

# new age

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

VOL. VI No. 7 SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1958 25 NP

The meeting of the National Development Council (NDC) held on the 8th and 9th of this month has put the finishing touches on the process of scuttling the Plan started by Sri T. T. Krishnamachari with the full sanction of the Nehru Government. If Krishnamachari began his Operation Scuttle with the excuse of lack of foreign exchange, the National Development Council, under the inspiration of the Planning Commission, is preparing to finalise it with the excuse of lack of internal resources. The bankruptcy of the Congress regime which is unable to fulfil the demands of a moderate plan stands once more confirmed by the decisions of the NDC.

**Misleading Estimates**

In May last, it became evident from the Planning Commission's Memorandum on Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five-Year Plan that given the present official policies, the resources likely to be available to finance the Plan were short in relation to the original outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector. The Commission's own estimate indicated the level of total resources at around Rs. 4,260 crores.

### Misleading Estimates

Afraid to own this big cut, the Commission and the Government misled the people and made them believe that the Plan outlay could be raised to Rs. 4,500 crores by raising additional resources of Rs. 240 crores. In fact, the Government raised the hope that there was some possibility of raising even Rs. 4,800 crores and prepared two estimates, one based on a Rs. 4,500-crore outlay and another on a Rs. 4,800-crore outlay.

After six months, the Commission has virtually owned the truth that not more than Rs. 4,260 crores can be raised through internal and external resources. It has owned up the truth that the investment programme of Rs. 4,800 crores cannot be carried out. At the same time it has prepared its estimates on the basis of an outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores though it knows that there is no chance of doing so. Now it is the turn of the NDC to refuse to accept facts and stick to the outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores. This is nothing but misleading the people.

In reality, the Commission has stated that the maximum resources that the Centre and the States are likely to be able to provide in the next two years are resources of the order of Rs. 1,754 crores, whereas the requirements for reaching a total of Rs. 4,500 crores over the two years amount to Rs. 2,034 crores. There is thus a shortfall of Rs. 280 crores—Rs. 198 crores at the Centre and Rs. 82 crores in the States.

Over the five-year period, the total outlay can, on this basis, be only Rs. 4,220 crores—a cut of 12 per cent in the investment programme—a cut to be enforced in the remaining two years of the Plan.

### It Was Avoidable

This drastic reduction in Plan investment was, of course, not necessary. There are enough internal resources to finance the entire Plan and more of it if the Nehru Government had nationalised import-export trade, run the public sector efficiently and if it had not succumbed to the landed interests and barred the way to rapidly increasing production in agriculture; if it

had shown the courage to take over the enormous profits of foreign concerns and diverted them for national development. Instead today in Kerala, it is encouraging foreign British tea planters to fight the workers and resist their just claims for wages and bonus.

The crisis of internal resources, like the crisis of foreign exchange, is entirely Government-made. It only shows that the Nehru Government, because of its deep entanglement with every kind of vested interests whom it represents, is unable to fulfil the minimum demands of economic development.

However, the crisis of the Plan is much deeper than is seen from the published figures.

In reality, it is next to impossible to have an outlay of Rs. 4,220 crores.

For, this estimate of resources is based on the maximum taxation that is considered to be possible by the Commission; besides, it neglects a number of other demands that are likely to be made on the public treasury in the coming period. It includes the additional Rs. 12 crores taxation that the State Governments promise to raise in the future. It also envisages additional taxation of about Rs. 40 crores at the Centre.

On the other hand, no allowance is made for any increases in the wages and salaries that might be recommended by the Pay Commission. The estimate of yield from loans, small savings and the availability of external assistance is too high, based as it is on recent favourable figures.

Besides, in the above estimate the limit for deficit-financing for the next two years has been taken at Rs. 100 crores a year. This is neither safe nor sound in view of the huge amount of deficit-financing in the first three years of the Plan and its inflationary consequences on the price structure.

Deficit-financing at the Centre in the first three years is estimated at Rs. 798 crores, besides the aggregate budgetary deficit of the States in the three years estimated at Rs. 85 crores. In the original Plan estimate, deficit-financing was to contribute

Rs. 1,200 crores. This leaves Rs. 300 crores to be raised through this source.

### Robbery Of People

But even the Planning Commission does not think it safe to stick to this figure in view of the inflationary trend in our economy. In fact, it does not think it safe to raise Rs. 100 crores in a year through this source.

The reason is obvious. With prices at the present level and with the growing demand for increase in wages and salaries to compensate the increase in the cost of living, there is no room for deficit-financing now and any resort to it would not only mean sheer robbery of the people, but produce deleterious effects on the economy

lowing prices to run away despite deficit-financing to the tune of Rs. 900 crores. But it did not confess the truth that this was achieved by reckless squandering of foreign exchange resources which has now been given as the main reason for drastically curtailing the Plan. India had to pay a heavy price for deficit-financing. But now that our foreign exchange resources are no more, there is no cushion to offset the effects of further deficit-financing. It is, therefore, extremely doubtful whether Rs. 200 crores could be raised through this source without a steep rise in prices.

Nothing stands out more glaringly than the fact that for the next two years, the Plan relies too heavily on "external" assistance from the West. Notwithstanding certain agreements with the Socialist countries, the planners have deemed it fit to take heavy

Deduct Central assistance to States	470
Add deficit-financing Resources available for the Centre's Plan	200
	890

Out of the total Central resources of Rs. 1,160 crores, more than 50 per cent i.e. Rs. 642 crores are to come from external assistance. Now without this huge assistance, the Plan must collapse. There will be very little left of it. The World Bank and Western financiers have secured a firm grip over the Centre's Plan which deals with the major strategic projects and the public sector. Out of a total amount of Rs. 1,360 crores, more than Rs. 800 crores will be raised through external assistance and deficit-financing. Such is the shaky and unfirm basis of the financial resources.

And with all this, there will be a deficit of Rs. 198 crores—if outlay corresponding to total

# Plan Doomed To More Cuts

## GRIM PROSPECTS AHEAD

and react adversely on the Plan itself.

Official spokesmen and economists repeatedly assured the people that deficit-financing was an easy method of creating capital and would not lead to inflation as every increase in monetary circulation would be matched by a corresponding increase in production. The experience of the last few years has clearly shown that deficit-financing is a method of creating capital by robbing the common man.

'aid' and loans from the USA and her agencies. The total external assistance is estimated at Rs. 1,100 crores. It includes the recent authorisation at the Washington Conference sponsored by the World Bank.

Out of this, utilisation in the first three years is estimated at Rs. 458 crores; the balance for the next two years will be Rs. 642 crores. Whether the assistance will be available according to promise is very doubtful. But the heavy reliance on ex-

Rs. 4,500 crores is to be made. It is obvious that with all these limitations, a sum far less than Rs. 4,220 crores alone can be raised.

As regards the States, the same tale is told. On the basis of the revised figure of an overall outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores, the outlay to be incurred in the coming two years is Rs. 946 crores. With Central assistance of Rs. 470 crores, the State Governments will be able to finance an outlay of Rs. 864 crores in these two years. This would mean a shortfall of Rs. 82 crores on the basis of the revised Plan allocations. As against the original target, the shortfall will work out at Rs. 255 crores.

So far as additional taxation is concerned, the States can raise only Rs. 12 crores notwithstanding the Planning Commission's exhortation to raise Rs. 60 crores of additional taxation in the coming two years.

All this ought to show that given the present official policies, not only an outlay of Rs. 4,500 crores was not possible; even the outlay of Rs. 4,220 crores was not attainable. The NDC and the Commission are misleading the people by toying with these figures. A far bigger cut in the Plan is inevitable than is acknowledged and announced.

The real cut, on the basis of the present figures can be cor-

by **B. T. RANADIVE**

In the next two years, deficit-financing, if resorted to on any big scale, is likely to upset the price structure and financing of the Plan itself. In the first three years, the effects of deficit-financing were held in check by the organised loot and squander of our foreign exchange resources. The huge imports leading to adverse balance of payments led to withdrawal of home currency to offset the inflationary trend. But they had to be financed by a draft on our valuable foreign exchange resources.

The Congress Government congratulated itself for not al-

ternal assistance for the rest of the Plan is seen from the following figures:

Resources of the Country	Rs. (in crores)
Balance of Plan outlay (corresponding to total of Rs. 4,500 crores overall)	1,088
Domestic resources available	
Balance from revenues (including additional taxation)	140
Contribution of railways	124
Loans, small savings, etc.	254
Total	518
External assistance	642
Total resources	1,160

## KERALA PLANTATIONS —THE TWO WAYS

THE Kerala plantation workers' strike has national significance. It has dramatically demonstrated that the Congress leadership defends even reactionary foreign interests just because they have a Communist Government to guarantee their rights, that it violates all democratic norms because it cannot put up with the existence of a Communist Government in a part of our country. Having failed with various sections of the people of Kerala to overthrow the Kerala Government, they plotted with and aided the British planters to blow up the Namboodiripad Ministry but they have again failed.

All glory to the plantation workers of Kerala who stood firm and solid. Salutations to the Kerala Ministry that refused to get panicked or provoked and coolly and wisely carried out its policy of justice to the workers and functioned, in very critical times, the administration in Kerala just as our democratic countrymen desire the Government should function throughout our vast land.

The workers' demand was plain and simple, they claimed their due bonus, a demand that had been conceded by the planters to the workers in neighbouring Tamilnad.

The Congress leadership advocated adjudication. The earlier Congress Government itself had withdrawn the issue from adjudication because of the long delays it involved. The Union Labour Minister, Sri Nanda, has himself times without number gone on record against compulsory adjudication and also advocated collective bargaining. But when a Communist Ministry clears the decks for collective bargaining and insists upon it, they feign horror.

The unity and strength of the workers and the patient and persistent efforts of Kerala Labour Minister Thomas had produced a situation in which the British manager of Kannan Devan, Souter, was willing to sign the agreement but he was pulled back by influential Congress leaders and Britain's diplomatic representatives.

The British High Commissioner met Pandit Pant and warned him that the Kerala strike would act as disincentive to British capital and the Union Home Minister got at Kerala's Chief Minister. The British Deputy High Commissioner rushed to the spot, the planters were streamlined, the anti-strike Press propaganda stepped up, the Congress and other opposition leaders duly contacted and so on. The British diplomat had the temerity to want to discuss the "law and order" situation with the Chief Minister of Kerala which he rightly refused.

This strike has also clearly revealed that all the earlier propaganda build-up of Communist interference with the administration was only a cover to use the administrative machinery itself against the Communist Government and its policies.

It encouraged the police officials to fire upon the workers against the declared police policy of the Kerala Government. The provocation did not succeed. The police officials have been transferred and a judicial enquiry instituted to find the facts and fix the responsibility, so that the guilty may be punished.

Administrative sabotage against the Communist Government was tried but failed. The Kerala Government has triumphantly vindicated its own authority and ensured the democratic rights of the people.

The INTUC High Command functioned with all its might to disrupt the strike and failed. Ramanujam and Vasavda are left licking their wounds and the INTUC instead of succeeding stands more discredited and weaker.

The British planters, the Congress propaganda machine and the police bullets all were hurled against the Kerala Government and they failed as they deserved to.

The issues involved were social justice, democratic rights, deencies of public life and India's honour. The Communist Government stands vindicated as their bold and uncompromising champion. The Congress leadership stands damned as their shameless violator.

Encouraged by the Congress High Command and aided by the INTUC, the planters have broken off negotiations but there is no doubt that the British planters will be put in their place by the Kerala Ministry and the plantation workers.

The Kerala strike is a great lesson for the Indian people as a whole. It plainly reveals in whose interests and which way the Congress seeks to run, India. Kerala stands out in sharp contrast, under a Communist Government.

(November 12)

# SCRAP - BOOK

## "SPIRIT OF KHADI"

DO you know that if you form a trade union, you would be working "against the spirit of khadi"?

That is how the bosses of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan in New Delhi apply "the spirit of khadi" to their employees. The manager of the Bhavan, Ram Nath Tandon, has already warned the employees that he would take "proper action" against them for having formed a registered union of their own.

Other manifestations of the "spirit of khadi" that have come across in the Gramodyog Bhavan are that the management in its letter of appointment to the employees, says that it has the right to sack any employee "at any time without notice" and can revise their "designation, scales of pay and allowances as and when it decides to do so."

The fashionable shop of the Gramodyog Bhavan in Connaught Circus is always crowded with khadi buyers. The Bhavan netted a profit of Rs. 67,000 in 1956-57, and during 1957-58, its profit is expected to exceed Rs. one lakh. But not a pie has so far been given to the employees as bonus.

This does not mean, of course, that the Bhavan is absolutely inconsiderate. The manager himself, it seems, has been getting stitching - contracts from the Bhavan in the name of his wife, daughter and 13-year old son.

But then, the "spirit of khadi" enjoins self-help, doesn't it?

## ACT OF INDISCIPLINE

A clerk in the Nizam Sugar Factory at Bodhan, Nizamabad District, Andhra, has been suspended for the "crime" of addressing a letter to the Chief Minister.

The factory is a semi-government one, the Government holding nearly 80 per cent of the shares.

The manager in his suspension order charged the clerk: "You have written a letter direct to the Chief Minister, thus committing an act of indiscipline and betrayal, and as such, you are hereby suspended. Please explain your conduct."

If anybody has to explain his conduct, I would say it is the manager himself.

## TEMPORARY APPOINTMENTS

I realise the difficulty of the Andhra Government to pull up such officers

when its own record is not above board.

Nearly two months ago, I came across the report of the Andhra Public Service Commission for the year 1956-57. It is a very enlightening document and I would recommend both Sri Dhebar and Pandit Pant to study it before they talk of administrative irregularities in Kerala.

The Public Service Commission (PSC) complains that when new appointments were made, these "continued indefinitely for months, together on a temporary basis" on the excuse that other rules had not been framed.

The PSC report reveals that 1197 "temporary appointments" were made during the year under emergency provision but "in most cases, the appointing authorities failed to obtain the concurrence of the Commission before the expiry of the period of three months" as enjoined under the rules. Actually it found that "there are still several instances where temporary appointments are being continued for years."

A candidate was recommended by the PSC for the post of a woman Medical Officer, but "the Director of Public Health took nearly one-and-a-half years to issue proceedings to regularise the services of the officer."

In June 1956, a candidate was selected for appointment as a lower division clerk, but the appointment was not made even two years later, and even the PSC's letters remained unanswered.

It is not that the PSC is a very turbulent body today opposed to the Andhra Government. In fact, the Government took care to decide that when any special committee for the selection of personnel is set up, it is the Secretary of the Department concerned who should preside over the special committee and not any member of the PSC, who will just be an ordinary member of any such committee.

## AMUSING ASPECT

In fact, when a committee was appointed by the Planning and Development Department to recruit special education officers, the PSC members were totally dispensed with and not one of them was taken on the committee.

What is most amusing in the report is that in spite of all these patent irregularities, the covering letter from the Governor of Andhra states: "As there has been no case of rejection or deviation from the advice tendered by the Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission, no explanatory memorandum is required!"

## TRIPPING BADLY

THE PSC report of a State Government, you may think, concerns the internal administrative matter of a State. But you are mistaken. A correspondent tells me that the PSC report is duly sent by the Andhra Government to the American Consul in Madras. What has the Consul of any foreign Government to do with the administrative problems of any of our State Governments?

It is up to the Central Intelligence to investigate. But there is a precedent. Only last month, the Home Minister, Pandit Pant himself, was discussing internal administrative matters of a State with the U. K. Deputy High Commissioner, and even tried to browbeat the Kerala Chief Minister over the cock-and-bull story of "mob rule" in the Kerala plantations that he had lapped up from the representatives of the British Government.

In trying to harass the Communists, our Ministers are often caught tripping badly, giving in to foreign agencies which hardly tallies with either national self-respect or national security.

## NO DISCRIMINATION

A MAJOR weapon in the armoury of the Congress leaders to fight the Kerala Ministry is that it is unlawfully discriminating in the matter of appointments against its opponents.

Here is a report which I have just received from Rajasthan: a teacher at Jaipur was suddenly suspended and charge-sheeted for having associated himself with the Communist Party. Though the charge was denied, no enquiry was held, and the teacher has been under suspension for the last year-and-a-half.

Recently, two teachers in Jodhpur District have been suddenly removed from service. They were punished with no explanation for the sack. But it is generally known that CID reports branded them as political undesirables, though, of course, the dismissed teachers have not been given any opportunity to defend their position.

A gentleman from Roh-tak Punjab, Chaudhury Dharan Singh Vakil was selected for Government employment by the Commissioner of the Ambala Division. But the police report vetoed the appointment though the gentleman had nothing to do with any political party.

—DIARIST

## On The Anniversary Of The 12-Parties' Declaration

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to the Brother Communist Parties on the occasion of the First Anniversary of the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries. This historic document summing up the experience of forty years of the world Communist movement since the Great October Revolution has served to unify the ranks of the world Communist movement and contributed to its further growth and strength. Principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism unite the Communist Parties of all lands. Stressing them the document gives correct guidance to the Communist and Workers Parties for

rallying the broad masses in each country in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism and expounding the common principles which all Parties must observe in the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction.

By calling on all Parties to fight revisionism i.e. Right-wing opportunism, as the main danger, the Declaration has rendered historic service to the world Communist movement. The revisionist programme of the Yugoslav League of Communists has clearly demonstrated that the call to fight revisionism has come none-too-soon.

Revisionist trends seek to undermine faith in Marxism-Leninism from within, at a time when Marxism-Leninism is scoring its biggest triumph. The Communist

Party of India is pledged to fight revisionism and dogmatism in its own ranks and maintain the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles. It is pledged to defend the principle of proletarian internationalism and rejects all talk and action which disturbs the unity of the world Communist movement and the world working class.

The Twelve Parties Declaration has correctly stated that the camp of peace and Socialism headed by the great Soviet Union is getting stronger, while the camp of imperialism and war is disintegrating.

Peace has today become the most important question for everybody. The Declaration has correctly stated that the forces of world peace have become powerful

enough to check all aggressors. During the course of the last one year, the forces of peace led by the USSR have several times checked the aggressive designs of the USA.

The Declaration triumphantly proclaimed that the colonial world is disintegrating, while the Socialist world is marching from triumph to triumph. Events of the last year have fully confirmed the correctness of these statements. While the capitalist world, especially the USA, was in the throes of a recession, China was performing breath-taking miracles of production. While the imperialists were busy sabre-rattling, the peoples of liberated countries, like the people of the Arab world, are fighting

and defeating them. The bourgeois critics of Marxism are not tired of repeating that it has become outmoded. Facts, on the contrary, show that its power to shape human society is increasing every day.

The world Communist movement has scored new and big triumphs since the Declaration of the Twelve Parties. Its Anniversary finds the world Communist Parties poised for still greater triumphs in the service of their people, in the service of democracy, peace and Socialism.

The Communist Party of India hails the unity of the world Communist movement and pledges to fight all trends alien to Marxism-Leninism, no matter how they masquerade themselves.

Another chapter in the sordid tale of betrayal of the working class by the leaders of the Indian National Trade Union Congress was written last weekend when the Kerala chief of the INTUC, Sri B. K. Nair, scuttled the Plantation Tripartite Conference by opposing an over-all negotiated settlement of the labour dispute involving over two-and-a-half lakh workers in Kerala's tea and rubber estates.

THE Conference, after protracted discussions had almost reached a satisfactory compromise and an industry-wide settlement was in sight when the INTUC leader insisted that any agreement reached at the conference should be binding only on plantations other than those in the Munnar area and that the Munnar dispute should be referred to adjudication. The employers refused to accept this stand and insisted on an industry-wide settlement and no piecemeal agreement leaving out the biggest plantations in Kerala.

It is the game of the INTUC to force an adjudication on the plantation workers of Munnar who had defied the INTUC leadership and conducted a heroic struggle under the leadership of the AITUC against the white bosses of the Kannan Devan Hill Produce Company.

The result was that the conference failed and the employers snatched the opportunity to back out of the negotiations into which they had been forced by the powerful and united action of the entire plantation labour in Kerala.

It is now reported that they are demanding an industry-wide adjudication since they need not have any fear of conceding anything to the workers by way of an industry-wide settlement so long as the INTUC is there to block the way to it. The Association of Planters of Kerala, it is said, will appeal to the Central Government for a "national tribunal" to adjudicate in the dispute of the plantation industry in Kerala State.

The planters are no doubt thankful to the INTUC for this dirty game of disrupting the talks and betraying the united struggle of workers seeking an honourable settlement of the dispute. They are now again talking about the "inescapability" of adjudication. A memorandum of the Association of Planters of Kerala (APK) says, "It is obvious that as at

move for a "national tribunal" in this dispute.

Sri B. K. Nair, Kerala INTUC chief, has tried to cover up his betrayal of workers by issuing a statement slandering the Labour Minister and the AITUC. He puts the blame for the failure of the negotiations

convenor of the Joint Action Committee and the Labour Minister because the planters had agreed to negotiate if the strikes were withdrawn. The Tripartite Conference which commenced on October 31 at Ernakulam elected a three-man committee to scrutinise

INTUC have been the influential hands of a group of planters organised in the APK.

It is significant that the Vice-Chairman of the APK, Sri Kuriakose, a member of the AICC, was chosen by Sri B. K. Nair to distribute his letters to the planters assembled in conference at Ernakulam "warning" them that the INTUC would not cooperate in an industry-wide settlement. It is well-known that Mr. Kuriakose and other Congress planters in the APK had been vigorously active these days to defy the State Government and deny the demands of the workers.

It is also reported that just before the Tripartite Conference resumed its session at Ernakulam on November 6, to consider the report of the three-man committee on the question of bonus, important leaders of the Kerala Congress and Sri B. K. Nair had met and chalked out "a line of action" for the conduct of the INTUC in the negotiations.

Such is the story of the "working class loyalty" of the INTUC wonderfully demonstrated in the plantation labour struggle. Sri Ramanujam and INTUC leaders can certainly be happy that they have been able to disrupt the unity of the workers which they have always dreaded and opposed. They can also be satisfied with the thought that they have strengthened the hands of the enemies of the Kerala Government, even if these enemies be a handful of plantation tycoons. But the fight is not yet over and the INTUC leaders will have yet to answer for their actions before the workers.

## INTUC BETRAYAL AGAIN

### Behind Failure Of Kerala Plantation Talks

★ From K. UNNIKRISHNA WARIER

on the Labour Minister and the planters.

But he hides the fact that the large majority of workers in Munnar had refused to accept adjudication and carried on the strike for 27 days in the teeth of violent opposition and provocation by the INTUC and the Kannan Devan management. As a result of this tenacious and brave struggle of the workers in Munnar the management of the Kannan Devan itself gave up the demand for adjudication and agreed to implement any agreement that could be reached at the tripartite negotiations.

Sri Nair also hides the fact that other members of the Joint Action Committee belonging to the AITUC, UTUC and HMS were all prepared to accept an industrywide settlement and did not want to leave the dispute in Munnar for adjudication.

Again it was suggested to Sri Nair that a ballot be conducted in Munnar to ascertain whether the workers there were really for adjudication as claimed by the INTUC. This was also not acceptable to Sri Nair.

The Union Home Minister who had persistently asked the State Government to refer the Munnar dispute to adjudication himself stated at Trivandrum on October 28 last that the Munnar strike might be called off for the purpose of negotiations and conciliation. If that was done, he had stated, "there would be no question of leaving the dispute to arbitration."

The Munnar strike was suspended on October 30 in deference to an appeal by the

trading results of ten selected companies in order to settle the question of enhanced bonus for the year 1957.

No amount of arguments by Sri B. K. Nair will help to improve the fact, that this agreeable situation was torpedoed by him for political purposes. For a long time the Kerala Congress leadership had been trying to make political capital out of this labour dispute. The question of adjudication itself was made a point for demanding Central intervention. Behind this political fight of the Congress and

the State Labour Minister has also made it clear that the Government will oppose any

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## DIWALI CAME, BUT....

THIS is Diwali week. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is worshipped and good wishes exchanged for prosperity and well-being. Even on this festive occasion, grim thoughts could not but enter the minds of all of us.

The headline of even the British-owned Statesman of November 11 was "A Quieter Diwali—Less Money to Spend, Fewer Crackers." The financial editor of the Right-wing Times of India (November 10) noted: "the domestic economy presenting several trouble spots, Diwali thoughts this year have been devoid of their customary exuberance". No further comments are necessary.

The sad state of our economy was discussed in the National Development Council and its results have been analysed in a separate article by Comrade Ranadive in this issue.

The Second Plan was to pave the way for our prosperity. Right in its midst, we find ourselves in a very different plight. The Congress Government stands condemned for failure to successfully implement the very Plan it had itself outlined. The Plan has been cut twice already and it is anybody's guess as to how much more it will get cut both in financial and physical targets and also where it will ultimately end.

An integral part of this miserable tale has been the failure to increase food production. Food scarcity and soaring prices have been the standing scandals during the last two years.

### No Decision On Crucial Issue

The AICC had appointed a sub-committee on land reforms and food production and it met this week. It repeated once again all the slogans and measures to step up technological aid to agriculture. The crucial issue was land reforms based on ceilings, and on this issue no final decision has been taken. On paper the sub-committee decided in favour of "broadly implementing" the Planning Commission's proposals about fixing ceilings both on present and future land-holdings. In practice, the State Governments have been asked to pass legislations by March 1959 only as regards future holdings but not present ones; they have also been asked to pass legislation guaranteeing security of tenure and fifty per cent of reasonable rent, sharecroppers are to be treated not as agricultural workers but tenants.

A note has been prepared on the problem of fixing ceilings on present holdings and circulated to the States for their opinion. Thus, though the landlord interests have not been able to scuttle ceilings for good, the progressive elements have also not succeeded in getting the principle enforced. The issue has only been postponed to the next meeting of the AICC and the Congress session itself.

Pandit Nehru, in his monthly Press Conference, kidded himself by stating that

he was not "aware" that the appointment of the AICC sub-committee meant a re-opening of the question of ceiling on land. He went on to state that the principle of ceiling was accepted and the question was about its implementation. This, he added, was more and more tied with the larger question of agricultural cooperatives.

Replying to a whole series of questions on land reforms, ceilings and food production, he said: "There are only two ways of food production. One is big, efficient landlords using modern techniques and the other efficient peasants working in cooperatives. The first one may produce good results, but relatively speaking it is oppressive to the peasantry. Therefore, we are driven to the second alternative. We have to consider not only food production but also human advance. At the cost of food production, we cannot forget the human factors. If you forget the human factors, ultimately food production goes down."

### Landlord Offensive

Pandit Nehru has only reiterated what the Congress has already promised, but the problem facing him is to beat back the offensive of the powerful landlord elements within his own party and quickly implement legislation breaking up the big landlord farms, distribute land to the tillers and then cooperatives and technical aids will fulfil their true purpose or else they only add to the power and riches of the landlord elements.

The AICC sub-committee loudly reiterated the slogan of 100 per cent increase in food production by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, though the food production in 1957-58 is no more than seven per cent above that in 1949-50.

The Times of India, in its editorial (November 8) entitled "It Can Be Done", states: "How fast we can increase the production of food depends on the effort we are prepared to put into it. But curiously enough, the simple fact has never been grasped by the policy-makers in this country. They continue to talk of this or that rate of increase without correlating it to the measures they are willing to take."

"There is nothing impracticable about doubling the food output in eight years. For that matter, if the reports from Peking are to be believed, China has almost doubled her output of food in one year. The question as before is not whether it can be done, but whether we have the will to do it. If the experience of the last three years is any guide, we do not seem to have even the will to increase the production of food by 40 per cent during the Second Plan period which, the Plan-makers had assured us at one time was quite feasible....

"New incentives can be created by the programme of land reforms to which the Congress is already committed. Before the AICC lays down grand production targets for 1966, it will be more to the point for it to insist on the completion of these reforms within the next year or so."

## notes of the week

### CHINA AGAIN

LAST week, we quoted Pandit Nehru almost slandering People's China for being an "army camp", where economic advances were being registered but at the cost of democracy and human freedom.

The impact of China's achievements has been so powerful not only upon all sections of Indian opinion but also among honest bourgeois intellectuals in the West and Pandit Nehru had to eat his own words in his monthly Press Conference this week: "What I said was that China was being organised as if it was a soldier's camp, that is to say, people following a strict routine as if in a camp. They go to work at a certain time; they come back for lunch at a certain time; all together—the whole village—the whole commune."

We have an article on the People's Commune in China in our middle pages and our readers can just get a glimpse of what they are like.

We quoted the Union Co-operation Minister, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh's interview from Hongkong. This week he has spoken again in New Delhi in still more glowing terms:

"All the Chinese people are keen and earnest in helping their country....

"I was highly impressed by the enthusiasm of the Chinese people. There is competition among the people, competition not to gain anything for oneself, but competition to give to the people and country. Everybody vies with each other to work more and more. That is a feature not observable anywhere else."

He said that he had never imagined such popular enthusiasm. "People are working on their own without waiting for the experts to advise or help. We saw so many fertiliser factories. One such factory started by a group of young chaps just on their own" he recalled.

### Plea For Greater Contact

He said that he might make a brief report to Prime Minister Nehru about his visit to China and agricultural practices there as well as the popular enthusiasm that has brought about such high yields.

"I would like to see greater contact between the farmers of China and India and also between the experts. I would like them to go there and live there for, say, six months, stay there in the communes and study their methods. "The Chinese farmers are very friendly towards the Indians. They have a general regard and fellow-feeling for the Indian people."

The reality of Chinese achievement is so gigantic that it can evoke such spontaneous tribute even from a known Right-winger like Dr. Deshmukh and lead him to advocate practical fraternal cooperation between our farmers and experts.

Another Union Minister, Sri S. K. Dey, for Community Development also spoke of China's example in a laudatory manner in the staff conference of Development Commissioners about Chinese efforts in boosting agricultural production. The Indian papers are competing with each other in paying their tributes to China's achievements. This week, editorials have appeared in the Times of India, Indian Express and the influential Hindi Nav Bharat Times and the Hindustan. All these papers are well-known for being Right-wing.

Only one month ago, the statesmen and specialists of the West came to New Delhi to save India from "going Chinese way". How bankrupt has proved their pipe dream—and so soon? Learning from China is no more a Communist slogan, but is becoming a national demand of all serious-thinking people who are generally worried about the crisis of the Indian Plan and who have the faith that the Indian people can also achieve what the Chinese people have achieved. The struggle against the reactionary policies which have produced the crisis of our Plan and for policies which will get us out of this mess and towards a happy and prosperous life, reaches a new height.

### INSIDE CONGRESS

THE Congress denial of Samyukta Maharashtra stands damned through the latest bye-election from Pandharpur constituency, where Congress candidate lost to the Samiti by a margin of over 9,000 votes. The Congress has not won a single bye-election, at any level, against the Samiti and this is shaking the mass of Congressmen themselves, who know that their electoral prospects in the inevitable general elections are becoming dimmer and dimmer.

The Congress Chief Minister of Mysore State refuses to listen to the Congress Chief Minister of Bombay to settle the border dispute on the basis of the Pataskar formula.

The Congress in Punjab is going from one crisis to another. A leading Congress Minister was manhandled by some people and the police looked on. The PCC President has resigned, and a real tug-of-war is on between the various factions. Master Tara Singh threatens a morcha from the Sikh side for the Punjab Suba, while the Hindus from the other are getting ready to resume satyagraha for the defence of Hindi. Not united struggle against communalism, but intensified factional struggle, each for himself, is consuming the Punjab Congress.

The crisis in U. P. Congress has advanced to a new, hitherto unknown stage, with the resignation of the nine Ministers.

Referring to these developments and particularly the erstwhile Congress stronghold U. P., the Times of India (November 7), in its editorial entitled "Cracking Up," writes: "What has happened in U.P. is only one among the many dire warnings to the Congress hierarchy that the party will crack up if nothing is done soon enough to give it a new ideological cohesion. It is a grim comment on the demoralisation that has set within the party. If these squabbles continue, the party may compromise even its chance of winning the next general election."

So far it was the Communist Party that used to state that the Congress could but get corrupted and crack up under the reactionary policies which its leadership was doggedly pursuing. The Congress crack-up is now visible even to those who support it.

—P. C. JOSHI  
(November 12, 1958).

## INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

### Something Is Wrong With Our Trade Practices

THE newspapers carried on the morning of November 6 the report of the signing of a supplementary arrangement to the Trade accord between India and the Democratic Republic of Germany (GDR) providing for an increase in the exchange of commodities between the two countries "on a balanced basis" in the following year.

It also provided for the opening of a "Central Clearing Account" in India so that the rupees earned by the GDR from exports to India "may be utilised for import of Indian products".

The report was accompanied by a statement by the GDR Trade Representative in New Delhi, Eric Renneisen, that his country was ready to buy goods from India up to a value of Rs. ten crores a year provided "it was in a position to earn enough rupees to pay for them."

In contrast with this readiness of Socialist Germany to help us expand our export earnings has been the attitude of the Government of the other part of that country which is still under capitalist rule.

Speaking at the annual session of the GATT in Geneva the Indian delegate L. K. Jha charged that West Germany's "import restrictions against Indian goods, particularly jute and its products, constituted a serious violation of the Federal Republic's obligations under the GATT" (The Times of India, November 9). These restrictions, he added "strike at the root of (West) Germany's legal and moral obligations and reduce India's resources for the purchase of rice, machinery and capital equipment."

### Slap In The Face

This atrocious violation of the norms of international trade has not, however, made the officers in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry sit up and think as to why a Government whose Minister of Economic Affairs (Erhard) was feted and praised to the skies during his recent visit to this country, should decide to slap us in the face—while a Government not accorded even the courtesy of diplomatic recognition, goes out of its way to offer to buy all that we are willing to sell in return for goods which we so sorely need. If they did they would have found that helping the development of underdeveloped economies like ours—through promotion of mutually beneficial trade and supply of equipment for industrialisa-

tion—is as much an element inherent in the economic and social policies of the Socialist countries, as stalling of the economic progress of these economies through unfair trade practices and restrictionist policies is that of the capitalist countries.

West Germany's apathy towards the industrialisation of the less developed economies is not confined to India. In Ceylon, her Minister, Erhard, gesticulated a good deal about the uncertainty which the frequent mention of the possibility of "nationalisation" of foreign-owned plantations creates in the mind of the investors overseas.

The moral obviously was to soften the operations of the national policies to make it easy for foreign enterprise to reap the maximum dividends. In Pakistan, while pooh-poohing the Soviet offer of 400 million rubles credit to Egypt for the first stage of the mighty Aswan Dam as "mere window-dressing" he "ruled out the possibility of his country taking the initiative in arranging" alternative credit for financing the project.

### Why This Apathy

Why this apathy and fear? If, as their spokesmen are never tired of asserting, their industrial and economic prowess is unmatched in the world wide, why do they cry hoarse about the "economic offensive" which the Socialist countries are alleged to have launched in what were so far their close preserves?

The answer to it has to be sought in the rapid strides which the Socialist countries have been making in their economic progress—thus bridging the gap which had divided them so far from the more developed countries in the capitalist West. Here are a few facts:

The State Plan for industrial output in the Soviet Union has been fulfilled more than 103 per cent during the ten months ending October 1958. It is now 36 times greater than in pre-revolutionary Russia (A. I. Mikoyan's speech at the Moscow City Soviet meeting on November 6).

Investment for industrial purposes in the United States, on the other hand, is expected to be reduced by at least 13 per cent during the current year. Industrial output in the first half of this year was 11 per cent less than in the corresponding period of the last year.

Further, whereas the average annual increment in the Soviet Union's industrial production during the past five years (1954-58 inclusive) amounted to 11.2 per

cent the U.S. industrial output went up by 55 per cent during the first three years and then got stuck at that level.

In capital construction, USSR allocations for the current year will be nearly 3.3 times as much as the total invested in the entire Five-Year Plan. China built a total of 7.5 million industrial and handicraft enterprises in the first three quarters of the year. Democratic Korea built more than 960 factories in the third quarter alone.

The USA turned out 35 per cent less steel in the first eight months of the year. West Germany's output of steel was the lowest in September since February 1958. Britain's index of industrial production for August dropped by four to five points compared with the same month last year.

Taking the Socialist countries as a whole, their industry developed last year at a rate approximately four-and-a-half times of the capitalist world while the rate of industrial growth in the capitalist countries dropped by two per cent, according to the HSIHUA news-agency.

### Their Fears

With Poland and Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany presenting a grand spectacle of consistent upswing in industrial production under Socialist dispensation—in line with the splendid achievements in China and the Soviet Union—and countries of the capitalist world showing a downward swing, one can very well understand the fears which the Erhards and Dillons have begun to entertain in respect of their own future.

With avenues of unequal trade increasingly closed to them as a result of the Socialist countries' growing capacity and readiness to help in the economic development of the underdeveloped regions, they cannot but gnash their teeth and rave to malign the "latter's assistance as "economic offensive" and "aggression". Correctly has Comrade Gomułka said that "it is precisely because the future belongs to Socialism that the most aggressive imperialist quarters do not want to strengthen world peace and fear competition with it."

If the imperialists behave thus, their antics have at least the saving grace of befitting the performers. But what can one say of a Government like ours, which is pledged to building a Socialist pattern of society in the country, and yet, is afraid of unreservedly grasping the hand of fraternal assistance extended by Socialist countries?

### Ominous Trend

Even in trade for which the most favourable terms have been offered by the latter—their fullest potentialities have not been tapped by it—with the result that despite the readiness of the Socialist importers to absorb the maximum quantities of our export commodities, and pay for them in goods which we need, we

have been almost continuously having a deficit in trade with them. Even in the first half of 1958 this deficit amounted to Rs. 7.8 crores, whereas during the past four-and-a-half years it has totalled as much as Rs. 31.8 crores. (Capital, November 6)

More than this accumulated deficit, however, it is the latest trend of the falling of our trade with the Socialist countries which is ominous. Thus in the first quarter of the current year our imports from them were Rs. 1.25 crores lower than in the first quarter of 1957. Exports, too, were down by Rs. 1.11 crores. (Ibid)

And this when trade with Socialist countries has been beneficial for the country's basic development. It is borne out even by the British-owned Capital. In its issue of November 6, it said that "in general, imports from the Communist countries consisted of goods used in the development or the maintenance of basic industry". Giving a break-up of the import figures it stated that about 60 per cent of these last year

## PLACATING FOREIGN CAPITAL

THE U.S. firm, Merck-Sharp and Dohme is again in the news. Some time ago it had secured a licence for the manufacture of streptomycin at the State-owned Pimpri Plant. The latest is its tie-up with the Tata Sons for floating a subsidiary on Indian soil to manufacture its much-advertised products.

The new company, which will operate under the name of Merck-Sharp and Dohme (India) Private, Ltd., will have an authorised capital of Rs. 4.2 crores, of which 60 per cent will be subscribed by Merck and 40 per cent by the Tatas and their associates.

Apart from the preponderance of foreign holdings in the share capital of the new company—a fact which points to the strengthening of the grip of foreign mono-

polists on our industries—the deal with Merck speaks of the readiness of the Government to go out of its way to placate foreign capitalists. In contrast with this is its procrastination in finalising details of a far more favourable offer from the Soviet Union for setting up an integrated drug industry in the country (see NEW AGE, November 2). First made in 1956, only its principle seems to have been accepted till now.

In view of this glaring dichotomy in Government's policy it is only proper that it places full facts regarding the deal with Merck as well as the negotiations with Soviet organisations before Parliament when it reconvenes next week.

—ESSEN  
November 11, 1958

AROUND ASIA  
ON THE ASIA

ASIA  
CYCLES

THE METAL GOODS MFG. CO., (P.) LTD. BARRACKS-2, INDIA

# CHINA'S FIRST PLAN

China's First Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy was successfully fulfilled above the original targets at the end of the last year. The realisation of this gigantic Plan has brought about an important and profound change in the features of China's national economy.

FIRST of all, the problem of Socialist transformation during the transition period has been solved in the main. The private ownership of the means of production which had existed for thousands of years was practically eliminated in 1956, and the predominant position of the Socialist system was firmly established throughout the country.

As is known, this fundamental change in the relations of production created essential conditions for the smooth development of China's productive forces, particularly for the big forward leap in industry and agriculture toward the end of last year and this spring.

According to statistical data, up to the end of 1957, some 120,000,000 peasant households had joined agricultural cooperatives. This constituted 98 per cent of China's total peasant households, among whom 96 per cent had become members of cooperatives of a higher type. Needless to say, in agricultural development and in the prevention of natural disasters, or their relief thereafter, the agricultural cooperatives have demonstrated their incomparable superiority over individual economy.

Owing to the powerful stimulation of agricultural co-operation, cooperation in the handicraft industries also achieved a decisive victory. Up to the end of 1957, 6,430,000 people joined handicraft cooperatives, constituting about 90 per cent of all handicraftsmen in China.

**Socialist Transformation**  
In the Socialist transformation of private industry and commerce, an upsurge toward joint State-private enterprises by whole trades took place in 1956. At the end of the First Five-Year Plan, some 70,000 private industrial units had become joint State-private enterprises, and those remaining private produced less than 0.1 per cent of China's total value of industrial output. The transformation of private commerce and transportation had also been practically accomplished in 1956.

Owing to the successful completion of Socialist transformation, the structure of China's social economy also underwent a radical change. In the national income of 1957, the ratio occupied by State enterprises increased to 33 per cent, and by joint State-private enterprises to eight per cent, while the ratio occupied by individual economy dropped to three per cent, by capitalist economy as low as less than 0.1 per cent.

Another important achievement made on the economic front during the First Five-Year Plan was the laying of the preliminary groundwork for China's Socialist industrialisation. Owing to the large-scale capital construction in the last five years, heavy industry has begun to be established in the vast territory of China. Thus, ex-

remely favourable conditions have been created to meet China's requirements for technical equipment in the rapid development of her national economy and her further technological improvement.

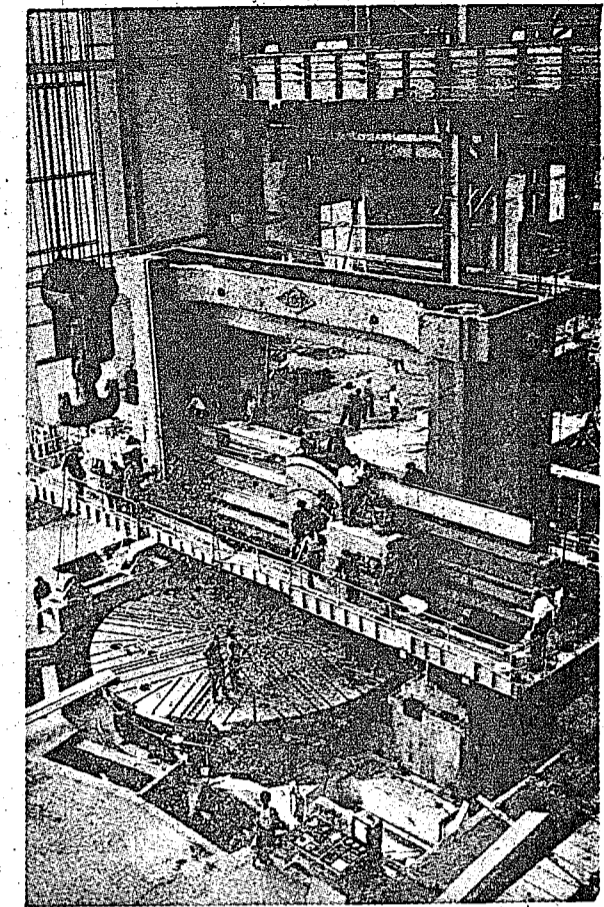
According to the Plan, the Government's total capital investment for capital construction in the economic and cultural fields (referring to those adding to the value of fixed assets, but not liquid capital) during the five-year period was originally set at 42,700,000,000 yuan. However, in carrying out the Plan, the actual capital investment reached 49,300,000,000 yuan, exceeding the target by 15.4 per cent. If we add to this the capital investment by local governments and enterprises, the actual capital investment totalled about 55,000,000,000 yuan.

Of the total capital investment by the State mentioned above, industry occupied 56 per cent; agriculture, forestry and water conservancy—3.2 per cent; transportation, postal and tele-communications—

creased to 160,000, seven-and-a-half times the 1952 figure. At present, China is already in a position to independently design some large and technically complicated engineering projects, such as an iron and steel complex with an annual capacity of 1,500,000 tons, a coal-mine with an annual production of 2,400,000 tons, a hydro-electric power plant with a capacity of 1,000,000 kilowatts, a thermo-electric power plant of 450,000 kilowatts, etc. As to light industrial plants, China is able to design them all herself.

Owing to the united efforts of the Chinese people, especially the great achievements in Socialist transformation and construction, all branches of China's national economy experienced a rapid growth and the material and cultural life of the broad masses of the people also improved markedly.

The total value of industrial production in 1957 had reached 65,000,000,000 yuan, exceeding the original plan by 21 per cent, more than 2.4 times that of 1952. The rate of average annual increase was originally set at 14.7 per cent, but the actual rate of increase was as high as 19.2 per cent. Such high speed of industrial growth was not only unknown in



Finishing touches being given to China's biggest steam turbine generator shop capable of producing large-size steam turbine generators upwards of 2 to 3 lakh kw.

## Its Policy And Achievements

old China, but equally unknown — nor can it take place — in any capitalist country.

In the five-year period, output of handicraft industry also increased tremendously. In 1957 its total value of output reached 13,600,000,000 yuan. Compared with 1952, it increased 86 per cent, with an average rate of growth of 13.2 per cent per year.

of 49 years in old China prior to the liberation.

Furthermore, the technological level of China's industry was also raised, and the technical equipment for workers has markedly increased. During this period, more than 5,000 kinds of important new products were successfully trial-produced. In the steel industry, for instance, China can now produce many kinds

planes, heavy-duty trucks, modern locomotives, 12,000 kw. steam-turbine power equipment, 1,000 cubic-metre blast furnaces, mining equipment for an annual production of 900,000 tons, some 200 kinds of new-type machine tools, and many kinds of electronic tubes. In addition, in the chemical, textile, paper making, rubber, pharmaceutical, sugar-

### OUTPUT OF CHINA'S MAJOR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS (In 1957)

Product	Unit	1952	1957	Average Annual Rate of Growth (%)
Steel	1,000 tons	1,349	5,344	31.7
Coal	1,000 tons	63,528	124,027	14.3
Electricity	1,000,000 Kwh	7,260	19,320	21.6
Crude Oil	1,000 tons	436	1,458	27.3
Metal Cutting Machines		13,734	36,341	21.5
Chemical Fertilizers	1,000 tons	194	804	32.9
Cement	1,000 tons	2,861	6,859	19.1
Cotton Cloth	1,000,000 metres	3,830	4,900	5.4
Machine-made Paper	1,000 tons	372	912	19.7

From the table it can be readily seen that the rate of growth is very high in the output of many of China's major industrial products. For instance, the rate of growth in steel production was around 32 per cent, an unprecedented phenomenon. In effect, China's total steel production in the last eight years exceeded the sum total of steel output

of alloy steels, silicon steel plates, seamless steel tubing, heavy steel rails, and all kinds of steel plates for steamers and automobiles. In 1957 the kinds of steel products already exceeded 4,000. China's steel industry can meet 88 per cent of her needs.

Again, in the machine industry, China has succeeded in making jet air-

refining industries, China has also scored many new technological achievements.

In agricultural production, although natural disasters of varying degrees occurred during the five-year period, the organised peasant masses of China fought determinedly against them and scored important victories. It has been calculated that in 1957 the value of agricultural output and products from peasant side-line occupations totalled 60,300,000,000 yuan, an increase of 25 per cent as compared with 1952. Grain output increased to 370,000,000,000 catties, exceeding the original target by two per cent. The total output of cotton also

\* See Page 12

by  
**YUNG LUNG-KUEI**

Director,  
World Economy Bureau of the State Planning Commission.

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nearly 12,000, that is a little less than the one-fourth of the textile workers of Kanpur, continue to be unemployed. They along with about 50,000 members of their families who are dependent on them are without any means of livelihood. Only a few of them have been able to take to rickshaw-plying or to doing other odd jobs. Some have returned to their villages. But the rest are roaming the streets of Kanpur.

**KANPUR Cotton Mills,** a branch of the British India Corporation, has been closed since December 2, 1957, and the 4,000 workers who were employed in it have been laid off since then. Atherton West Mills, under its British management, has been laying off 2,500 workers since March 31, 1958. The Muir Mills, belonging to the J.K. Group of industries, has closed its third shift, involving about 1,000 workers, since September 1957.

### Workers Not Paid

Under the Standing Orders, up to a period of 12 days of lay-off in a calendar month the company has to pay half the wages and after the expiry of this period it is required to pay full wages to the workers. The mills have not abided by these rules. The Kanpur Cotton Mills is paying only half wages. Even in this, 1,000 substitutes are being paid nothing, although legally they, too, are entitled to payment.

The Atherton West Mills has not only paid no lay-off compensation to the workers, but has also withheld the payment of their earned wages. The Muir Mills also has to pay the earned wages of the workers for a fortnight and lay-off compensation for the months of September and October 1957. Both these amounts total up to Rs. six lakhs in the case of this mill alone.

There has been ceaseless agitation against these tactics of the millowners. The United Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha has, since September 1957, written twice to the Prime Minister, and made a number of representations to Sri Nanda, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Sri Sampurnanand and Sri Jugal Kishore, till now Labour Minister of U.P. Deputations of the Sabha have waited upon Messrs Manubhai Shah, Morarji Desai, Nanda and the local Ministers. They have also tried to discuss the matter with the Employers' Association of Northern India and to set up a bipartite committee to tackle the situation.

But the bosses, who enjoy the support of the local Ministry, refused to sit with the representatives of the workers. The question was also raised at Nainital and the sub-committee on closures had recommended the appointment of a special Expert Committee to go into the matter and take necessary legal action. The Nainital Conference had also recommended that in the interim period the Government should work the mills as a measure of unemployment relief to the workers. Nothing, however, has happened so far, although there is continuous talk of something or the other being done.

### Baseless Plea Of "Crisis"

The magnates of Kanpur, who are hand in glove with the U.P. Ministers, have prevented any effective action being taken. They blame everything on the 'crisis' in the industry,

The other story is worse. At the intervention of some intermediaries, one of whom is reported to be closely related to the Chief Minister, a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs, which a firm owed the Government in connection with sales-tax, has been written off. It is being alleged that some people greatly benefited from this deal and as the Cabinet had not been consulted in settling this issue, it precipitated a crisis.

### Minister Protests

A Minister who has been raising his voice against such corrupt practices frequently, wrote a strong letter to the Chief Minister characterising the whole thing as corruption. He is also reported to have given details of the sums which had been received by some people for their services in arranging this deal. This letter, which was almost a resignation, has again been suppressed, it is said, "in view of the crisis that the Ministry is facing on other counts."

However, the main point is that the employers in Kanpur have no basis for grievance. Apart from the above, they have also not paid another Rs. 45 lakhs which is their contri-

295 and 175. The number of spinning mills had nearly doubled in ten years.

The industrial profits of cotton textiles have gone up by five times during the last decade. The employment position, on the other hand, has not shown any noticeable change. In 1949, 7.09 lakhs of workers were employed in the industry; in 1958 their number rose to 7.72 lakhs only.

In these profits also, the Kanpur employers have had their full share as their balance-sheets can be made to show. It is also known that they have shipped out huge sums of money earned from Kanpur to not only other States to set up new businesses, but also to foreign countries.

The machinery of some of the mills is undoubtedly old and needs refurbishing and even replacement. The employers were given huge loans by the U.P. Government, when Sri C. B. Gupta was Industries and Planning Minister. But instead of utilising the money for the purpose for which it was given they squandered it in other ways and indulged in unashamed racketeering. The whole charge is now under enquiry and so we shall not say more about it. The enquiry has been ordered by the new Finance

their battle against Gupta unless they are able to secure the support and finances of the Kanpur millionaires.

Hence, it came as no surprise, when on the eve of the last U.P. PCC meeting Sri Sampurnanand went to Kanpur to address a meeting of the Employers' Association and to get his line from them. They made a list of their complaints and again raised the wolf cry of crisis to escape their responsibilities.

Immediately after his return from the meeting, Sri Sampurnanand placed a resolution before the U.P. PCC meeting complaining that the Central Government was not helping the State in industrialisation. There is some substance in this charge, because the Central Government has tried to treat U.P. as an agrarian State and not allotted it its rightful quota of industries.

### The Other Side

But equally true is this that whatever funds were given to the U.P. Government it has made a mess of them. Instead of utilising them for industrialisation in the public sector, etc., it gave them away to its favourite masters of Kanpur and elsewhere. Further, it failed to use up the small sum of Rs. 23 crores that was allotted to the State for developing industries.

Hence the employers' talk of crisis is only to evade their responsibility. They think the Ministers of the State are in their pocket and so they can do almost whatever they like.

The workers of Kanpur are putting up a valiant fight against the Government-employers combine. About a year ago, 4,000 of them had marched 45 miles from Kanpur to Lucknow to present their demands. Recently, two of their leaders, Ravi Sinha and Vimal Mehrotra, had gone on a 21-day hunger-strike to get their demands satisfied. The hunger-strike was backed by huge and continuous meetings and demonstrations in Kanpur. On September 21, a rally of 10,000 workers there decided to give a call for a one-day General Strike.

At that time the pressure became so irresistible that the Labour Commissioner rushed to the place and announced the appointment of an investigation committee to go into the question of the Atherton West Mills. It was also announced by the Chief Minister the same day that the Central Government had agreed to appoint an authorised Controller for the same mills and that with regard to the Kanpur Cotton Mills, the Central and the State Governments were negotiating with certain parties so that it could be restarted.

### Deteriorating Situation

However, as yet nothing has been done to provide even temporary relief to the workers. The situation in the biggest industrial centre of the North is fast deteriorating.

The other day when I discussed the matter with Sri Ram Asrey, General Secretary of the U.P. TUC, he told me that unless something was done immediately to relieve the suffering of the workers there would be a big explosion—much bigger than any before—in Kanpur.

## A Faithful Congress Govt. Has Allowed Them To Run Away With Crores, Yet Textile Magnates Create...

# EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN KANPUR

charged the employers and charged them with themselves swallowing the entire relief thus gained without sharing it, either with the consumers or the traders. Another complaint of the Kanpur employers is that the electricity charges in U.P. are higher than in other States. There is some truth in this, but equally true is the fact that labour is cheaper in U.P. than in many other States. Besides, how have the rates of electric charges affected the employers, since they have not paid a sum of Rs. 40 lakhs to the Government in connection with their electricity dues?

### Scandalous Concessions

The employers in Kanpur further owe the Government a sum of over Rs. seven crores as income-tax. They have not paid it for several years.

In fact there are scandalous stories about this and also fairly large arrears of sales-tax. For instance, in the case of one employer who owes Rs. 35 lakhs as sales-tax dues to the U.P. Government, he and the Government have entered into an agreement under which this gentleman will clear this arrear in 35 years at the rate of Rs. 15,000 per month!

Minister, Sri Charan Singh—though I have reason to believe, the Ministry as a whole does not like it except for what it might do to help it in its fight against the Gupta clique in the party.

**"Golden Eggs"**  
In fact, the Ministry, specially its Chief Minister, has been serving the Kanpur employers most faithfully. Sri Sampurnanand has not only not taken any steps to recover the vast sums that they owe to the Government and which the Ministry has authority to realise compulsorily as land revenue, but has openly declared his partiality for them by describing them as "hens that lay golden eggs".

He has always stood by them and turned a blind eye to the demands and grievances of the workers. He knows that he needs their support to remain where he is in this State and hence he and many of his colleagues have tried their hardest to enlist their favour.

This effort has been all the more necessary, because it is known that it is Sri C. B. Gupta who has so far been and to a large extent continues to be their favourite. The present Ministry cannot expect to win

### Steady Expansion

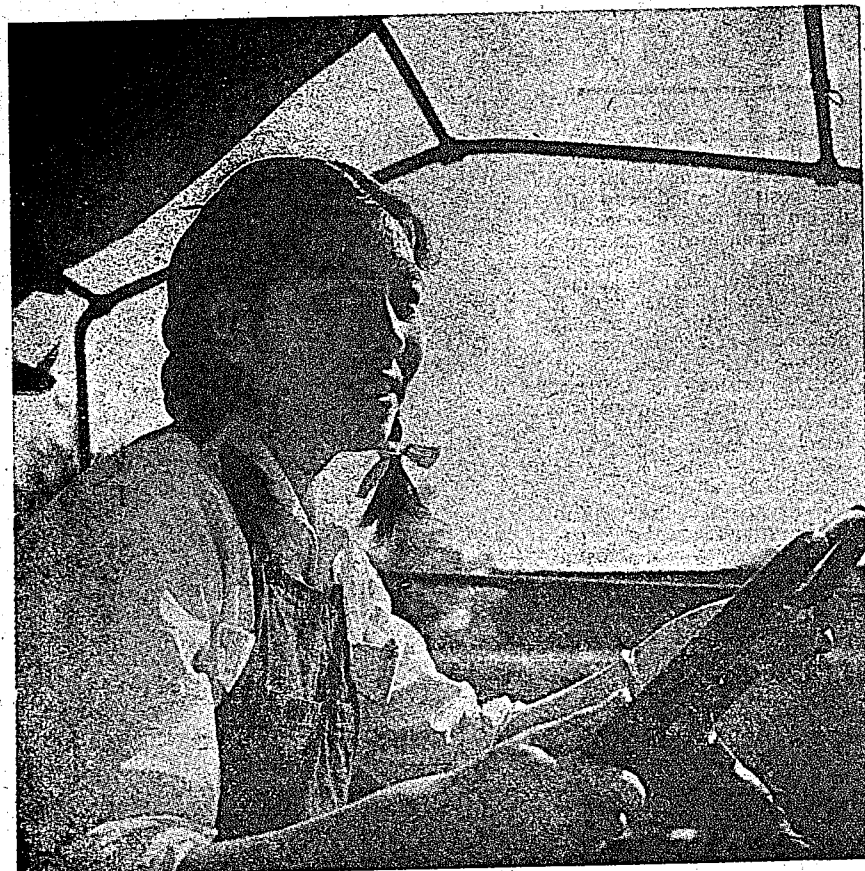
It is also equally untrue to say that the industry has suffered from any crisis. There has been steady expansion of the industry. For instance, in 1949 there were 268 composite mills and 88 spinning mills in the country. By 1958, their respective number had gone up to

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 16, 1958

# CHINA'S NEW STAR

## People's Communes : What Are They ?



★ China's People's Communes are speeding up mechanisation of agriculture. The Chiling Commune now has a tractor team equipped with five machines. Here is the young tractor driver Wang Hsiu-lan.

A new star arose in the Chinese firmament on April 20, 1958—making that day as one of the most important pages in the history of the Chinese revolution. On that Sunday the first People's Commune made its appearance in Honan, famous North China wheat-growing province. It is located in Suiping County, and peasants aptly named it the Weihsing (Sputnik) People's Commune. It is a large community—a merger of 27 agricultural cooperatives with a membership of more than 43,000 people.

FROM purely agricultural pursuits of the former cooperative farms, the Weihsing branched out to handle a diversified economy. Its administration and leadership and those of the township (known in China as hsiang) are one and the same thing. Its economic fabric is made up of industry, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and banking, and, having embraced the grassroot government administration, it is also in charge of local defence and education within its confines.

### Nationwide Movement

Widely recognised as the best answer to the rapid development of the situation in the countryside since the "great leap forward" of this year, the Weihsing's road was soon taken up by other cooperative farms. Three months later a nationwide movement began to take shape. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, during a tour of the Hopen plains, said that the People's Commune was the correct line of advance for the 500 million peasants. The Weihsing's charter was published by the Red Flag, theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as by the People's Daily, the Party's daily newspaper. The movement grew in momentum. By early September, six Provinces and one Autonomous Region had switched entirely to People's Communes. They were Honan, Hopen and Shansi in North China, Liaoning and Heilung-

kiang in Northeast China, Chinghai (excluding the stockbreeding areas) in the Northwest, and the Chuang Autonomous Region in the extreme South. Other provinces such as Shantung, Anhwei, Hupeh and Fukien opposite Taiwan are registering especially marked progress daily.

The present nationwide movement is reminiscent of the socialisation movement and three years ago when the higher agricultural cooperative farm was born. But in scope, speed and significance the present movement is far greater. Most of the 700,000 cooperative farms in the country are expected to merge into some 10,000 People's Communes before the year runs out or by early next year.

At present most Communes are the size of a township of about 2,000 households (about 10,000 people). In sparsely populated hilly areas several townships make up a Commune, and there are also big Communes in the plains that run to over 10,000 households each. The Chaoying (Surpass Britain) near the Weihsing has 20,457 households (over 100,000 people).

### Budding Sprouts Of Communism

Recognised as the "budding sprouts of Communism", the People's Commune represents a higher form of Socialist development in rural China. Since the 1955 socialisation of agriculture, the output of food and other crops has been going up steadily. Foodgrains alone went up from 174 million tons to 184 million tons in

1956 despite losses resulting from serious flood and typhoon damages. Increases last year were less marked.

But with the unfolding of the rectification campaign, "the capitalist road", in the words of a recent Communist Party decision on the People's Commune, "was fundamentally vanquished economically, politically and ideologically." As a result an unprecedented advance has been made in agricultural capital construction. Output rose rapidly and so did the political consciousness and enthusiasm of the peasants in production.

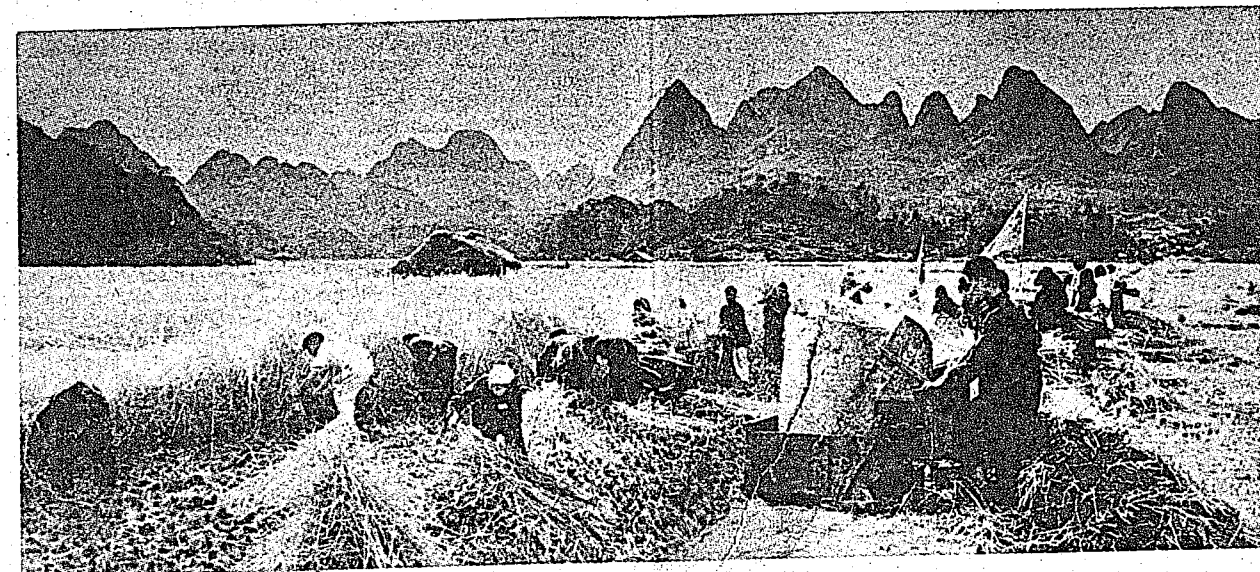
### Inadequacy Of Coops

In concrete terms, the 500 million peasants built more farm irrigation projects than their forefathers did in all four thousand years up to the time of liberation. This was not only instrumental in averting one of the severest droughts in recent history.

With the help of adequate irrigation, fertiliser, better and more intensive cultivation, the food crop harvest this year is expected to reach 60 to 90 per cent over last year's; that is 300 to 350 million tons, a rate of increase unparalleled anywhere in the world, past or present.

Yet it was precisely in this massive struggle against nature during last winter and this spring that the peasants began to feel the inadequacy of their cooperative farms.

● A cooperative farm averages about 200 households or some 1,000 people. In building of farm irrigation projects it was necessary for these to cut across the boundaries of several cooperatives, some even across county or provincial boundaries. The limited manpower and resources of a single cooperative farm could not handle such large-scale work which also calls for proper coordination and cooperation. To solve this problem, trailblazing Honan Province,



★★★ Large acreage of bumper harvest of semi-rice has been gathered this year on the highlands in Huankiang County, the average per-hectare yield exceeding 22 tons—an 11-fold increase compared with last year. Picture shows members of the "Peace" People's Commune harvesting the semi-rice.

for instance, maintained standing labour pools of several million mobile people through the period, and scored tremendous successes.

● Since spring this year, a further development has been taking place. In accordance with the general line of Socialist construction advocated by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, local industries have to be vigorously developed, with the target of overtaking Britain in all major industrial products in 15 years or less. The peasants responded to this call enthusiastically. However, the limitations inherent in

small organisations such as the cooperatives are being sharply felt now that they have to run agricultural and industrial production simul-

requirements of the fast development of the productive forces.

One of the 27 cooperative arms which make up the

been wanting to reafforest its 300 mou (about 50 acres) of badly eroded hills for some time, but was unable to do so for lack of sufficient manpower. When it became part of the Weihsing, the Commune allotted 3,000 persons from its labour pool and the job was finished in a week.

Similarly, the cooperative farms which make up the Chaoying People's Commune are among the richest in Honan in both capital and natural resources. But working independently the cooperative farms made little progress in the development of new local industries.

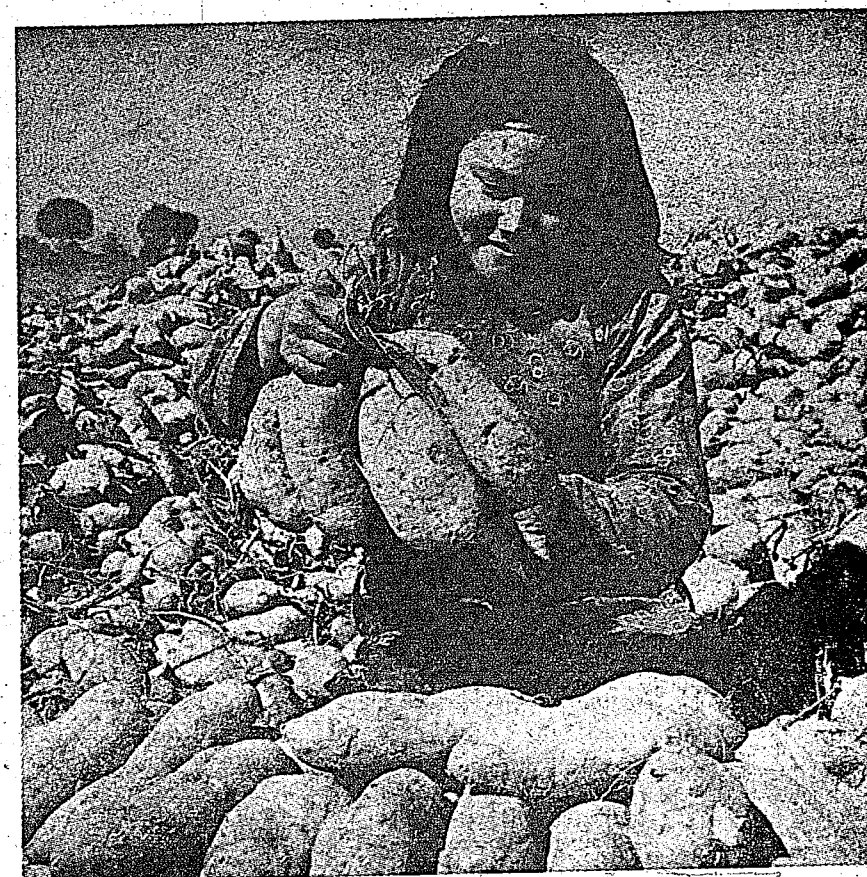
## CHIH FU-JEN

taneously. In other words, the original relations of production can no longer meet the re-

Weihsing is called Vanguard 3. It had a membership of 270 households, a bigger-than-average cooperative. It had



★★★★★ Each production brigade of the People's Commune has its own nursery and kindergarten to free the mothers for work. Here are the children of the kindergarten of a brigade playing games.



★★★ An excellent crop of sweet potatoes was reaped this year on 5,673 hectares of land by the Hanchiawa People's Commune in Tinghsien County. Per-hectare yield on a mou of land (one-fifth of a hectare) was equivalent to 600 tons. Here is a Commune member harvesting the crop.

After the Commune was formed it was able to allot a special contingent of 20,000 functionaries and other personnel to do what its name, "Overtake Britain", requires. In ten days they built 4,530 small plants and mines, 3,250 of which went into production within that period. They produce iron, steel, machines and tools, chemical fertilisers and cement.

In another "communised" province, Hopen, work was so organised and directed that within half a month 1,498 million tons or farmyard fertilizer were collected—more than the total collected during the entire summer.

As with other provinces, this important cotton and industrial region in North China, would not have been able to cope with the far greater amount of work to be done on the agricultural front this year.

More tightly organised, a People's Commune offers much greater manoeuvrability in the development and use of manpower and resources. Labour productivity has gone up 20 per cent, according to a survey made in the "communised" provinces of Hopen, Honan, Heilungkiang and Chinghai.

During the busy summer months thousands upon thousands of public service restaurants and small canteens were set up as a temporary measure to enable women peasants to help in the rush. After the rush some localities decided to dissolve them. The women raised a bitter protest and these public services have become permanent institutions since. The women said: "You men can go and cook for each household, if you want. We will do the field work for you!"

### Women Truly Liberated

Chinghai is noted as the first Province where all its Commune members are served

by public service restaurants. Honan has set up 310,000 such restaurants, where 71 per cent of its 54 million population are able to "eat out" or take ready-cooked meals home, as they prefer.

For the first time the women in rural China are liberated in the true sense of the word. Freed from the kitchen and child care, from making clothes for the family, the Chinese peasant woman today is moving to economic independence and the complete equality that was her right after the country's liberation.

In the summer 225,000 women in the manpower-short northernmost Province of Heilungkiang were able to join in the field work after 50,000 nurseries and creches were set up. A survey of 21 counties in Shansi showed that 90 per cent of the children were in nurseries, freeing 344,000 mothers for both farm and industrial work. In Honan, the number of mothers freed for such work runs to 6,900,000.

For the menfolk as well, the canteens, "happy homes" for the aged and childless, tailoring groups, public baths and other public services are brand new ideas and they like them. They say, "We cannot have collectivism in work and individualism in everyday life. Such two strange bed-fellows cannot coexist peacefully!" As in the Commune itself, these services contain the rudiments of Communism and foster a greater collective spirit and Socialist consciousness among the peasant masses.

### Distribution System

In most communes the original system of distribution—payment in kind on the work-day basis—is retained. But many have started to switch over to the wage system or the equivalent of the wage system. There are also those which have gone a step fur-

ther—instituting the system of supplying daily necessities and foodstuffs. However, in this matter the Central Committee decision cautions against unnecessary haste to avoid complications. The main task at present is to build Socialism and build it in the shortest possible time, it says.

Ownership in the Commune is still collective. During the merger some Communes have done away with the last vestiges of private ownership—private plots, scattered fruit trees and farm tools. Again here the Central Committee decision advises against haste. But, like the system of distribution, the nature of ownership in the Communes will ultimately change over to ownership by the people as a whole as they develop. The elements of Communism in the Commune are growing and multiplying.

### Qualitative Change

Development from the agricultural cooperative to a People's Commune is generally recognised as not merely a change in size and number. The development with its changes in the relations of production, ownership, distribution as well as the mode of life and thinking of the peasant masses is a qualitative change also. The present nationwide movement is an embodiment of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's idea of "uninterrupted revolution." It is expected to push industry and agriculture to greater heights of achievement.

With its development, the Chinese Communist Party believes that the age of Communism "will no longer be a remote future event in China." In the People's Commune China has found the form of organisation most suitable for its transition to Communism. It will also be the basic unit of Communist society in China.

## ON PEOPLE'S COMMUNES



The following is the text of the Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas, adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on August 29, 1958.

### 1. The People's Communes are the logical result of the march of events.

Large, comprehensive People's Communes have made their appearance, and in several places they are already widespread. They have developed very rapidly in some areas. It is highly probable that there will soon be an upsurge in setting up People's Communes throughout the country and the development is irresistible.

The basis for the development of the People's Communes is mainly the all-round, continuous leap forward in China's agricultural production and the ever-rising political consciousness of the 500 million peasants.

An unprecedented advance has been made in agricultural capital construction since the advocates of the capitalist road were fundamentally defeated economically, politically and ideologically. This has created a new basis for practically eliminating flood and drought, and for ensuring the comparatively stable advance of agricultural production. Agriculture has leaped forward since Right conservatism has been overcome and the old technical norms in agriculture have been broken down. The output of agricultural products has doubled or increased several-fold, in some cases more than ten times or scores of times. This has further stimulated emancipation of thought among the people.

Large-scale agricultural capital construction and the application of more advanced agricultural technique are making their demands on labour power. The growth of rural industry also demands the transfer of some manpower from agriculture. The demand for mechanisation and electrification has become increasingly urgent in China's rural areas. Capital construction in agriculture and the struggle for bumper harvests involve large-scale cooperation which cuts across the boundaries between cooperatives, townships and counties.

The people have taken to organising themselves, along military lines, to work with militancy, and to lead a collective life, and this has raised the political consciousness of the 500 million peasants still further. Community dining rooms, kindergartens, nurseries, tailoring groups, barber shops, public baths, "happy homes" for the aged, agricultural middle schools, "red and expert" schools, are leading the peasants towards a happier collective life and further fostering ideas of collectivism among the peasant masses.

What all these things illustrate is that the agricultural cooperative with scores of families or several hundred families can no longer meet the needs of the changing situation. In the present circumstances, the establishment

of cadres taking direct part in production.

The township Governments and the Communes should become one, with the Township Committee of the Party becoming the Party Committee of the Commune and the Township People's Council becoming the Administrative Committee of the Commune.

### 3. Concerning the methods and steps to be adopted to merge small cooperatives into bigger ones and transform them into People's Communes.

The merger of small cooperatives into bigger ones and their transformation into People's Communes is now a common mass demand. The poor and the lower-middle peasants firmly support it; most upper-middle peasants also favour it. We must rely on the poor and the lower-middle peasants and fully encourage the masses to air their views and argue it out, unite the majority of the upper-middle peasants who favour it, overcome vacillation among the remainder, and

"may be adopted. The original, smaller cooperatives may at first jointly elect an administrative committee for the merged coop to unify planning and the arrangement of work; and transform themselves into farming zones or production brigades.

The original organisation of production and system of administration may, for the time being, remain unchanged and continue as before; and then later, step by step, merge, readjust and settle whatever needs merging or readjusting and whatever specific questions demand solution during the merger, so as to make sure there is no adverse effect on production.

The size of the Communes, the speed of carrying out the merger of small cooperatives into bigger ones and their transformation into Communes, and the methods and steps to be taken in this connection, will be decided in accordance with the local conditions by the various Provinces, Autonomous Regions and Municipalities directly under the central authorities.

But no matter when the merger takes place, whether before or after autumn, in the coming winter or next spring, the small cooperatives which

squaring of accounts, insisting on equal shares and bothering with trifles.

When a People's Commune is established, it is not necessary to deal with the questions of reserved private plots of land, scattered fruit trees, share funds and so on in a great hurry; nor is it necessary to adopt clear-cut stipulations on these questions. Generally speaking, reserved private plots of land may perhaps be turned over to collective management in the course of the merger of cooperatives; scattered fruit trees, for the time being, may remain privately owned and be dealt with some time later. Share funds, etc., can be handled after a year or two, since the funds will automatically become publicly owned with the development of production, the increase of income and the advance in the people's consciousness.

### 5. Concerning the name, ownership and system of distribution of the Communes.

All the big merged cooperatives will be called People's Communes. There is no need to change them into State-owned farms. It is not proper for farms to embrace industry, agriculture, exchange, culture and education and military affairs at the same time.

After the establishment of People's Communes, there is no need immediately to transform collective ownership into ownership by the people as a whole. It is better at present to maintain collective ownership to avoid unnecessary complications in the course of the transformation of ownership. In fact collective ownership in People's Communes already contains some elements of ownership by the people as a whole. These elements will grow constantly in the course of the continuous development of People's Communes and will gradually replace collective ownership.

The transition from collective ownership to ownership by the people as a whole is a process, the completion of which may take less time—three or four years—in some places, and longer—five or six years or even longer—elsewhere. Even with the completion of this transition, People's Communes, like State-owned industry, are still Socialist in character, where the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his labour" prevails.

After a number of years, as the social product increases greatly, the Communist consciousness and morality of the entire people are raised to a much higher degree, and universal education is instituted and developed, the differences between workers and peasants, town and country and mental and manual labour—legacies of the old society that have inevitably been carried over into the Socialist period, and the remnants of unequal bourgeois rights which are the reflection of these differences—will gradually vanish, and the

\* See Page 12

## ★★ BIPINCHANDRA PAL BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION ★★

CALCUTTA, Nov. 10: THE birth centenary of Bipinchandra Pal, one of the pioneers of our freedom struggle, was celebrated in Calcutta in a befitting manner on November 7, 8 and 9.

Wreaths were placed at his statue at a specially erected pandal on behalf of over 80 political, social and cultural organisations: Comrade Jyoti Basu, M.L.A., Vice-President of the West Bengal Celebration Committee, placed a wreath on behalf of the West Bengal Committee of the Communist Party of India.

On the first day of the celebration, Dr. C. P. Rama-

swami Iyer presided over a largely attended meeting. Messages, recalling his services to the cause of freedom, were received, among others, from President Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Pandit Nehru, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, Sri U.N. Dhebar, Kerala Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad, and Bombay's Communist Mayor, S. S. Mirajkar.

Notable features of the three-day celebration were lectures on Bipinchandra's political views and his role in the national movement, the staging of the famous Bengali drama NIL DAR-PAN, which lashes out against the ruthless exploita-

tion of the Indian peasantry by the British indigo planters in the 18th century, and the publication of a commemorative volume, contributions to which include well-known Communist intellectuals.

Shortly after the First World War ended, Bipinchandra Pal addressed a meeting in Calcutta on December 14, 1919. He spoke at length, in English, giving a profound analysis of the postwar international situation. This historic speech deserves a rightful place in the history of the growth of Socialist consciousness in our country. Here we publish some extracts from this speech:

I HAVE come across certain literature of an international movement for the promotion of world peace and for fighting world war, and I was proud to find, as you will be proud to know, that the manifesto of this International Peace and Anti-war movement has been signed, among others, by our dearly beloved Rabindranath.

This has been published above the signatures of the great thought-leaders of Italy, France, England, America and other countries and it does my heart good to find Rabindranath in this company. Among the signatories are Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Norman Angell, George Brandes, Andreas Latzko, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Rabindranath Tagore, Selma Lagerlof and others.

### THE MANIFESTO

Some of the fifteen points of the manifesto may be mentioned here. The first point says that our social system is wrong. It results in privilege, arbitrary oppression, ruin and assassination. The third point declares—wrong begets wrong, progress begets progress. What is half wrong will become worse; as long as we do not change everything, we change nothing.

I read again number five: power must belong to all, like ideas. Labour, manual or mental, is honourable; labour alone should be rewarded. Speculation is a crime against the majority; inheritance is theft. The eighth point says—to promote one's country's welfare as a step towards altruistic internationalism is a virtue; to make it an end in itself is a crime.

Point fourteen says—political strike is the most efficient form of strike. It constitutes the peaceful revolution—midway between Evolution and Revolution. The fifteenth and the last point runs thus: Governments bring about revolutions. Counter-revolutionists make revolution bloody. It is the oppressors, not those who struggle for freedom, who are responsible for war, whatever the war may be.

This manifesto says that economic speculation is a crime, all inheritance is theft. When I looked at it, I opened my eyes

wide and asked: what is it? All speculation is crime: it looks suspiciously like Bolshevism. This is the bedrock of the Bolshevik movement today in Europe. All speculation is a crime, all inheritance is theft. Therefore the Bolsheviks are against all economic and capitalist exploitation and speculation. They are also against all inherited wealth and social pre-eminence.

All the great men in every country, the men who are leaders of thought, art, philosophy, religion and literature in all these countries, have put their signatures to a document which proclaims this Bolshevik doctrine.

This is really the kernel of the spirit of modern Europe—in fact, of the modern world that is born out of the travails of this Great War. When I look upon this new spirit I am forced to recognise that the pains and sufferings caused by the last war were the growing pangs of modern humanity, the birth-pang of a new world—not the new world which Mr. Lloyd George hopes to create by moving the wand of his fervid, hollow eloquence, not the new world which the capitalists hope to recreate out of the destruction of German militarism—but really a new message to modern humanity.

### NEW MESSAGE

And it reminded me of the thing that happened a hundred years ago at the close of the great French Revolution. That also was a fatal affair, a merciful affair, a bloody affair; but it gave a new message to the world.

That was also the growing pang of modern humanity and the message of the French Revolution was that there should be no absolute monarch over a slave people, but that the people of the world shall be free. For a hundred years Europe tried to materialise the ideals of equality, liberty and fraternity; and history knows the failure of the attempt.

ling classes in every European country.

Though not belonging to the ancient blue blood of the nation originally, yet they gradually became powerful in the councils of the nation. They amassed great wealth by exploiting the majorities of their own country and other countries. They set up machines for the production of commodities. They sweated human labour, dehumanised the proletariat for their own aggrandisement and for their own profit. It is this which has been the bane and experience of the last hundred years since the French Revolution.

And today, after the downfall of German militarism, after the destruction of the autocracy of the tsar, there has grown up all over the world a new

plutocracy, the British bureaucracy, the French, the American and other bureaucracies and plutocracies might gnash their teeth at the name and the sight of this new propaganda, this new force and influence in the modern political and economic world that is growing in every country.

It is no longer with kings and aristocrats, it is no longer with the so-called upper-middle classes, it is no longer with the merchants and traders, no longer with the masters of works, that the future of the world lies. The new proletariat—this leviathan—is rising, awaking, shaking its limbs after centuries of torpor, after centuries of oppression, of patient suffering, of the deprivation of

## A HISTORIC SPEECH

### On War, Peace And Bolshevism

What happened was this—the higher stratum of the depressed populace exploited this new idealism for their own benefit. There rose up on the ruins of thrones and aristocracies a new ruling class in every European country, known as the bourgeoisie in the French language—the upper middle class. This upper middle class exploited the multitude, for their own class profit and class pre-emption.

What has happened now is another message. The old declaration was a declaration of war against thrones and aristocracies. The new declaration is a declaration of war against the wealthy middle classes, the rul-

power—the power of the peoples determined to rescue their legitimate rights, the rights of the people to live freely and happily without being exploited and victimised by the wealthier and so-called higher classes.

This is the meaning of Bolshevism. This is Bolshevism, however much Hare Street, Chouringhee and even British Indian Street (in those days, the British burra sahibs lived in Hare Street and Chouringhee and the Indian landed aristocracy in British Indian street—Editor) might make faces at it, however much the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indian

their natural rights by the exploiters of their muscles, by the exploiters of their brains.

You cannot understand the situation in Europe unless you understand that manifesto signed by many of the leaders of thought of the modern world including, I am proud once more to say, our Rabindranath. This manifesto indicates the new force which was born out of the travails of the last German-British - French - Italian - and American war. This is the situation in a nutshell. It is Bolshevism.

(By courtesy of Bipinchandra Pal Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta)

## Refugees Oppose Govt. Decision

A CONVENTION of the representatives of various democratic parties, organisations and individuals, held in Calcutta on November 8, under the auspices of the United Central Refugee Council (UCRC), declared its firm opposition to the Government's decisions to close down all refugee camps in West Bengal by July 31, 1959, and to force 35,000 out of the 45,000 families living in these camps to go to Dandakaranya—the alternatives placed before them are that they must either leave the State or be prepared to shift for themselves with a grant equal to six months' dole, amounting to Rs. 104 in the case of an adult and Rs. 72 for a minor.

The Convention demanded immediate implementation of the existing schemes of the Government and the alternative proposals of various refugee organisations, particularly of the UCRC, for the rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees within West Bengal.

Sri Kapil Bhattacharyya, well-known irrigation engi-

neer, presided over the convention which was addressed, among others, by Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, Bhupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha, Mohit Moitra, Abdulla Rasool (Kisan Sabha), Monoranjan Roy (BPTUC), Smt. Swenchi Sengupta, Satyen Basu (Jan Sangh), Arobindo Ghosal, M.P. (F.B.) and Surhid Mallik, M.L.A. (Marxist F.B.).

The resolution adopted by the Convention characterised it as "an inconsiderate action to send the East Bengal refugees outside West Bengal against their will without exploring the avenues of developing the backward economy of West Bengal and on the plea that the scope of rehabilitation in West Bengal has been exhausted."

The Convention firmly declared that "there is ample scope of land development and expansion of industries in the State", and it was therefore "an urgent task to translate these possibilities into action in the interest of

the national life of West Bengal."

The resolution pointed out that if the State's untapped resources were properly harnessed "not only the refugees will be absorbed, but the unemployed and the landless peasantry of West Bengal will be provided with sources of livelihood."

The Convention expressed its surprise at the Government's unwillingness "to spend the same amount (in West Bengal) that is being diverted for land development and other projects outside the State."

The Convention extended its full support to the demands "for the setting up of industries on a wider scale in and around the government and non-government colonies; for keeping in force the recognised benefits for refugees outside the camps and the regularisation of all plot-holders in all colonies without any discrimination."

The Convention urged upon the Union Government to sanction necessary money for the execution of all the rehabilitation schemes.

## TEXTILE WORKERS FACED WITH AUTOMATION OFFENSIVE

ON November 1, the Government of India published its decision on the recommendations of the Textile Enquiry (Koshi) Committee.

The Koshi Committee was appointed to make a rapid enquiry into the problems of the so-called "crisis" in textiles and "closures" of units and suggest remedial measures. This was done at the crest of a mounting wave of textile workers' agitation against this "closure onslaught" in Bombay, in Vidarbha, in Coimbatore, in Indore, in Kanpur, in fact all over the country and when the prob-

lem was forced into the deliberations of the 16th Indian Labour Conference at Nainital in May, 1958.

The Committee gave an interim recommendation for relief in excise duty to textiles in June. This was accepted by the Government.

Then the Government, on the recommendations of the Indian Labour Conference, announced cheap credit facilities.

This was not enough for the employers. They wanted their pound of flesh. They wanted automation, heavy rationalisation and wage-freeze at the cost of employment and the living standards of workmen.

The Committee submitted its report in the end of July. The Koshi Committee, like the earlier Kanungo Committee, upheld the employers' claim for automation. The only recommendation of the Committee that helped the workers was that an autonomous corporation should be floated by the Government to take over all the closed concerns and run them.

The textile workers' unions all over the country made it clear that automation should be prevented and the corporation to run closed down concerns should be formed. In both the Houses of Parliament, members gave notice to raise a discussion on the report. Yet no discussion could be had. And a fortnight before the Lok Sabha is to meet, and when the discussion on the report is pending the Government has announced its decision on the recommendations.

Such is the Government's "care" for discussion on such a vital question sought to be raised in Parliament. And what are the decisions?

**ANTI-WORKER POLICY**

The Government has accepted precisely what the workers reject as disastrous and it has rejected what the workers hailed as relief.

"The Government have accepted the Enquiry Committee's recommendations that there is urgent need for the replacement of out-dated machinery, rationalisation, modernisation and promotion of efficiency in management and productivity"—says the

# LABOUR NOTES

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

Press report of this decision. A rationalisation sub-committee is to be set up to advise the Textile Commissioner.

The Government decision declares that "our exports will continue to fall steeply unless we export cloth produced on automatic looms." Hence more automatic looms. More liberal imports of automatic looms. And more re-trenchment and unemployment of textile labour. And for this, the "Government feels that a proper psychological climate should be created within the country to facilitate the introduction of automatic looms within the specified period."

## RECOMMENDATIONS IGNORED

Frankly speaking, this means that the recommendations of the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference that rationalisation should not be introduced unless it was absolutely essential for the industry to run economically, that it should not result in any worker getting unemployed and that increased earning resulting from rationalisation should be shared with the workers would all be given a decent burial.

The employers have been crying hoarse that wages should be freed, automation allowed and productivity raised by raising work-load. The Government repeats this now.

And about closures? The Government has rejected the idea of floating an autonomous corporation. Liberal credits for replacing equipment and modernisation and pathetic appeals to the management to improve their affairs seem to be all that the Government is capable of doing. As Comrade Dange pointed out in his evidence before the Textile Wage Board, "It is well known that there is no such thing as a permanently 'uneconomic' unit in any given industry." He in this evidence clearly brought out instances to prove that quarrels among the directors

and gross mismanagement make the unit 'uneconomic' in invariably all the so-called uneconomic textile units. We know how the Atherton West Mills in Kanpur is "uneconomic" because of the J.K. Group trying to elbow out its foreign partners. We know the case of the Sholapur Mills.

So, merely credit facilities will not solve the problem. It will not remedy litigation and mismanagement. That is why the workers have been demanding that all such mills should be taken over by the Government and run.

The Koshi Committee also recommended this when it suggested the formation of an autonomous corporation. But it is precisely this that the Government has rejected.

The textile workers are faced with a grave challenge. Comrade S.G. Patkar, M.L.A. general Secretary of the Mill Mazdoor Union, Bombay, has issued a statement calling upon the textile workers to accept this challenge with united action.

A powerful protest outside, coupled with stubborn resistance of all trade unionist and progressive M.P.s inside Parliament alone can make the Government see sense.

## HIGH & MIGHTY BIRLAS

FOR the high and mighty Birlas, there is no code other than the "code of fleecing". The Kesoram Cotton Mills of the Birlas situated in Garden Reach, the industrial suburb of Calcutta, is a seat of chronic trouble because of the management's refusal to implement awards, even agreements.

About a year ago, the issue was of bonus. The management violated the bonus agreement. Even the Government, a signatory to the agreement, upheld the union's interpretation. But the Birlas won't listen. This time it is the tribunal award itself.

The recent omnibus textile tribunal awarded casual leave with pay, annual increments, etc. But the Birlas are denying the workers these benefits of the award. All the efforts of the union to settle the dispute amicably have failed.

Over and above this, the management has charge-sheeted as many as 800 workmen from among a total of 10,000 working in this factory.

Is the West Bengal Government so helpless before the powerful Birlas as to be unable to force them even to implement the award of a tribunal?

## On People's Communes

\*FROM PAGE 10

function of the State will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression but will play no role internally. At that time Chinese society will enter the era of Communism where the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" will be practised.

After the establishment of the People's Communes it is not necessary to hurry the change from the original system of distribution, in order to avoid any unfavourable effect on production. The system of distribution should be determined according to specific conditions. Where conditions permit, the shift to a wage system may be made. But where conditions are not yet ripe, the original system of payment according to work-days may be temporarily retained (such as the system of fixed targets for output, work-days and costs, with a part of the extra output as reward; or the system of calculating workdays on the basis of output). This can be changed when conditions permit.

One would have thought that the NDC would consider more serious steps to raise finances, like nationalisation of banks, of foreign monopoly concerns, of plugging all loopholes for evasion of taxes, etc. But this would have hit the classes which the Government must propitiate. Therefore, national interests must suffer.

Nothing can further excite the reluctance of the NDC and the Commission to tackle the problem of land reform which can really unleash agricultural production. India cannot develop any national plan with an inefficient agriculture based on outmoded property relations. But the Congress and Government have not yet introduced sweeping land reforms. In spite of repeated resolutions, the State Governments have balk-

6. At the present stage our task is to build Socialism.

The primary purpose of establishing People's Communes is to accelerate the speed of Socialist construction and the purpose of building Socialism is to prepare actively for the transition to Communism. It seems that the attainment of Communism in China is no longer a remote future event. We should actively use the form of the People's Communes to explore the practical road of transition to Communism.

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

rectly gauged if we take the rise in prices into consideration. The Commission estimates that there was a rise of 14 per cent in prices between April 1956 and August 1957. On this basis, the original Plan would require an overall outlay of at least Rs. 5,400 crores. This will mean that there is a cut of at least 22 per cent compared with the 'original figures, if really the Government could find enough resources to have an overall outlay of Rs. 4,220 crores.

## Pitiful Remedies

What this means in terms of physical targets, we will see later on. Meanwhile, it must be said that the NDC is adopting pitiful remedies to meet a serious crisis. What is the panacea it is suggesting? It has really nothing to say except demand greater external assistance and deficit-financing. And to allay public fears about the effects of the latter, it has suddenly declared itself in favour of State monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains.

Only a few months ago, the Asoka Mehta Committee had recommended this step to control food prices; but the Government had rejected it. How has it suddenly accepted it now? The reason is that many in the NDC perhaps saw that any more deficit-financing will aggravate the food price situation and were opposed to it. To placate them and the public opinion outside, the Government promises that it will be able to control food prices through State trading and, therefore, further deficit financing should not be objected to.

State monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains has been demanded by the democratic forces for a long time. If honestly implemented, it will check profiteering in foodgrains and ensure comparative stability of prices. But to think that State monopoly can effectively counteract the effects of reckless deficit-financing, especially under the Congress regime, is sheer nonsense.

The NDC is only misleading the people to acquiesce in a further dose of deficit-financing. The proper thing will be to demand cessation of deficit-financing and at the same time honest implementation of State trading under vigilance committees of the public. Otherwise, State trading will degenerate into monopoly of traders who are favourites of the Congress.

One would have thought that the NDC would consider more serious steps to raise finances, like nationalisation of banks, of foreign monopoly concerns, of plugging all loopholes for evasion of taxes, etc. But this would have hit the classes which the Government must propitiate. Therefore, national interests must suffer.

## Land Reforms Evaded

As regards irrigation, it was found that even if the original funds were available, the target of 12 million acres could not be reached. All that was considered possible was 10.4 million acres. Now with the cut of nearly Rs. 100 crores in irrigation and power, this target is going to be substantially affected.

As regards employment, it was originally estimated that eight million will find employment as a result of the Plan. Later on it was found that with

all attempts to fix ceilings on landed property and prevented the distribution of land to the landless.

The last AICC Session, instead of giving a mandate for immediate legislation to impose ceilings, has given a three years' limit. These three years will be utilised by the existing owners to see that the future legislation does not affect them. To postpone this legislation is a crime against the people and the nation. Those who evade it and yet talk of raising agricultural production are guilty of hypocrisy.

Evading basic land reforms, all that the NDC is reported to have recommended is the setting up of a multi-purpose co-operative society in every village. Even a child ought to know that cooperatives will become a great force after the solution of the land problem. The example of China and other countries teach the same lesson. But who dares touch the vested interests in land? A number of Congress Chief Ministers feel that any step in this direction might jeopardise their own positions. Hence pitiful proposals masquerading as profound solutions.

With this outlook and these methods not only enough finances will not be raised, but production itself cannot be increased adequately. And that itself might bring about further curtailment of the Plan. For in calculating the foreign exchange requirements it is presumed that no food imports over and above the normal purchases will be sanctioned. So long as guarantees for rapidly increasing food production are not there, a bad season might further upset the Plan.

Such is the precarious position with regard to finances. What this means under different heads of development can be seen from the following:

	Allocations originally made in the Plan	Allocations in the State sector or defer them to the Third Plan
Agriculture and Community Development	568	510
Irrigation and Power	913	820
Village and Small Industries	200	160
Industries and Minerals	690	790
Social Services	945	810

Even these sums will not be available as we know that Rs. 4,500 crores cannot be raised. Even then the figures are eloquent. A cut of Rs. 50 crores on agriculture in the next two years is certainly not going to be a step forward in meeting our food needs. Between 1949-50 and 1956-57, the annual increase in agricultural production was between two to 2.5 per cent. This was totally inadequate to support a large programme of economic development. Now with the present cut the situation might still further deteriorate.

As regards irrigation, it was found that even if the original funds were available, the target of 12 million acres could not be reached. All that was considered possible was 10.4 million acres. Now with the cut of nearly Rs. 100 crores in irrigation and power, this target is going to be substantially affected.

As regards employment, it was originally estimated that eight million will find employment as a result of the Plan. Later on it was found that with

State investment at Rs. 4,800 crores, the employment potential would be seven million. And now it is realised that with investment at Rs. 4,500 crores, employment potential will be 6.5 million. Since investment might be well below Rs. 4,200 crores, the employment potential is much less.

The drastic cut in social services means that housing and other amenities for the working class will be drastically curtailed. Thus is ensured the objective of reducing economic inequalities!

## Vital Cut In State Sector

The Rs. 100 crores increase in industry and mining is not a compensatory factor. It is highly misleading. It is due to high prices and includes in fact the high prices charged by Western exporters of machinery. In reality it conceals a drastic and vital cut in our State sector — a cut in the strategic sector which threatens to undermine the very industrial base of the Plan. The May appraisal of the Planning Commission was quite revealing. Notwithstanding increased expenditure of money, India has been forced to cut down a number of basic projects in the State sector or defer them to the Third Plan.

Only four or five of the strategic projects in the public sector will be completed by the end of the Second Plan. They include the three steel works, the Hindustan Shipyard, and the Hindustan Machine Tools. The other important and strategic projects are either shelved altogether or are postponed to be finished some time during the course of the Third Plan.

The latter include the strategic Foundry Forge Project, the

the important marine diesel engine project, the Hindustan Shipyard Drydocks, structural plate and vessel shop, heavy machine tools projects, etc. Together they would have required an investment of Rs. 64 crores.

According to the original estimates, the total investment in the public sector including Rs. 60-65 crores in the National Development Corporation was to be Rs. 600 crores in terms of prices prevailing at the time. Now investments worth more than Rs. 200 crores are postponed or deferred i.e. there is a cut of 33 per cent in the public sector. This cut affects the basic industries — the basis of machine-making industry. Notwithstanding the increase of Rs. 100 crores in investment, the industrial programme is drastically cut down; the public sector is immensely weakened and our dependence on imports of foreign machinery is to continue.

The same tale is told in the private sector. "In the field of engineering industry there will be shortfalls in respect of structural fabrications and in respect of all types of machinery except sugar machinery".

Thus again the machine-producing industry is weakened.

## The Real Meaning

Such is the real meaning of the drastic curtailment of the Plan. Because of its own bankrupt policies the Congress Government is forced to scale down the Plan. Yet it is concealing the truth from the people. It is quite clear that total investment will not reach the figure of Rs. 4,220 crores though the Government promises to find Rs. 4,500 crores.

In this curtailment of the Plan, basic industries which were to lay the basis of our independent economy have suffered most. This has endangered our rapid industrial development and increased our dependence on Western imperialist Powers. We are neither able to reorganise our agriculture nor lay the basis of independent industrial development. Meanwhile, the mass of people suffer from increased unemployment, famine and taxation burdens. Their suffering and sacrifices are in vain for these are forced on them by selfish policies.

Pursuing this selfish path, the Congress Government gets more and more enmeshed in entanglements with Western imperialist financiers. Failing to pursue a line of increasing collaboration and cooperation with the Socialist countries, the Government lands itself in too much reliance on the USA. The agreements with the Socialist countries have helped us immensely. The Socialist countries are helping us to build our refineries, locate our oil and build our steel plant. They offer to help us lay the foundation of a machine-making industry on the cheapest terms. But the reactionaries in the Government, helped by big businessmen, force the Government to turn more and more to Western Powers.

The total "aid" from the USA since 1947 already amounts to Rs. 794 crores. The recent big loans from the World Bank and Western countries have made the Plan ever more dependent on the wishes of the Western financiers. They are, of course, demanding their price and bringing pressure on us to open

our door to foreign capital and give up reliance on the public sector and basic industries.

Under their repeated pressure, the Government of India has started yielding. The healthy principle that majority of shares and control should rest with Indians in joint concerns is being given up and foreign capital is allowed to dominate new concerns. The Government of India itself has entered into partnership with the ICI monopoly group (the Indian Explosives), with the foreign monopoly having majority of shares and directors. This is being followed by similar agreements in the private sector (Tata-Merck Drugs Combine).

The resistance of the Government of India to the free entry of foreign capital is being softened. Besides the stranglehold that the World Bank is getting over the Plan is being used to change its character and dictate terms to us regarding the next Plan. The monstrous interest charges that we will have to pay on these loans will be used to get a grip over our economy. From time to time the Government fights foreign monopolies as on the question of oil, but again retreats before the onslaught of Big Business.

The drastic curtailment in our industrial programme is in no small measure due to dictation and pressure of foreign financiers. Had this not been decided upon, the World Bank would not have agreed to grant loans to India.

It is thus not a question of just lowering investments here and there, but a question of our future development and economic independence. The pressure of the imperialists and the offensive of our own reactionaries are ruining the chances of our independent growth.

The Planning Commission and the Government have not only jeopardised the Plan; they are endangering our future. There must be united pressure to fight the machinations of the imperialists; and the plans of Indian reaction. There must be concerted efforts to defeat Government policies, and replace them by policies capable of rousing the people to defend our economy and develop it quickly with our own efforts. The Government may be prepared to lose the battle for a free independent prosperous India. But the people cannot afford to do it.

(November 12)



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Printed by D. P. Sinha at the  
NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS,  
5, Jhandewallan Estate, M. M.  
Road, New Delhi, and published  
by him from 74, Asaf Ali Road,  
Delhi.

Phone : 25794  
Telegraphic Address :  
MARKBADI

SUBSCRIPTION RATE  
INLAND : Yearly Rs. 12-0-0;  
Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and  
Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0  
FOREIGN : Yearly Rs. 16-0-0;  
Half-yearly Rs. 8-0-0.  
All cheques and drafts to be  
made payable to T. MADHAVAN  
and not to NEW AGE.

## China's First Plan

\*FROM PAGE 7

reached 32,800,000 piculs, fulfilling completely the original plan.

Comparing the total output of grain and cotton during the five-year period with that of 1932-36, the year of good crops prior to the liberation, grain output increased more than 400,000,000 catties, an increase of about 32 per cent; and cotton increased some 76,000,000 piculs, an increase of 1.2 times. This fully demonstrates that at the end of the First Five-Year Plan, Chinese agriculture surpassed that of any period of old China.

Furthermore, in the fields of transportation and communications, culture and education, medicine and public health, remarkable development has also been registered in the five-year period.

On the basis of the constant development of industry and agriculture, the standards of living of the broad masses of the people have correspondingly improved. As is known, the average wage of the 24,500,000 office and factory workers in 1957 was 42.7 per cent higher than in 1952. In addition the welfare fund paid by the Government for the workers during the five-year period amounted to 9,600,000,000 yuan, and the workers' houses built by the Government had a total floor-space of some 100,000,000 square metres. During the same period, the living standards of the 500,000,000 peasants have also gradually been raised. It is estimated that in 1957 the income of the peasants was more than 30 per cent higher than in 1952.

The successful completion of China's First Five-Year Plan is of tremendous significance. On the one hand, the hard facts smashed all slanders and lies of the Rightist elements within and enemies without, and on the other, it greatly inspired the Chinese people and gave them confidence in the success of their further advance. At present, the big forward leap in industrial and agricultural production throughout the country is developing China's economy at a pace previously unknown in her history. We firmly believe that the Chinese people will score still greater successes on the economic construction front than they did during the First Five-Year Plan.

## AITUC ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED

WORKERS all over the country celebrated October 31 last as the thirty-eighth anniversary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Reports that have reached us show that in Delhi the day had to be celebrated by holding shift meetings. Workers of no shift were prepared for only a general meeting since one section or other would not have been able to participate in it.

In Trivandrum, Kerala's capital, K. P. Gopalan,

Minister for Industries and former Working Committee member of the AITUC addressed the gathering. Indrajit Gupta, Secretary of the AITUC, Harekrishna Konar, Secretary of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha and Ghosh, General Secretary, Mercantile Federation, addressed the meeting.

In Beawar, it was a "decepaival" day for trade unions. All the offices were illuminated and a mass rally was organised.

In Calcutta, Dr. Ranen Sen, M.L.A. Vice-President of the AITUC, presided over a celebration function organised in the Muslim Institute Hall, Shibnath Bantjerje, a former President

of the AITUC and now President of the West Bengal Committee of the BMS, addressed the gathering. Indrajit Gupta, Secretary of the AITUC, Harekrishna Konar, Secretary of the West Bengal Kisan Sabha and Ghosh, General Secretary, Mercantile Federation, addressed the meeting.

The key-note of the speeches was the need for a united trade union movement in the country to defend the interests of the workers.

# RAPACKI AMENDS PLAN TO MEET WESTERN OBJECTIONS

Mr. Adam Rapacki, the Polish Foreign Minister, has put forward fresh proposals for the setting up of a Central European denuclearised zone, in two stages—effectively meeting the arguments that were raised against his earlier plan for the creation of an Atom-Free Zone in Central Europe. This concrete and realistic solution leading towards the lessening of tension, disarmament and strengthening of security in Europe has again come from a Socialist State.

It may be recalled that when Rapacki first announced the proposal for banning atomic and nuclear weapons on the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the two German States—the hot-beds of wars in Europe—and particularly when, in the memorandum of February 14, 1958, the Polish Government presented the principles of a broad control system for the implementation of the stipulations of this proposal, the idea was warmly welcomed by peace-loving people the world over.

## Wide Support, Yet...

The Rapacki Plan found a favourable echo in the largest sections of the people of the West, as an important measure in the fight against nuclear weapons. Its broad character made possible, an approach to the Social-Democratic circles, not merely to the rank-and-file, but also to leading sections of the Labour Party, the German Social Democratic Party, the Scandinavian parties and others. It got a favourable reception from the ruling circles of Norway and Denmark and partly from the ruling circles of Canada.

Even in West Germany, not only the entire opposition, but certain leaders of the Christian Democratic Union as well, had demanded a discussion of the Rapacki Plan and had warned Adenauer's Government against its summary rejection. Nevertheless, the nuclear-happy hot-heads of the Western countries attempted to put the plan into cold-storage.

Their line of argument was that it "upsets the existing military balance, between the two groups in Europe," that it "weakens the defences of the West," that it amounts to withdrawal of American forces from Europe," etc. The key argument was that "the implementation of the ban on production and possession of nuclear weapons in Central Europe could deprive the NATO forces of the so-called 'nuclear shield' in view of the superiority in conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact forces."

## New Proposals

However, the present proposals put forward by the Polish Foreign Minister at the Press Conference in Warsaw, on November 4, meet this line of arguments advanced by the opponents of the Plan.

Pointing to the limitation of the initial proposals of the Rapacki Plan for only denuclearising a zone in Central Europe, Adam Rapacki declared that it was so "only because the discussion on the limitation of all

armaments in this region have met with very serious difficulties." But this did not mean that the Polish Government was ever "opposed to a discussion on the reduction of conventional armaments in Central Europe." "On the contrary," Rapacki added, "we have always advocated such a discussion and such a reduction."

Demonstrating once again the genuine concern of the Socialist countries for averting the nuclear menace and easing international tension, the Polish Foreign Minister, now proposes the implementation of the Plan in the following two stages.

In the first stage:

A ban would be introduced on the production of nuclear weapons on the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic;

An obligation would also be undertaken within the proposed zone to renounce the equipping with nuclear weapons of the armies which do not as yet possess them as well as building nuclear installations for them;

Appropriate measures of control would be introduced, at the same time.

The implementation of the second stage would be preceded by talks on the appropriate reduction of conventional forces to be effected simultaneously with the complete denuclearisation of the zone and accompanied by the introduction of the appropriate measures of control.

## What They Mean

The implementation of these proposals would mean, first, without upsetting the existing balance in the region concerned, an immediate stop to the further aggravation of the situation in that region, which the continued equipping with nuclear weapons of the armies, and the eventual production of these weapons there, entail. It means a "freezing" of nuclear armaments in the proposed zone as against the proposal in the original plan to denuclearise the zone immediately.

Secondly, the provision made in these proposals for the discussion and the implementation of the appropriate reduction of conventional forces while maintaining top priority for averting the principal danger which comes from nuclear weapons, blows sky-high the false accusation that the Socialist countries do not desire general disarmament.

Thirdly, the proposals envisage the introduction of appropriate measures of control. The Geneva Experts' Conference has already proved it to be quite possible, and the East-

West Military Surprise Attack Prevention Conference, from November 10, should prove it to be practicable as well.

It can thus be seen that these proposals go a long way in meeting the objections raised against the original Rapacki Plan.

The Polish Foreign Minister has announced them, soon after his return from Norway—the first time the Foreign Minister of an Eastern European country was invited by a NATO country. And these proposals have been announced, as Mr. Rapacki said at the Press Conference, in agreement with the other Socialist countries, and constitute "the maximum step".

The proposals as soon as they were made, began drawing the attention of large sections of the Western Press.

In Britain, the majority of the most important dailies published extensive reports on the day following Rapacki's Press Conference, and discussed the new

elements of the Polish proposal. The Times correspondent in Warsaw reported that Rapacki's new version of the Plan is aimed at meeting half-way the reservations put forward by the West with regard to the original formulation of the Plan.

## West German Response

In West Germany also, almost all German dailies published reports of the announcement of these proposals. While Der Tagesspiegel stated that the new Polish proposals were aimed at checking the arming of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons, Rhein Zeitung declared that Minister Rapacki in modifying his Plan had taken into consideration the wishes of the Western Powers.

Significantly enough, even before the proposals were announced and at the time when Rapacki was still in Oslo, Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of the SPD, had written an article in his party's Press Bulletin, Prospects, entitled "New Prospects for the Rapacki Plan", in which he welcomed reports of the reported intention of submitting the Rapacki Plan in a modified form, as "an important step forward."

These immediate reactions in the West show that the proposals in the present form are undoubtedly meeting with still larger support than the original one.

In our country, although the Press seems to have adopted rather a wait-and-see attitude, Prime Minister Nehru has already commended the Plan, in his last Press Conference, as "deserving of consideration and not outright rejection." He stated the Plan would tend to lower the tension which is a good thing.

Every effort must be made so that these proposals also do not meet an "outright rejection" from—Rapacki put it—"those for whom the armament race and the equipping of Western Germany with nuclear weapons are the cornerstone of their political concept."

# HUNGARY GOES TO POLLS THIS WEEK

## People And Parliament Stand United

On November 16, Hungary goes to polls to elect its National Assembly. Here are extracts from an article by FERENC RESZEGI, M.P. on the functions of a Member of the Hungarian Parliament.

UNDER People's Democracy Hungary attaches great importance to the activities of the representatives of the National Assembly.

Hungary's National Assembly not only fulfils the role of the country's supreme legislative body, but, through its Permanent Parliamentary Committees, assists the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government in preparing and elaborating its decrees and resolutions. No government decree or resolution is adopted or promulgated before being discussed and recommended for adoption in the respective Parliamentary Committees. The Parliamentary Committees hear reports by various government organs, Ministers and voice their criticisms and make their suggestions to improve the work.

Thus the role of the National Assembly does not terminate with the close of a session. During the period between two sessions the work of the National Assembly is carried on through the continuous activity of its Permanent Committees.

A report to his electors is one of the important duties of the M.P. No unified method has as yet been worked out in this respect, but most of the Parliamentary Groups have already distributed the constituencies among the M.P.s, who are holding report meetings at regular intervals.

M.P.s who, besides reporting to their constituents and receiving constituents on certain appointed days, make it a practice of visiting factories and coope-

rated farms and even of calling at homes have found this a very practical method of strengthening contacts with their constituents.

On my part I have adopted the practice of chatting, if possible, with the constituents when visiting a village. People take it in good part when their M.P. calls at their homes, spends some time in their midst, enquiring after the family's health and how they are doing and giving them advice on various matters. On a recent visit to Gorbéza village, when I made a call at one cottage, I was received by the farmer's wife with these words:

"Well, I never thought I'd live to see our M.P. coming to see us folks. Why, in the old times an M.P. would sooner see us hanged than cross our threshold. True, we were then only farm hands."

During the brief call I paid them we had some very hearty talk and parted on very good terms of understanding. When I left I perceived that the whole street had been watching and commenting on my call.

Of course, to establish closer contacts with the electors and acquaint them with the work of the National Assembly is not the sole purpose of M.P.s' activity among their constituents. It is very important, also, that they should extend a helping hand in obtaining solutions to their various problems.

I once happened to hold a report to the constituents of one of the villages in the district of Sarbogard. Having spoken of matters of national concern, I

stressed the importance of improving local conditions. Someone broached the subject of transferring to some other location the level-crossing, on which all the villagers seemed very anxious. A number of people spoke on this subject, and one old man said:

"You've spoken very well about improving our lot, Comrade M.P., but it happens that we find it hard to believe—because as for that level-crossing, we've been promised that over and over again for the last twenty-two years, and it's still on the same spot."

After that meeting, the level-crossing was transferred through the joint efforts of the Hungarian State Railways and the population. Some time after that, happening to travel in those parts, I stopped at the village.

You could read the joy from the faces of the people you met. Taking a look at the new level-crossing, I addressed an aged peasant who was passing by. "I don't seem to have seen this level-crossing in this spot a few weeks ago," I said to him.

"Nor was it there," the man replied. "But it happens, there was a meeting here with our M.P., and that did the trick of bringing it here."

"A meeting with your M.P.!" I said. "But surely you had that sort of thing happen before?"

"We did, sure enough. But what we used to have was promises, lots of it, and never anything came out of them. But this time, mind you, we got nothing promised and yet the thing was done."

Well, I thought to myself I might as well ask him whether he had happened to attend that meeting.

\* ON FACING PAGE

# REBUFF TO IKE-DULLES POLICIES

HE results of the off-year U. S. elections have drawn the world's attention, not so much by the Democratic victory as by the rout that the ruling Republican Party has suffered—the worst in 20 years.

With the existing bi-partisan system in the U.S., the choice of the ruling party, in itself, is not of much interest either outside or inside U. S. for the simple reason that the only alternative with which such a system faces the voters is—as the progressive U. S. weekly National Guardian put it—that of "riding the donkey (symbol of the Democratic Party) or the elephant (symbol of the Republican Party) on the same merry-go-round".

And that the American people themselves were not very enthusiastic of making such a choice is shown by the fact that out of the 105 million eligible voters, only 75 million had registered, and of these only about 48 million actually turned up at the polls.

Of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives, the Republican Party could get only 154 seats, while 280 went to the Democratic Party, the remaining one going to an independent candidate. And of the 34 elected to the Senate, 26 are Democrats, while the Republicans are only eight—bringing down the Republican Party's representation in the upper house from about one-half to one-third. In the States the Republicans could win only one-fourth of the governorships.

That only survivor of the extremely reactionary triumvirate after the death of McCarthy and Taft, William Knowland, who had earned for himself the title of the "Senator from Formosa", and who had "pledged" repeatedly in 1954, 1955 and 1956, to oppose to the bitter end the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the U.N. was defeated for Governorship. He is now reported to have retired to his native place to settle down as publisher of a small newspaper. His defeat has drawn wide comments from the U. S. and Western political circles.

Gone with him are his partners of the "China Lobby", the extreme Right-wing Republican Senators Alexander Smith and William Jenner. Gone overboard too are Senator Bricker, another Kuomintang stalwart, Right-wing Senator Watkins and others.

On the other hand, Vermont shot into the headlines by electing a Democrat to the Congress, for the first time in over a century. Added significance is attached to this result because he was the one who had urged the seating of People's China in the U.N.

No wonder then, that there is gloom in Taiwan. Said a report from Taipei: "The nationalists (read: the Chiang Kai-shek clique) did not expect that so many of their closest friends would be defeated."

Interestingly enough, the apprehension, if not quite the gloom appears to be shared by certain other quarters as well, for instance, sections of Pakistan's Press.

It is at the same time an expression of the people's dissatisfaction with the policy of setting up missile bases on the territories of the European members of NATO, of continued production of nuclear weapons, of aggressive pacts and plans, of conspiracies to overthrow the nationalist and nationalist-inclined regimes in Syria, Indonesia, Haiti and Venezuela, and, above all, of the carrying out of open armed aggression and war provocations in the Lebanon and in the Taiwan area.

NOVEMBER 16, 1958

# PEACE AND FREEDOM

by RAZA ALI

## Nuclear Ban—Two Stands

WITH cynical disregard for the worldwide demand for immediate cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the U.S. manoeuvred through the U.N. General Assembly last week the same resolution, which it forced to a vote in the Political Committee, the week before.

Hypocritically on the floor of the General Assembly, delegates of the imperialist powers argued all over again that their resolution, calling for "suspension" of nuclear weapon tests while the Geneva talks are proceeding, would contribute positively towards a solution of the disarmament problem. But they could not convince even one person amongst those who had voted against or had abstained when the resolution was put to vote in the Political Committee. The voting on this resolution was almost the same in both the U. N. bodies.

This clearly shows that the U. S. and the other Western countries who backed this so-called 17-Power resolution, were interested, not in exploring common grounds for an agreement among the nuclear Powers, but in pushing through the demagogic resolution, as a part of their obstructionist tactics against any positive step which might otherwise be forced upon the U. N. Assembly by peace-loving countries.

Another proof of the imperialist countries' attempts at diversion was the so-called Austria-Japan-Sweden resolution, which only expressed the hope that the Geneva Conference would be successful and lead to an agreement acceptable to all.

On the other hand, India and 13 other Powers which had called for the discontinuance of nuclear tests until agreement was reached on controls earlier in the Political Committee, tabled their resolution in the General Assembly.

United States' Henry Cabot Lodge and Britain's Commander Allan Noble spoke against this resolution, repeating the same arguments they had advanced in the Political Committee. Needless to say, this Afro-Asian attempt, too, was defeated.

## Indian Resolution

The Soviet delegation consistently upheld the demand for the immediate cessation of the tests. But the other two nuclear Powers, by not only not accepting the Soviet proposals, but by rejecting even the resolution sponsored by India and 13 other Powers, and by tabling resolutions that at best express only "hopes" and wishes, have shown once again that they do not want nuclear weapons banned.

As Soviet delegate Zorin aptly remarked, the Western resolution "remains a paper resolution", and "life will pass this resolution by."

With such doings in the

U. N. General Assembly, U.S. President Eisenhower chose to make an announcement from the White House, punctually coinciding with the start of the 6th session of the Conference in Geneva, that the U. S. was now free to start the tests again because reports had reached about fresh tests in the Soviet Union.

The U. S. President obviously thinks that people have very short memories and have forgotten that it was the Soviet Union which had unilaterally suspended tests and given the opportunity to the other two nuclear Powers to follow this lead which had been acclaimed the world over. The Western Powers refused to do any such thing—because all preparations for their tests were completed and they were determined to go through with it. Once they have finished this series they now propose suspension for a period—the time they need to prepare their next series of tests. No sane person could expect the Soviet Union to sit back and do nothing when the Western Powers were not agreeing to any permanent ban but were only making suggestions which would enable them to go on perfecting their atomic and nuclear armoury.

The Soviet Union rightly rejected as hypocritical the idea of test suspension only for one year. And in statement after statement and declaration after declaration, the Soviet Union is asking and showing itself willing for an immediate cessation of the tests along with the discussions for working out a control system.

Eisenhower's present announcement in this background only means that the U. S. is not yet taking seriously enough the world-wide popular demand for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests.

In striking contrast is the attitude of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries towards the nuclear menace, towards disarmament and the easing of international tension. The latest and important instance of this attitude is the announcement of the Rapacki Plan in its new and modified form.

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## Mischief Again

NEWS of Israel-UAR armed clashes on the Syrian border appeared in some Indian newspapers, towards the end of last week.

But since the beginning of this month, the Arab papers have been sounding warnings about a fresh U.S.-British plot against the Arab national independence movement.

Chagrined by their recent set-back in Iraq and the Lebanon, the U. S. and British imperialists are planning to engineer a coup d'etat in Jordan and then to egg Israel on to occupy the west bank of the Jordan river, so that once again their troops could land on Arab soil under the guise of schemes of "neutralising" the west bank of the Jordan

river and placing the area under the control of a "United Nations police force".

Instigation of Israel for armed provocations on the Syrian border, supported by fresh inflow of armament consignments and preparations for the "internationalisation" of the west bank of the Jordan river, evidenced by the recent arrival of a U. S. military mission to Jordan, are part of the plans that are being hatched in Washington and in London.

British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd's allegation of October 30, of Jordan being still subjected to "indirect aggression", fits well in this context.

It is worth noting that, the news of armed clashes on the Syrian border came while a four-day joint naval manoeuvres of the Baghdad Pact countries was going on in the North Arabian Sea and while the top-ranking military representatives of the U. S., Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan were putting their heads together at the closed meetings of the military committee of the Baghdad Pact at Ankara.

It is obvious that what the imperialists are pushing through are plans to hold at all costs the "strategic kingdom" of Jordan which borders on Iraq and UAR—the backbone of the Arab national liberation movement.

It is rather surprising that a good section of the Indian Press does not seem to have much to say about it.

# HUNGARIAN ELECTIONS

\* FROM PAGE 14

"Attend the meeting I dare-say I did," he said.

"Well, and how does that M.P. of yours look?"

"Well, he—How to tell you—At that juncture the Local Party Secretary and the Local Council Chairman arrived and greeted me.

"Good afternoon, Comrade M.P.," they said.

The old man looked at me and seemed embarrassed.

"It's all right, dear Comrade," I told him. "You'll come to the meeting next time, I hope."

We shook hands, but, before saying good-bye, he remarked that he had never had that sort of thing happen to him in his life.

The Party Secretary and the Local Council Chairman corroborated my impression that the speedy action taken on transferring the level-crossing had thoroughly changed the mood of the villagers.

I could cite quite a few similar instances from my present constituency in the district of Polgari, County of Hajdu.

Under the Horthy regime, there was a saying about Parliament: "The nation's within; the people without." By contrast, the relations between the electors and their M.P.s today could be summed up in quite a different saying: "The people and their Parliament stand united."



# MASK OFF THE U.S.I.S.

How much do we really know about the gigantic propaganda machinery that the American Government runs in this country? We find USIS Reading Rooms in different Indian cities, but what goes on behind this facade of innocent urge to dole out the knowledge of the "Free World" and the "Democratic Way of Life" perhaps nobody in this country—even the Government—fully knows.

ONLY a glimpse of this I could recently get as I glanced through the pages of the U. S. Senate hearings last May before its Sub-Committee dealing with the budget of the United States Information Agency (USIA)—the parent body of our USIS. The House of Representatives had sanctioned a somewhat reduced amount than what the USIA had asked for.

## Work In India

So the matter came up before the Senate hearings and there George V. Allen—at one time a not-very-popular U.S. Ambassador in New Delhi, at present the Director of the USIA—wrote a note to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee explaining why the cut should be restored.

In that note, Allen asked for an increase of the grant for USIS work for India and gave a brief idea of the nature of their programme for our country.

"An urgent task of USIS in India is to develop public knowledge of progress achieved through development programmes carried out in a democratic manner. By publicising India's social and economic gains and making clear the role of the United States aid, USIS promotes apprecia-

tion of the advantages of progress achieved as a free nation and in cooperation with the United States.... Additional funds requested for 1959 would permit intensified efforts to make known the reality of Indian accomplishments and to increase understanding of the extent to which Communism threatens Indian independence. Specifically, restored funds would permit augmenting circulation of the "American Reporter" in Communist-governed Kerala and Communist-threatened Maharashtra States...."

Here is the case of a foreign Government agency participating in a purely internal issue of our country, making no bones about its unashamed attempts to subvert a lawfully recognised

themselves talk about how much we have in common between our country and your country and how we want to get along together and how we are all trying for the same thing and so on.

"This we take back to their own people. And then their

by  
**NIKHIL CHAKRAVARTY**

own people see their own leaders in full colour speaking to them from the screen and talking about us."

This Larson, at a later hearing, revealed:

"In India, all our own activities are on what you might call the quiet side, the low-keyed, non-political side. That is the only type of activity we can carry on...." When asked if this being quiet is "by choice or because of censorship", Larson replied: "It is because that is the kind of activity that Mr. Nehru has indicated that we can carry on."

## Its Aim : Fighting Communism Practices : Dishonest & Cheap

political party. Perhaps, Pandit Pant's Home Department will take note of it.

As for the USIS organ, the American Reporter itself, Allen obliges us with its circulation range: "I have a figure here which shows 295,000 copies of this magazine, of which 75,000 were in English; 30,000 in Hindi; 50,000 in Bengali; 45,000 in Tamil; 15,000 in Telugu; 20,000 in Malayalam; 30,000 in Marathi and 30,000 in Gujarati."

## Projects For India

An Assistant Director of the USIA, William J. Handley, outlined the USIS programme for 1959. This includes quite a few new projects for India "Seminars for students and educators"; "Regular lecture programmes by USIS officers throughout India"; "publication of the monthly American Labour Review in India"; "increased documentary motion picture production"; pamphlet production also is to increase in India, while "The American Reporter in India would expand its editions in Malayalam and Marathi"—presumably to fight the Communist menace in these two States in particular.

Another USIA boss, Arthur Larson gave out in last year's hearings that "we are finding new and effective ways to use the movie technique" and he elaborated his point:

"For example, one of the most effective uses of motion pictures is to film the visits of visiting heads of States, such as Nehru and King Saud. This has become practically a standard procedure with us now. The reason that that is so effective is that these men come here... and they will

What the USIS has done, in fact, is to quieten the public programme and to go deeper into secret programmes. And the report of the Senate hearings provide sufficient evidence of these subterranean activities on the part of the USIS. I shall mention only a few of these.

Sometimes in our dailies like the Times of India, we see columns written by one Paul L. Ford on some international issue. You would think that this might be some Western columnist like Walter Lippman or Edgar Snow. But the deception was disclosed in a despatch in Washington Post of May 25 this year, under the caption "USIA items are signed fictitiously." It says:

"The United States Information Agency is contributing columns to foreign newspapers under fictitious bylines carrying the implication of legitimate American news sources.

"It was learned yesterday that the practice has been going on for at least six years and that four USIA employees here in Washington are using seven pseudonyms to write columns on political, economic and cultural matters which present the American view abroad."

## Fake Names

The despatch actually discloses that Paul L. Ford—the columnist of our Times of India—is a bogus name covering up USIA propaganda.

"The USIA procedure was first reported by Arthur Veysey, Chicago Tribune correspondent in Europe, when Veysey noticed accounts by a 'Paul L. Ford' coming out of the same NATO Foreign Ministers Conference in Copenhagen that he himself was

covering.

"Veysey found Ford's name was used to give an authentic air to a NATO story criticising Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev—a story which actually had been printed three weeks earlier in a NATO periodical in Paris."

The report also often fakes names used by USIA: Thomas Marshall, Gilbert Grant, Guy Sims Fitch, John Kerigan, Benjamin West and Norman Smith. A close view of many of our dailies may help us to spot some of these other celebrities as well.

Chicago Daily Tribune attacked this USIA method of cheating the public saying that "the use of manufactured byline over items of news or news interpretation with intent to indicate that the material was the responsible product of an individual observer is regarded as deceptive and is never countenanced by reputable newspaper practice."

The USIA Chief, George Allen when confronted with this exposure in the Senate hearings admitted that it was

"substantially correct."

But he did not spare the editors too: "I think it is correct to say that everyone of the newspaper editors abroad who use any of these articles knows the true author or certainly can get it if he wants to enquire of us. They knew it is USIA material" and he gave out the reason for practising this dishonesty: "To be frank, we use this device in our activity in order to avoid labelling the material as coming from the United States Information Agency."

## Admission Of Dishonesty

Eugene W. Castle, a writer and film man, testifying before the Sub-Committee denounced this practice: "Fake news from the USIA must be stopped if the good name of the United States and the reputation of American-owned press associations are to be maintained and preserved."

But this is not the only method by which USIS practises large-scale cheating in its propaganda drive. In most of the bookshops nowadays we find cheap pocket books, often marked 'Student edition' and priced at ten or 15 cents being sold at less than a rupee. There are actually three categories of such works. First is "Classics of Democracy", including such titles as works by Jefferson and other eminent Americans. The second are books about U. S. industry, culture, life, etc. The third category is of open anti-Communist diatribes. The first and the second are published mainly to make the third category acceptable, that is to create a market for the anti-Communist stuff.

George Allen told the Sub-Committee that the Low-Priced Book Programme is meant to push "American books through commercial channels to combat Communism and to promote knowledge and appreciation of American life, culture and democratic institutions." Started in 1956, the project was expanded in the next two years and Allen says "to date we have published over four million books in 15 languages and placed them on sale in 20 different countries."

## Low-Priced Book

The USIA chief seemed to be satisfied with the achievement: "Booksellers who normally do not handle American paperbacks are beginning to place orders for our titles. Even bookshops which have always specialised in Communist literature are ordering these books, thereby giving us access to an audience usually most difficult to reach."

During last year's Senate hearings, the USIA authorities would not give out openly the list of countries where the low-cost books were distributed. That was kept secret.

A more top secret operation on the part of the USIA is the "Non-Profit Book Corporation." This operation involves the setting up in America of a private corporation secretly subsidised by the USIS to the extent of millions of dollars. It sponsors publication of translations in Indian and other languages under commercial names.

Here too George Allen was candid: We made it clear that "the non-profit corporation is making a substantial contribution to our programme objectives" by means of "increasing the flow of American books in local languages into countries where other phases of the USIA programme are limited for political reasons." The Corporation, according to Allen, is "operating two highly important projects of a special nature" but details about these are withheld, being presumably secret.

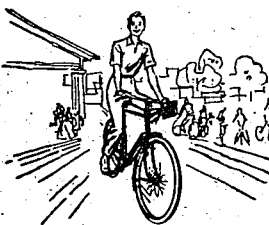
Allen wanted increased grant for the programme "in order to increase the flow of carefully chosen books into sensitive countries from 800,000 to 1,200,000 copies."

India being one of the "sensitive countries" is the particular target for these two deceiving projects—low priced books and non-profit book corporation. They no doubt involve practically the bribing of local publishers as also the booksellers.

What is astonishing about American propaganda in our country—as these extracts from the Senate hearings show—is that the USIS authorities themselves recognise that the public in this country does not swallow their words as such, and hence the anxiety on the part of the USIS to secure a respectable and innocuous alibi. It is thus not simply propaganda but propaganda involving large-scale dishonest practice on the part of those who are supposed to be teaching us the virtues of "the democratic way of life".



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