extent of a crore of rupees would be advanced to needy peasants by the end of November. The loans advanced till now amount to only Rs. 27 lakhs. Sri Sen, however declined to give any indication of how much more would be disbursed in the coming weeks.

Contrary to the promise made by the Government, gratuitous relief is not yet given to those who are unable to get employment in test relief operations.

The Government had agreed to set up all-parties Food Advisory Committees at all levels. But, these committees have not yet been formed either at the district or the sub-divisional level, and the Food Minister categorically stated that he was "personally opposed" to the formation of such committees at the union level!

This arrogant attitude of the Government, particularly at a time when the prices of daily necessities of life are spiralling upwards only goes to intensify the wrath of the people.

THROUGH EAST PAKISTAN

A fortnight's stay in East Pakistan immediately after the coup of October 7 has been quite a revelation for me, because it gave me the overpowering impression of a people bewildered by a sudden political earthquake, unable to make out what really has happened.

THE moment one crosses the border and reaches the frontier station of Darsana on the Pakistan side, one comes up against something new.

Though even normally, the passport and customs checking are quite elaborate, what is noticeable now is that Indian passport-holders have to make a list of their jewellery and get it okayed by the Customs Officer, the idea being to keep a strict watch lest when they leave they do not carry away any more gold from Pakistan than they had actually brought in with them.

Pakistanis going to India also have to submit a similar list and they have to show that they bring back the same jewellery when they return, lest no Pakistani gold is left behind in India.

What strikes the eye at Darsana is also the fact that with every customs officer, there are two military personnel to see that no bribe is taken by the customs people. Yet, before their very nose, one could see smuggling going on, there being no earnest co-operation between the civil and the military staff.

A Railwayman Speaks

I heard about the rigidly enforced ban on ticketless travel. Severe punishment is meted out to offenders. A railway pointsman at Iswardi was given a year's rigorous imprisonment for travelling without a ticket. A newly married couple found themselves in a lock-up for having been unable to buy their tickets in a hurry.

An old railway employee in this section known to me came and talked to me almost in whispers lest the military personnel noticed him. He said: "It has become almost impossible to keep my job. Can't sleep or eat properly being

always under the fear of making a slip."

Talking to him at length while travelling in the ferry to Jagannathgunj, I could get typical Pakistani reaction to the new situation: on the one hand, he went on cursing the new regime, for all the worry it has brought to him personally, how it has hit the business circles, how markets and hats (weekly fairs) have nearly closed down, how weavers have become idle, and the whole economy of Pakistan cracking up.

On the other hand—almost in the very next breath—he commended the military raj—for it put in prison the dishonest crooks going about as political leaders. What a good

thing it has been to strike at the unscrupulous and profiteering sharks among the businessmen: these were the people who were bringing the country down, and it was only the army that had saved the nation.

This is more or less the average reaction in Pakistan—the emphasis on criticism in some cases being greater than the accent in praise of the new regime. More people had complaints than praise.

Only in the case of the vested interests and also a section of students around a student organisation called "Chhātra-Shakti" (strength of students) which is reported to be thriving with American money, was there praise alone for army bosses.

With the drive against hawkers, it was difficult to have a cheap meal at the riverside, since the dining cars in the trains have

started charging cut-throat rates. I also noticed that even in the steamer, one has to take tea with "gur" (molasses), as sugar is reserved only for the upper class passengers. There is also a dearth of cigarettes.

First Shock Over

Mymensingh City, when I reached there, had just recovered from the first dose of suspense after the army coup. People had started moving about normally. One could even hear discussions in tea-stalls about the merits and demerits of the military regime.

When I reached the town, it was in the throes of a cleanliness drive. Small shops, in temporary hutments, near the railway station had been pulled down. The shop-keepers were at first assured that soon

over the place. At Dacca, a banana-seller was fined Rs. 20 and five lashes for having sold four bananas at eight annas. At Mymensingh, a papaya-seller's nose was rubbed on the street for having asked Rs. two for the fruit. A Hindu gentleman's ears were boxed for having stirred out with a lungi on. At places, punishment came for having put the shirt sleeve up or having worn the wristwatch on the right hand.

Sense Of Insecurity

What was heartening was the fact that even in this atmosphere of tension, Durga Pooja was celebrated at many places. And what is more noteworthy is the fact that Muslims came to attend the pooja functions on a large scale.

Yet there is a sense of in-

the price has gone down to Rs. nine and ten per maund.

Yet the price of rice has not gone down. It still continues to be sold at Rs. 30 to 35 per maund. In some towns where there is rationing, rice is sold at Rs. 22 per maund, but the quality is very inferior. Prices of other things also have not come down. Only imported luxury goods have recorded a fall in price. And the goods whose prices have come down are, in most cases, out of stock. Many of the smaller businessmen have surrendered their import licences, in many cases they have been cancelled.

Yet in this pool of distress, the common man has to face more hardships. The order was issued that all arrears of municipal taxes were to be cleared by October 31. At Bogra town, within a week, over Rs. 25 thousand was collected. Those unable to clear their dues by October 31 were threatened with severe punishment.

Most of the District Boards and municipalities have been dissolved on the charge of inefficiency and corruption; and, in effect, army officers have been put in charge. So, there is now greater pressure to extort the arrears.

There is a strong rumour that a move would be made to collect all arrears in agricultural tax, said to total Rs. 20 crores, by the end of December. Ayub Khan even referred to this in his Dacca speech.

Talk about improving agriculture is being heard, but nothing basic is touched. The minimum price for jute export has been fixed, but the kisan gets no relief until the minimum price in the internal market is fixed. There are exhortations for growing more food, but nothing is heard of land reforms.

Civil Servants Are Angry

The civil administration is also badly affected by the military zoolom. The order was given that within a week, all arrears of work were to be cleared. From District Magistrate down to the petty clerk, everyone had to work for 12 hours and in some cases even more. The District Magistrate of Mymensingh had applied for leave. He was told that he could retire; out of fear, he did not press for his leave.

Government jeeps were seized from a Sub-Divisional Officer and an Executive Engineer. In the case of the S.D.O., the jeep was seized from him while on the road and he was packed off in a rickshaw.

Even an ordinary soldier treats civil officers with contempt, not even police officers being spared. A Sub-Inspector of police was whipped for having arrested a gypsy girl. A thana officer confided to his friend: "If my stomach trouble had grown acute, I could have got myself admitted in hospital and saved myself from this military ordeal!"

* SEE PAGE 13

UNDER MILITARY BADSHAHI

they would be resettled at another maidan inside the town. But then it was found that it took days to do the levelling of the maidan, not to speak of setting up shops. The shop-keepers are now left without any income and are fagged out imploring the army authorities.

Insane Frenzy

What madness it was to start the cleanliness drive can be realised only when one goes through it. At that time, the first round of military orders had been announced—most of the offences at this time carried death sentence or 14 years' rigorous imprisonment. Just about this time the order came for immediate clean-up and the announcement that military authorities would make surprise inspections. The whole town went into a frenzied cleaning up of their residences.

Dustbins began to overflow and could not be managed by the municipality. Then the order came that everybody should take the refuse from his house to the riverside to a particular spot. This harassing order was issued in every East Pakistan town.

Another order of this kind was that all houses should be whitewashed within 24 hours. Then came the curfew on two successive mornings to destroy stray dogs. But with the dogs, several human casualties were also reported.

Violation of traffic rules were dealt with very severely. In one of the small towns of Comilla, 28 rickshaw-pullers and two carters were fined Rs. 35 for some offences.

At Serajgunj, I was told that daily 20 to 25 persons were being arrested for not having shown respect to the National Flag.

Stories of harassment of individuals could be heard all

security among the Hindus. The Hindus living in East Pakistan towns today are almost all either lawyers or doctors or businessmen. Depression among the Hindus has been caused by the total ban on hoondies (letters of credit in a sense) which were used on a large scale to carry on transactions between India and Pakistan. And in the case of most of the Hindus their families are left in West Bengal, and now they can hardly send any remittance to them because of the rigid restrictions.

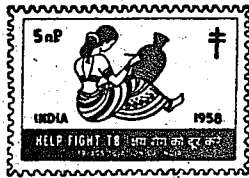
A Muslim merchant is reported to have commented to a Hindu merchant: "You have at least a place to go to, but where can we go?" But merchants as a whole, both Hindus and Muslims, are in a state of panic. They generally used to buy goods at Dacca or Chittagong and then sell them with some profit at distant centres. Now with the advent of the military regime, all sorts of restrictions are enforced and prices have been rigidly fixed. In some cases, heavy fines have also been imposed. Many merchants now feel that it is better to close down their business.

A deputation of businessmen met the local military officer. He cursed them and called them bloodsuckers, swindlers and exploiters.

Kisans Hit

Normally, this is the lean season for the Pakistani kisan. The aman harvest has not yet been gathered, jute has to be sold and with the returns, the kisan has to buy his rice. Taking advantage of this, the jute merchants have reduced jute prices to cheat the kisan. Just now, inferior quality jute is being sold at Rs. 14 to 18 per maund, and superior quality at Rs. 20 to 25 per maund. In some cases,

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