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ROURKELA CRACKS

How Long Will Patch-up Last ?

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA CALCUTTA, May 23

Is the one-million-ton Rourkela Steel Plant being built according to specifications? Is everything all right with it? It will be recalled that a little over a year ago New Age had exposed grave defects in the construction of the Durgapur Steel Plant. It was only then that the Government of India woke up and tried to set matters right. Now comes the turn of Rourkela, the costliest of the three steel plants in the public sector.

I HAVE just learnt on the highest authority that the REFRACTORY LINING of Blast Furnace No. 1 of the Rourkela Steel Plant, which was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad on February 3, 1959, CRACKED about two months ago.

It is considered by experts to be a very serious type of damage. It certainly does not bespeak of a high standard of technical performance. Yet, with a view to minimising the unquestioned superiority of the Soviet-built steel plant at Bhilai, certain circles in the Government of India sedulously tried to create the illusion that Rourkela was the "last word" in modern steel-making.

It is common knowledge that the blast furnace is one

of the key units of a steel plant and that no blast furnace can stand the intense heat, ranging between 800C-950C, unless its refractory lining is up to the mark.

Once started, a blast furnace has to be kept going continuously day and night, month after month, until the refractory lining has to be changed. This period may be anywhere between six and eight years, depending on the nature of the wear-and-tear of the lining.

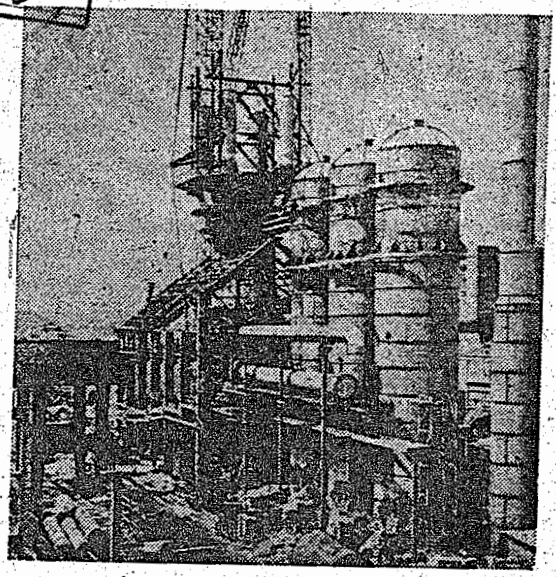
M. Ganapati, Resident Director of the Rourkela Steel Project, also admitted in an article in the Statesman of February 4, 1959, that the minimum life of the refractory lining of Blast Furnace No. 1 was six years. But the lining cracked in less than 14 months after the fur-

nace had gone into operation

The entire blame for this faulty workmanship must be fixed squarely on the well-known West German firms, FRIED, KRUPP and DEMAG, who are the designers and contractors for the Rourkela Project. Time and again, these firms and their panegyrists in official circles have assured our people that "the very best" technical experience and "first-grade" materials are being utilised in the construction of the steel plant.

What will they say now? Is there a single instance of any blast furnace in any steel-producing country having cracked up within a year?

The damage to the blast furnace was so serious that its detection threw the de-



The No. 1 Blast Furnace at Rourkela, whose refractory lining has cracked.

signers and contractors into panic. They were quick to realise that if the scandal leaked out, it would be a disastrous blow to the "international prestige" of the West German industry. No efforts were, therefore, spared to hush up the scandal. But, somehow, it did leak out, not, of course, in our country but in West Germany, and evoked much adverse criticism there. The West German Press was of the opinion that the performance of Krupp-Demag was so deplorable that it would be no wonder if Rourkela proved to be the "grave of German enterprise in India."

But the Government of India seems to be blissfully ignorant of what has happened to the blast furnace. It also appears that the Government has no infor-

mation about the adverse Press comments in West Germany, although it maintains an Embassy there.

The crack in the refractory lining of the blast furnace, I understand, has been somehow patched up.

The furnace has cost us about Rs. 16 crores. The exact amount of the additional expenditure incurred on repairs is not known. But, considering the prevailing prices of refractory materials, the cost of repairs must have run into several lakhs of rupees.

Who will pay for this additional expenditure?

Even if it is assumed that the German designers and contractors will be made to

* SEE PAGE 13

BHUPESH GUPTA SHADOWED IN MANIPUR

This letter of Bhupesh Gupta, M.P., to the Chief Commissioner of Manipur needs no comment:
Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware that I am in Imphal on a very short visit to make a first hand study of the situation. It is most shameful that I should have been kept under constant watch by your C.I.D. men and shadowed by them all the time. This evening I went round the town and I was disgusted to find that 5 (five) vehicles, including a jeep equipped with wireless were following my car. It was an altogether ugly and impermissible exhibition.

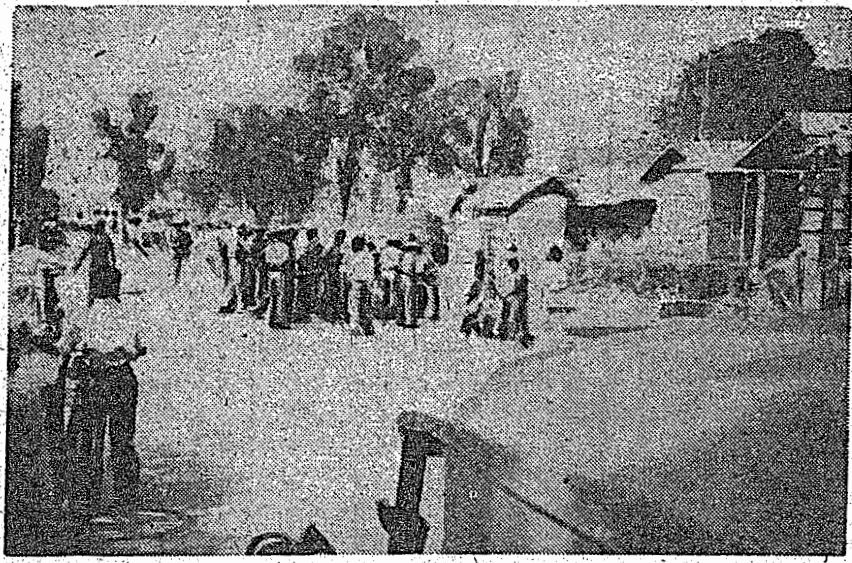
I don't know what you gain by such performance, but public men in my

situation would expect a little decency if not courtesy on the part of the Government.

I strongly protest against this behaviour on the part of your Administration and I am sending the copies of this letter to the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. I consider this whole behaviour to be unworthy of any civilised administration and a gross interference with the discharge of my public duties as a Member of Parliament.

For your information, the numbers of the five vehicles used by the Police are: MNS 263; MNS 2828; MNS 2819; MNS 2626 and BRH 863.

FOR BHUPESH GUPTA'S ARTICLE ON SITUATION IN MANIPUR — SEE CENTRE PAGES



Lathi-charge in Manipur — being beaten by the police is a batch of students.

SCRAP-BOOK

STRANGE PASSENGERS

A MID a tumult of publicity the Boeing 707 jet of Air-India International took off for New York. But it carried a strange cargo of passengers.

It is reliably learnt that the fashion-conscious wife of B. K. Nehru had insisted that some Indian models and puppets be sent along. Perhaps, this was meant to aid our export drive.

But why then did she also insist that one of the "models" should be a lady in her fifties with no claims to beauty and less to a figure. Will the argument be that the over-fed American affluent matrons want to see how the saree drapes around a person of their oversize dimensions?

The simpler explanation is that the lady happened to be a friend of our Economic Commissioner's madame and so had a free trip.

Another eminent passenger was Indira Gandhi. Why the Prime Minister, who is said to have checked the list, did this favour to his daughter is anybody's guess. It is specially odd since Members of Parliament and journalists had been most rudely struck off. What is Indira Behn's special qualification?

Thrilled by the joy-ride this gracious lady has got down to spreading anti-Communist poison in the congenial dollar-touched atmosphere.

Addressing a meeting in New York on May 22 she said, "with a big Communist country on our borders time is running out for us." Then remembering that it was money that had to be begged for, she added, "The danger India faced was not so much in the military field as the economic."

Nobody can deny that the Prime Minister's daughter is not repaying the kindness of the Air India bosses who wangled her such a lovely journey!

SWATANTRA SORROWS

RAJAJI is getting desperate. Any day Masani and his patrons may decide he is a back-number and push him back to solitude. His North India trip was a flop. Now come reports of a cracking base in Tamilnad itself.

The journey to Swatantra and then the return to the Congress have been made by some well-known worthies, who are old hands at Congress factional manipulations. Their number has been increased by K. S. Venkataraj Reddiar, till recently the President of the Tamilnad Swatantra Party.

This gentleman had for a pretty long time decorated the Congress with his presence. Then when Kamaraj, the present Chief Minister, took supreme powers unto himself, Reddiar was one of those who did not get some of the larger-sized plums. Rajaji's party was a god-sent opportunity—he immediately joined up.

Kamaraj and Reddiar understood each other well. The Congress Chief Minister met the Swatantra Chief Minister two or three times. Presto! Reddiar decided to resign from the blue-flag party. We can soon expect him back as a Congress dignitary. A lovely lesson in morals!

Having bagged the big fish Kamaraj had much less difficulty with the "active volunteers" of the Swatantra at the village level. Three hundred of them have resigned in the districts of Madurai and Thiruvaiyur. They will soon enough be actively volunteering for the Congress.

Rajaji has publicly fulminated against these "unprincipled desertions." Quite true. But when he won them from the Congress, the Khadi-clad leaders had said the same. Perhaps, both were telling the truth.

BIHAR RACKET

THE elections to Congress bodies are rapidly becoming the biggest racket in the country. It is tragic to see the depths of degradation reached by the once premier national organisation.

In Bihar things had reached such a pass that Congressmen were reported to be plotting the murder of their party colleagues, as one of the more important forms of electioneering.

Irregularities were so serious that the AICC to avoid serious disruption, had to appoint a tribunal.

This tribunal is reported to have been deeply shocked by the malpractices it discovered. It found that in three districts intimidation, false voting, tampering with the ballot boxes had attained such proportions that the elections were just a farce. They have recommended, re-elections but with the pathetic proviso that guarantees were lacking that these, too, would not be grossly unfair.

Hopefully the tribunal turned to the election of the President of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee. For this high office, they had expected the elections to be fair and clean. But to their consternation they found all the evils in a concentrated form at this elevated level. Dire physical threats had been uttered against those sus-

pected to be favouring H. N. Misra—the dissident rival to the Ministerial nominee. This was followed up by blatant flouting of all the rules of secret ballot—this was openly proclaimed and practised.

The tribunal had no option but to declare that the BPC Presidential election was less than fair and decorous. But such is the state of affairs in the Congress today that the tribunal could not recommend a re-election. They felt that such a move might seriously disrupt the Bihar Congress already subject to strong Swatantra temptation. They have left the decision to Sanjeeva Reddy.

Both groups are mustering strong prior to the dash to Delhi where "unity talks" are scheduled for May 25. Some patch-up may be managed by the astute Pantji and tempers cooled after a dressing-down by Panditji. But neither manoeuvres nor platitudes can remove the cancer eating away at the vitals.

EVEREST EXPEDITION

EVERYBODY was watching with pride and hope the first Indian expedition to the peak of Everest. When genuine national pride is aroused, there are always some nasty-minded persons—who seek to turn this to chauvinistic hate.

So the propaganda engines started working overtime to pour out stories of a joint Sino-Soviet bid for the same peak through the climb up the northern slope.

Granting that this was true, why anybody should object, Heaven alone knows. But the slant was given that this was a fresh instance of Chinese "aggression"—backed up with Soviet help, too. A sickening performance.

But since the trick did not work, one or two of the papers who were most vociferous have now put out a tiny news-item that no such joint expedition was in the immediate offing. But no apologies were offered to the public for the deliberate deception.

The source of the story is said to be Dr. Raghu Vira who had concocted an earlier scare about a Chinese a-bomb. But our newspaper magnates and their hired hacks are not so gullible as to believe a demoted doctor. So, perhaps, the story was made up at some enterprising editorial desk on the principle that truth is what the people can be made to believe—and what profits Big Money.

—ONLOOKER

May 23, 1960

KERALA NEWSLETTER

SECRET UNIT INSIDE SPECIAL BRANCH

—Chacko's Latest Police Measure

The Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Kerala Police will now have a secret political unit. This is the latest move made by Police Minister P. T. Chacko in his efforts to make the police under him the all-powerful factor in the State.

THIS newly-constituted Political Branch has been assigned two tasks—one, to keep track of the activities of opposition political leaders and even of those from his own party and the coalition who are not in the good books of Chacko, and two, investigate into the reliability or otherwise of Government officials and blacklist those who are supposed to be "Communist-minded".

In charge of this Political Branch is V. Mariarpotham, whose qualifications for the post are that he is a devout Catholic, that he is a good friend of P. T. Chacko and that he had filed a defamation suit against Communist leader A. K. Gopalan.

The appointment of Mariarpotham as the head of the Special Branch itself had caused a lot of comment. One fact which emerged out of all those comments was that the appointment was made directly against the opinion of the Inspector-General of Police, Krishna Menon.

The Present Inspector-General of Police is by no means one of those "Communist-minded" officials into whom P. T. Chacko has got his knife. In fact, one of the charges against the Communist Ministry was that during his term of office, it had got rid of Krishna Menon by kicking him upstairs as the Secretary of the Police Reform Committee.

But P. T. Chacko does not have enough confidence even in such an official. First of all, he is a Nair and is more likely to be amenable to Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai's influence than Chacko's. Secondly, Chacko has decided that the officer through whom he would operate in the Police Department would be a Catholic and a personal friend of his.

So the Police Minister called the I. G. and told him that Mariarpotham should be appointed to head the Special Branch. The I. G. objected saying the Minister's confidant had no experience of work in the Special Branch and he suggested the names of a number of other officers.

The reply from the Police Minister was very curt. The I. G. was told to obey instructions, the Minister would see to the rest. It is common talk in Secretariat circles that the I. G. has been reduced to the status of a "stenographer" who takes down the Minister's instru-

* SEE PAGE 14

EVEN NEHRU NOT SPARED

LAST week a list of books and pamphlets removed from a cell in the Cannanore Central Jail was given in these columns. This week, the list from the Trivandrum Central Jail is available and, incredibly enough, among the books removed is Nehru's Letters to a Daughter.

This book when it was published had aroused the ire of all enemies of science, first among them the Catholic Church.

But even after India attained independence, after Nehru became Prime Minister, when the Congress was ruling India, when a Congress Chief Minister, A. J. John, was in office in the Travancore-Cochin State, the Catholic Church had issued an order banning the book from being taught in Catholic-run schools. The Catholic Church then did this with the confidence that the Chief Minister, though a Congressman was a Catholic.

Today again, under the aegis of a Catholic Police Minister, the book has been removed from the jails. It is reliably understood that the order was issued after a Catholic priest had visited the prison and made his recommendation as to what books should be kept in the jail.

Those who thought that only Communist literature was being banned can think again—even Nehru's books are not safe under Chacko's regime.

Perhaps due to the uproar, even in the non-Communist Press, the Police Minister has come out with a belated denial saying neither Nehru's books nor those of any well-known litterateur have been removed from the jails.

E. M. S. DENIES STORY OF RIFT IN C. P. I.

TRIVANDRUM, May 19

"The Amritsar thesis, accepting the democratic form as the method to achieve power, has not been challenged by anybody in the Party so far," said E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Acting General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, addressing Pressmen on his return from Calcutta after attending the session of the National Council of the Party.

NAMBOODIRIPAD was replying to questions on alleged differences inside the Communist Party over the political line to be adopted.

He discounted all reports to the effect that there was a serious rift inside the Party "between the so-called nationalists and internationalists" as the product of "some fertile imagination" and said: "There have always been some differences on some point or other. At present there are not two, but several points of view about the meaning and significance of the recent political changes and economic development."

"But above all, there is complete agreement on certain essentials. These are, first, that it is necessary to combat the reactionary offensive launched by forces inside and outside the Congress against the progressive aspects of the Congress Government such as land reforms, public sector, etc., and secondly, that this struggle against the reactionary offensive should not lead to a slackening of the fight against the anti-people measures of the Congress Governments."

"We are seriously discussing the details of this understanding," Namboodiripad said. "The Party Congress is being called so as to work out the details of how to combine these twin tasks and evolve a practical programme for the Left and democratic movement in the country in relation to Congress Governments," the Acting General Secretary said.

India-China Dispute

Asked whether there are any differences inside the Party at present on the India-China border issue, Namboodiripad said: "There is no difference at all. All the differences were thrashed out at the Meerut session itself. The Calcutta resolution on the border dispute was passed unanimously."

The Acting General Secretary was asked whether the Congress Government had gone over to the Western bloc as a result of all the foreign aid that India had got, to which he replied in the negative. When asked whether it was his personal opinion or that of the Party's, Namboodiripad said, "In my own personal opinion and on behalf of the Party, we think that India has not gone over to the Western bloc yet."

On the Summit, Namboodiripad said that he could not give the Communist Party's point of view because the recent developments. "Personally, I feel sorry that the Summit Conference could not take place," he said.

Namboodiripad continued: "When one country says 'I am carrying on espionage in your country because you are making war preparations,' and continues with espionage against all moral

Says it is a product of fertile imagination

Namboodiripad replied: "It is such an obvious thing that even a child can understand. Even prominent Americans like Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, have said it." When pressed further, Namboodiripad said: "In my personal opinion Khrushchov's stand is correct."

IN KERALA DISCRIMINATION AGAINST COMMUNISTS

Coming to the situation in Kerala State, Namboodiripad was asked about the discrimination against the Communist Party by the present Government. He gave instances to back his contention that the Communist Party was being discriminated against.

The first instance was that of the ban on Communist newspapers in the jails. When his attention was drawn to the State Home Minister's claim that some other papers were also not being supplied in jails, Namboodiripad said: "If there is any single paper in Kerala which does not carry on political propaganda and if that paper alone is given in the jails, then I can understand it. But that is not the case here, and it is very obvious against whom the discrimination is aimed."

"I sympathise with those non-Communist newspapers which had to go out along with ours. If Pattom Thanu Pillai's Kerala Janata and R. Sankar's Dinamani have also had to go out because of P. T. Chacko's action, I can only sympathise with them," Namboodiripad said.

Kept Out Of Committees

As the second instance of discrimination he referred to the constitution of committees. "It was a charge against us that the then Opposition was not being given adequate representation in the committees. Compare the representation we are getting now with that which they got while we were in office, and you will see how we are being discriminated against."

When questioned about the charge that the Communist Party was preparing for mass agitation, Namboodiripad challenged the State Home Minister "to bring evidence if he has got any, and prove it." When his attention was drawn to the statement of an ex-Communist, Sukumar, to the effect that the Party was planning an uprising, Namboodiripad said: "I am sorry if P. T. Chacko has to depend on such evidence. I sympathise with him."

In this connection, Namboodiripad defined agitation as "something legal and constitutional," as different from direct action. Agitation visualises "only such actions as meetings, peaceful demonstrations, passing resolutions and submitting memoranda. This kind of agitation is being carried on in the very peaceful Britain by the Liberals."

Law And Order Situation

Asked about the law and order situation, Namboodiripad said that when he visited his constituency a case of so-called suicide was brought to his notice. Irrespective of political parties, people there think that it is a case of murder and are demanding an investigation into the case. However, the police had not taken any steps in that direction and were keeping quiet.

"If the local gentry can hush up things like this and if the police are not taking any action in the matter, but abetting them in doing so, and the people in the area are apprehensive about the whole matter, then there is something wrong somewhere," he said. Asked whether it is an isolated case or a general trend, Namboodiripad replied: "I don't know whether it is the order of the day. Anyhow, I did not see the so-called 'morale' which the police is claimed to have regained, in this case."

On the Education Act, Namboodiripad said that the "Communist Party had always wanted to make the maximum adjustments without prejudicing the interests of the backward classes and the teacher community. The Party takes the same stand now, that is, we will not oppose any change in the Act if it does not go against the interests of the backward communities and that of the teachers."

Asked what the Party would do if the changes brought are such that the Communist Party considers them



to be against the interests of these two sections, Namboodiripad said: "It is for them to say whether any changes would adversely affect them, or not; and it is for them to decide on any course of action to face it." When questioned about the likely attitude of these two interests, he said he was "not a spokesman of those interests."

Sri Namboodiripad was asked about his stand on the Parambikulam water dispute with Madras. He replied: "When we were in office, we had given the utmost concessions to Madras so that the project might be taken up. The execution of our project was being delayed because of this dispute and it was to avoid this that we made that agreement at that time."

"However, the Madras Government flouted that agreement and tried to exploit the Adviser's regime here when we were dismissed and claimed more water. Pattom Thanu Pillai has now reportedly said that he would honour the previous agreement, but nothing more will be given to Madras. We are in agreement with him."

Asked about the allegation that the buildings put up by Madras at Parambikulam were constructed at the time of the Communist Government and with its consent, the former Chief Minister said: "The maximum that was permitted during our Government was for their engineers to come and make investigations."

Namboodiripad's attention was drawn to the rising food prices and the scarcity of rice and he said: "Naturally the people are worried about

it. The Government has to take some measures to check the rise in food prices and to ensure an adequate supply of rice through the fair-price shops."

When it was pointed out that during the Communist Government's period, only one measure of rice was distributed through the fair price shops and now one-and-a-half measures were being given, Namboodiripad said: "That seems to be only on paper. In my own constituency during the Vishu festival days not a single grain of rice was available in many of the fair price shops."

In reply to a question as to who is to blame for the short supply of rice, he said: "Initially I was inclined to blame the Centre. But now I feel that the State Government is also responsible for the position. It was to strengthen its hands while demanding rice from the Centre that we moved a resolution in the last Assembly session asking the Union Government to supply 25,000 tons of rice monthly. But they did not support that motion and it was defeated."

The Acting General Secretary of the Communist Party said that the National Council of the Party would meet once before the Party Congress, probably in Maharastra some time in October though the exact venue and date are yet to be fixed. The Central Executive will be meeting two or three times before the Party Congress. The Commission appointed at the Calcutta Session of the National Council was to prepare a Draft Programme for the Party.

Denounce The Aggressors!

Editorial

THE PEOPLE'S FURY against the U. S. scuttling of the Summit Conference continues to mount. Increasing understanding and support gathers for the just and reasonable stand taken by the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev's speech in Berlin was firm and vigorous in denouncing the dangerously aggressive moves of the American imperialists. At the same time he made it abundantly clear that the Soviet Union would continue to uphold the banner and struggle for the triumph of the world-saving principle of peaceful coexistence.

To emphasise this point he declared that the status of West Berlin and a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic would not be settled now but await another Summit Conference.

The Soviet leader outlined the immediate perspective: "We will not do anything that might aggravate the international situation and bring it back to the worst times of the 'cold war'." On the contrary, the Government of the Soviet Union will do everything necessary, just as before, towards improving the international situation and bettering the relations between States.

The same theme resounded from the speech of Gromyko at the Security Council. The Soviet Foreign Minister emphasised that the preservation of world peace and the defence of national sovereignty themselves demanded that the American aggressors be brought to book.

He pointed out that rebuff to an aggressor did not contradict neutrality in world politics, which corresponded "both to the national interests of the countries that have chosen the road of neutrality and the interests of peace in general. Passiveness with regard to aggression is an absolutely different thing. This position has nothing in common with neutrality and it plays into the aggressor's hands."

Fully in keeping with these eminently sane and wise ideas and to powerfully endorse them, the Chinese Communist Party and Government leaders have initiated an unprecedented mass campaign to explain the situation, rouse vigilance, warn the American imperialists and fully support the positions of the Soviet Union. In other parts of the world also the people are on the move. The American imperialists are isolated as never before. Rumblings against the war policy are to be heard even in the top echelons of the United States itself.

While many of the editorials and comments in the Indian Press have correctly noted the position and sharply criticised the provocative manoeuvres of the U.S., it is a deplorable fact that the Government of India has chosen to remain completely silent. The Prime Minister, in his statements at Cairo and Ankara has also declined to say anything beyond regretting the failure of the Summit. He has not condemned the U-2 raid nor the U. S. official position that it was its right to violate the sovereignty of other States as and when it liked.

This failure to denounce the aggressor is sure to be taken full advantage of by the more brutally outspoken advocates of aggression in America at a time when they are cornered. This strange silence is bound to cause pain and sorrow to all those in our country and abroad who expect the Government and the Prime Minister to be in the van when it comes to defending the sovereign rights of all States and to putting the aggressor in his place.

Unfortunately this non-committal attitude, harmful enough in itself, has been followed up with a renewed anti-China campaign. It is distressing in the extreme that so senior a Cabinet Minister and important a Congress leader as Pandit Pant should have taken the lead in this matter. He has been dutifully echoed and amplified by the more reactionary among the editors of the daily Press.

According to Pant's logic the Chinese people's wrath at the American scuttling of the Summit means that they are happy over its failure! In the same strain he goes on to argue that the Summit breakdown has increased the danger to India not from the U. S. imperialists with their bases in Pakistan, but from China! He makes no mention of the fact that the U.S. bases are in no other country but neighbouring Pakistan. Actually India, China, all of Asia and the world are equally menaced by a desperate bid to roll back the tide of peaceful coexistence.

Pandit Pant and others are serving neither the cause of world peace nor our national interests. To use the failure of the Summit for another hate-China offensive would disastrously affect our international standing, dangerously disarm and mislead our people and gravely injure our country and its future.

National interests demand just the opposite. The people must demand that the Government of India end its vacillation, shake off its silence and unequivocally name the aggressor and roundly denounce him. The people must see that nothing is done to spoil the international atmosphere but that the Government steadfastly proceeds on the path of negotiations to settle our dispute with China. In this way we can make our best contribution to

Nehru's West Asia Tour Has Not Added To India's Prestige

After a less than inspiring performance at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference Pandit Nehru took himself off for a tour of some West Asian countries. News has now reached of the two communiqués he signed in Cairo and Ankara.

In the Cairo communiqué the two Asian leaders have correctly stressed that "peace is essential for the world." They have rightly emphasised that "for countries like the UAR and India and other countries struggling for progress and betterment of the lot of the people, peace is a paramount necessity." They have appealed to all nations to "stand firm against any deterioration in the international situation" following the failure of the Summit Conference.

Silence Over U. S. Tactics

The break-down of the talks have come, the Premiers state, "as a shock everywhere." The two leaders express their deep distress over this development and—the matter is left there. It is a singularly unhappy position that no opinion was expressed on the monstrous incident that signalled the American determination to scuttle the Summit. This more than odd silence was in keeping with Nehru's earlier statement in Cairo that even if all the facts of the U-2 foray across the Soviet frontiers were known to him, he would not express an opinion. Such a position can only aid the bellicose elements in the United States facing total isolation.

Here, surely, we have a false and harmful interpretation of the policy of non-alignment and of Panchsheel. This policy is not meant to express our detachment from dramatic world developments but to enable us to contribute our maximum to the maintenance of peaceful coexistence.

When the U-2 transgressed Soviet sovereignty, when the U. S. rulers publicly proclaimed that such transgression was part of their official policy, when one of the stops of the U-2 en route was in Pakistan, then the Panchsheel mandates that the U. S. be openly and unequivocally condemned. It is only worldwide protests and condemnation that can help to isolate the Yankee hot-heads and restrain their provocative activities which are so menacing to peace and an open challenge to the national sovereignty of all countries.

World public opinion, no less than democratic Indian opinion, cannot but be upset and disappointed that Nehru and Nasser failed to do what was their elementary duty. Rumours are afloat that Tito and Nasser are anxious for some kind of "neutralist" get-together. The significant silence in the Cairo declaration adds strength to these rumours. At the present juncture of international developments it is most unlikely that any contribution to international detente can be made by any such gathering. It will aid the bellicose extremists in America to make out a case that there is a large segment of world opinion that is in two minds about their activity.

A more promising effort would be in the direction of reconvening the Bandung Conference of all Afro-Asian States and working out therein a determined and clear-cut policy to thwart the war-drearies of desperate U. S. imperialism. It is necessary to impress upon the Prime Minister that this is the course of action demanded by the world situation and India's accepted policy.

It is the height of hypocrisy and worse that Nehru should have permitted his name and that of our country to be used by Menderes in a desperate attempt to give some respectability to his tottering rule. Nehru's equivocal replies to Turkish Pressmen at Ankara only add to the shame. India and Turkey should be and are friends. But India is no friend of Menderes, just as she is no friend of Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek. Nor are there any urgent problems outstanding between the two States that needed to be settled immediately and which demanded the personal attention of India's over-taxed Prime Minister.

If memory serves aright, this is the first time that Pandit Nehru has signed a joint statement with an unceasing and direct puppet of the U. S. imperialists. It has certainly brought no lustre but rather only tarnish to our reputation and prestige in international councils. It has not served but harmed the cause of the relaxation of world tension, which demands not friendship or agreement with but relentless struggle against the war-makers and their stooges.

Nehru's trip abroad this time, especially the West Asian stage, has not helped our country's interests nor those of world peace. It has been a disappointing performance and calls for wide-ranging discussion as well as vigilance.

—**MOHIT SEN**
May 25, 1960.

versal contempt and hate more particularly by all the resurgent peoples of West Asia.

Finally, and above all, it should be remembered that the Menderes Government is one of the most oppressive and authoritarian regimes that exist anywhere in the world today. Since the end of April, the people of Turkey have risen up against the Menderes policy of sell-out to America and denial of the most elementary of freedoms. It is a movement reminiscent of the most glorious days of the Turkish fight for freedom under the leadership of Ataturk. It is a movement which embraces in its sweep even the bourgeois opposition party and personalities. It is a movement whose success world peace needs no less than Turkey herself.

World public opinion, no less than democratic Indian opinion, cannot but be upset and disappointed that Nehru and Nasser failed to do what was their elementary duty.

Rumours are afloat that Tito and Nasser are anxious for some kind of "neutralist" get-together. The significant silence in the Cairo declaration adds strength to these rumours. At the present juncture of international developments it is most unlikely that any contribution to international detente can be made by any such gathering. It will aid the bellicose extremists in America to make out a case that there is a large segment of world opinion that is in two minds about their activity.

Height Of Hypocrisy

It passes understanding why it was necessary at this time for Nehru to have at all gone to Turkey. It is amazing that the joint communiqué should talk of the two Premiers recalling "with pleasure the cooperation between the two countries at the Bandung Conference"—everyone can remember the frequent angry clashes in Bandung some five years ago.

It is the height of hypocrisy and worse that Nehru should have permitted his name and that of our country to be used by Menderes in a desperate attempt to give some respectability to his tottering rule. Nehru's equivocal replies to Turkish Pressmen at Ankara only add to the shame.

India and Turkey should be and are friends. But India is no friend of Menderes, just as she is no friend of Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek. Nor are there any urgent problems outstanding between the two States that needed to be settled immediately and which demanded the personal attention of India's over-taxed Prime Minister.

If memory serves aright, this is the first time that Pandit Nehru has signed a joint statement with an unceasing and direct puppet of the U. S. imperialists. It has certainly brought no lustre but rather only tarnish to our reputation and prestige in international councils. It has not served but harmed the cause of the relaxation of world tension, which demands not friendship or agreement with but relentless struggle against the war-makers and their stooges.

Nehru's trip abroad this time, especially the West Asian stage, has not helped our country's interests nor those of world peace. It has been a disappointing performance and calls for wide-ranging discussion as well as vigilance.

—**MOHIT SEN**
May 25, 1960.

At The Ghazipur Session Of All-India Kisan Sabha Keynotes Were...

Struggle for land reforms and the need to build a powerful kisan organisation to lead this struggle were the keynotes of the Seventeenth Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha which concluded in Ghazipur on Friday last.

The venue of the Conference was undoubtedly well chosen. Ghazipur, a small town on the banks of the Ganga has long been a strong centre of the peasant movement in U. P. The only Kisan Sabha leader from U. P. who is a member of the Lok Sabha, Sarju Pandey, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the session, hailed from this district.

The history of Ghazipur is closely associated both with the enslavers of the peasantry, as well as the heroic struggle of the peasant masses for their liberation. It was here in 1805 that Lord Charles Marquis Cornwallis, the founder of the offensive zamindari system in India, breathed his last. It was during his Governor-Generalship (1786 to 1793) that the Permanent Settlement was introduced, which initiated the process of enslavement of the Indian peasantry. His impressive grave can still be seen in a corner of the town today as a reminder of the havoc that British rule wrought for the peasant masses.

Decades later, however, the same soil gave birth to one of the finest sons of the peasantry, the late Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, the founder-leader of the All-India Kisan Sabha. Swamiji was born at Deva, about 16 miles from Ghazipur.

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Deep Discontent

The Kisan Sabha session opened in the scorching heat of May, punctuated by occasional dust storms. But the inhospitable weather did not, for a moment, discourage the enthusiastic organisers and volunteers of the Conference and the nearly three hundred and fifty delegates and visitors who had come from all over the country.

Both the speeches in the delegates' session and the resolutions passed by the Conference reflected the deep discontent of the peasantry over the failure of the State Governments to carry out radical land reforms and even going back on the Nagpur resolutions of the Congress Party itself.

The growth of the reactionary forces and their hue and cry against the Nagpur resolutions during the last two years and sabotage of land reforms by the vested interests within the Congress had evidently created a feeling of anxiety and urgency among the delegates and the leaders of the Kisan Sabha.

A. K. Gopalan, in his presidential speech, referred to these developments at the very outset. "The Nagpur resolution of the Congress was solution of the Congress was the provocation for the birth of a reactionary Right-wing party in our country, viz. the Swatantra Party," he said and warned that it would be a "folly" on the part of the Kisan Sabha to ignore the "campaign of the Swatantra

Party, Jan Sangh and other such elements" against land reforms. He also drew pointed attention to the sabotage from within the Congress and said: "It should not be forgotten in this connection that the opposition to ceilings on landholdings is not merely to be found outside the ranks of the Congress. In fact, the story of the sabotage of the comprehensive land reform measure enacted by the Communist-led Government of Kerala both by the Congress organisation at the State level and the Central Government

clared that the food deficit could have been considerably reduced if the Government had not failed to take effective measures in the last eight years to bring under cultivation millions of acres of cultivable waste lands. The delay in taking effective steps in this direction would be most harmful to the national interests, the resolution pointed out.

Another important resolution passed by the session was on the Third Plan in relation to agriculture. The resolution urged on the Planning Commission not to underestimate the significance of land reforms in stepping up food production. "The very fact that one-third of the cultivated land is in possession of

four per cent of the landholders, possessing 25 acres or more per household, ruins the initiative of the tillers of the soil," the resolution declared.

The resolution also demanded change in the laws and rules governing cooperative credit societies and suggested that the amount of credit to be annually distributed during the Third Plan period should be raised to Rs. 2,000 crores. The Kisan Sabha also urged that labour cooperatives should be encouraged.

While expressing the opinion that a "determined attack" on rural unemployment should have the topmost priority in the agricultural development projects to be undertaken in the Third Plan, the Kisan Sabha strongly opposed the proposal to levy an

additional taxation of Rs. 250 crores to be raised through betterment levy and enhancement of water rates. "This would further drag the rural economy into a crisis," the resolution warned.

It was, however, not the reiteration of Kisan Sabha policy and sharp criticism of government alone which impressed those present in the session. It was the militant mood and fighting spirit of the session for getting these policies implemented which stood out as the outstanding feature of this session of the Kisan Sabha.

Delegate after delegate stood up to emphasise the need for struggle for land reforms and against unjust taxes and fresh burdens on the peasant masses and they were greeted enthusiastically.

When A. K. Gopalan, the President of the AIKS, de-

clared that "if the Govern-

ments do not take steps within a period of six months, the Kisan Sabha will call upon the agricultural labour and poor peasants to occupy all waste lands and start cultivation immediately," the Conference went into stormy applause.

In the background of the need and determination to launch struggles, serious attention was bestowed on the problem of strengthening the Kisan Sabha organisation. It was felt that the present weakness of the Kisan Sabha organisation was also, in some ways, responsible for the failure to secure relief for the peasantry.

The President of the session, A. K. Gopalan, set the tone for discussions on this aspect also. "The fact remains that we in the Kisan Sabha could not mobilise the broad masses in support of our slogans and to conduct a sustained campaign to force Congress Governments to

translate into practice their vaunted professions."

The General Secretary's report presented to the session mainly dealt with the organisational problem and stressed its importance in relation to the great tasks of the Kisan Sabha outlined by the session.

The fact that not only the leadership but the entire active membership of the Kisan Sabha was aware of the serious lag in its organisational strength was evident from the contribution made by the delegates to the discussion on the General Secretary's report and the resolution on organisation passed by the Conference.

Delegates from different States, one after another, in a spirit of self-criticism, which is possible only in a live and truly democratic

organisation, analysed the reasons for the fall of membership of the Sabha from one million five years ago to only five lakhs this year.

Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, M. P., moving the resolution on organisation analysed the history of the movement in recent years and stressed that lag in organisation had not been due to any stagnation of the mass movement under the banner of the Kisan Sabha.

The struggle against betterment levy in Punjab, food agitation in West Bengal, struggle against soaring prices and crippling taxes in Bihar, fight for distribution of waste lands among agricultural workers in Maharashtra and sugar-cane growers' strike in U. P. were cited as examples of the rising tempo of the kisan movement which

At the close of the three days' fruitful session which promises to give a new fillip to the growing kisan movement and build an organisation capable of giving mature leadership to the movement, a colourful procession and mass rally was held.

Speaking on the occasion, the President of the All-India Kisan Sabha for the ensuing year, A. K. Gopalan, M. P., called upon the kisans to unite under the banner of the Sabha irrespective of their political and religious affiliations because unjust taxes, anti-kisan measures of the Government and the landlords' offensive would by no means "exempt the Congress kisan or the PSP kisan, Hindu kisan or Muslim kisan."

Alongside the serious and sober discussions in which the delegates were engaged, the Reception Committee arranged cultural programmes every evening. Poetical symposia in Hindi and Urdu which were participated in by well-known poets, were organised. Large numbers of people, including men and women from the villages around Ghazipur came every day and sat through till late at night to witness the performances which portrayed conditions of peasant life, their struggle and the way to a new, happy life.

had drawn into activity millions of kisans.

The problem posed before the Kisan Sabha, he pointed out, was one of bringing under stable organisation all those millions for day-to-day activity, raising their consciousness and making of them a powerful force in the battle for policies.

There is growing realisation among the Kisan Sabha workers now that "while the problem of agrarian relations still continues to be the major problem in our midst, we cannot shut our eyes to the new awakening among the peasant masses." This awakening, the Kisan Sabha President stressed, "prods" the kisans to attain "higher and higher cultural and material standards" and he exhorted Kisan Sabha workers to realise that "while our cadres should be the most militant defenders of the interests of Kisans in their struggle for land and security, we should also be in a position to help them constructively" in the field of farming, running cooperatives, credit institutions, etc.

To undertake all these manifold tasks, the Kisan Sabha session, after lengthy and serious deliberations, took concrete decisions to strengthen the Kisan Sabha organisation. A target of 15 lakh members for the Sabha was set and a comprehensive programme to educate and train cadres who will be the main prop of the organisation was drawn up. It was also decided to set up five zonal committees which would coordinate the movement in neighbouring States.

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BISHNU DEY Reviews The New Bengali Film MEGHE DHAKA TARA

There is some truth in the remark made so often by our great artist, Jamini Roy, that because we have not ourselves "invented" or made the machinery for it, the film in India does not give us that mature satisfaction which some of the other arts do. It is not yet a part, nationally speaking, of the make-up of our personality.

HOWEVER, for some time past, there has been a noticeable progress, under the influence of an adult intelligence and a definite measure of knowledge and good taste of some of our film directors, due no doubt ultimately to the pressure of, or the demand of life itself and the accompanying urge to give it shape in art.

In the experiments of earnest film artists like Satyajit Roy, we have already reaped something of the benefits of this advance. Who could have seen ten years ago a serious film like *Aparajito*, or *Parashpathar* with its pathos? It is because we have been getting used to this growing integrity of our films, that our expectations also are getting higher, and we want to witness films where the sense of real life and artistic achievement may be integrated in an intellectual unity, so that the spectator-listener may be enriched with a feeling of totality or wholeness.

The new film by Ritwik Ghatak, called *Meghe Dhaka Tara*—the Cloud-Capped Star, provides this kind of complete satisfaction, where the mind is charged with the paths of our actual life and passes through the intense purification of a simultaneous acceptance and protest, made possible by the unity of its artistic appeal.

I suppose this is what is meant by learned critics to be the function of tragedy. Perhaps the greatest virtue of a work of art is this sense of purification, which unifies the bare-boned experience or vision of life and the values of civilised life of both the artist and the spectator.

Expectations Fulfilled

Perhaps due to various specific and technical reasons, the film as an art form rarely encourages this sort of merging. That is why it is a surprise how *Meghe Dhaka Tara* brings about in our aesthetic satisfaction such depth. Indeed our young film directors have already well fulfilled our eager expectations from this new art-form.

Ghatak had revealed in his first film *Ayantrik*, or the Un-mechanical, an intensity in his criticism of life; and in the expression of an intensely active artist's mind, the brute facts no longer remain isolated from the delicate subtleties, just as they do not, in our real life. So that the labouring poverty of our life, the beauty of Nature, of our countryside and love—even the very human love of the machine—all unify in one vision across the film's staccato flow. What was in *Ayantrik* jerkily incomplete, in the necessary suddenness of a lyric, has acquired we find, a domestic social roundedness in Ghatak's new film.

As some critical spectators have said, the film story is rather "hackneyed", that is to

velop it through the humanity of art. And through his sensitive aesthetics that monotonous pattern is revealed in human variety, in the various configurations of various personalities held together by typically human relationships.

say dealing with a too familiar, too common aspect of middle-class life in Bengal particularly of the unfortunate people who had to turn into refugees from East Bengal, in order to facilitate what is called the transfer of power.

Not The Usual Approach

There is nothing surprising, nothing to transport us to any dreamworld, and the mere fact that the director could at all select the story of a very familiar life with common joys and sorrows proves that he and his team had absolutely given up the usual approach, so common in this medium of art. This courageous open-heartedness is possible only where there is the wholeness of aesthetic sensibility of the pure of heart. It is only when a work of art

THE INDIAN FILM COMES OF AGE

aspires after genuineness that the so-called aesthetic hair-splitting fails to turn it into an anaemic don't-you-touch-me attitude. Rather it opens out in wide sympathy and sharp intellect, boldly holding in its arms the transformation in art of this movement and speech of life itself.

The event which has affected most the life of many individuals in Bengal, indeed our whole social life, forms the core of the truth of this powerful film. The partition and the uprooting of many hundreds of thousands of lives, the terrible misery of it all have gone deep into our day-to-day life. And this uprooted homeless life has become even more painful, more horrible by an uncompensating poverty. *Meghe Dhaka Tara* deals with this world of daily poverty of disrupted and perforce emigre families.

Sense Of Real Life

Any director of films, which are after all expensive and highly commercial commodities, would have thought twice before picking up such a story, because this world is, in a way, that of a skeletally generalised, that is, of basically social distress, where the individuals reflect their joys and sorrows only through the patterning of their monotonous everyday life.

But to a serious, genuine artist, the reality or truth of this life appears to be an urgent call to express, to de-

keeper, the younger vamplike sister and even the minor character of the younger brother have been brought out sharp and clear.

Indeed, one remarkable thing about the film is the uninhibited manner in which the drama of the human face is used by the director and the photographer and allowed to be used by the actors and actresses themselves, who are usually chary about revealing their faces or their figures at unconventional and uncompromisingly dramatic angles.

And Supriya Chaudhuri as the heroine is a great actress with her wonderful mobility of expression, the complete abandonment of her face, its pure passion achieving heart-rending moments of pictorial vision which are artistically so satisfying and memorable.

Marvellous Music

It is not very difficult to find faults with a composite and secondary art-work like a film. And, I am sure there are numerous details which the director with the resources at his disposal could not rectify, only for practical reasons. There are technical defects of a merely mechanical nature, for example, the sound gets blurred at times. It is true that most experiments in the Bengal film have to be conducted under very stringent conditions.

It is also true that there are a few unresolved, or unfulfilled

directions derived from it show that the treatment of the ghost is quite different in each scene. You may think that the details may be skipped over but you really cannot; for example, the emphasis on dawn, with the sun, rising "in russet mantle clad" is perfectly in keeping with the deponement of the whole first scene which is quite different from the second, where the emphasis is on the dewy glow-worms of the dark night.

Or, you can consider Bertolt Brecht's plays where the urgency of life and art together fearlessly carries the producer-playwright beyond the petty timidities of what is formally acceptable or unacceptable.

Of course, it is only in a sizably durable or continuous work of art, only through the tangible length and unity of a composition that this question of inter-related wholeness may arise. It is only in the long process of the mind through large-scale composition, in its tying up and loosening and retying up of the knots that the sum of inter-relationships finds its aesthetic fulfilment.

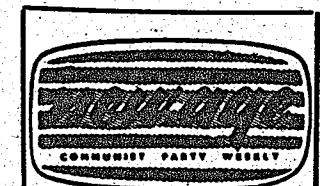
Surcharged Character

And what might have seemed a little too long drawn, or even pointless, may find its justification at some later counterpoint of the large composed pattern. In music, this is a well-known primary matter, it is by this that the composition becomes vitally significant as an organic whole. In this film, there is this suggestibility of music, achieved through the eye and the ear by repetition or thematic variation, or counterpointing, — the whole held in unity from the first voicing of the director's music to the last sobbing and shattering song of the hills.

It is the character of the music which enriches the images into symbols and transforms the simple everyday story into a complex allegory of our own familiar real life. For are not we all psychologically uprooted and is not the refugee the representative character among us?

It is the music of this film and the surcharged character it lends to the whole filmic vision which produces in us that deep satisfaction, the pure unalienated human satisfaction which our basic love of life and our artistic sensibility aspire for, journeying

* SEE PAGE 14



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HOW CHINA BUILT HER ECONOMY

by AN WEIN

"Once the destiny of the country is in control of the people's own hands, China like the rising sun in the east, will illuminate the whole earth with her brilliant rays."
—Mao Tse-tung, from the Address delivered on the inauguration of the People's Republic of China.

THE brilliant achievements made by China in national economic construction in the last ten years have conclusively substantiated this great prophecy.

Before liberation both industry and agriculture in China were in a backward state and modern communication facilities were few and far between. The value of agricultural output used to exceed that of industry by many folds, light industry far outweighed heavy industry, which was concentrated in the Northeast and several large cities along the coast, so as to supply the imperialists with raw materials, fuel and cheap labour-power.

Machine-building industry was conspicuous by its absence, with only a few factories which were content with making simple units, accessory parts repairs and fitting work. Even these were entirely under the control of the imperialists, feudalists and bureaucratic-capitalists headed by the "four big families."

As regards agriculture, it was still lingering in the stage of small peasant economy of the Middle Ages, with 70 per cent of the land in the hands of landlords and rich peasants, who accounted for about ten per cent of the population. Agricultural output was very low, the peak year grain production was merely 138,700,000 tons and cotton 850,000 tons in 1936.

The peasants, however, had to pay rents to the landlords to the tune of 30,000,000 tons of grains per annum. It was rather out of keeping with an agricultural country to depend upon the import of grains to maintain the minimum subsistence of the people.

FIRST STAGE

With the liberation of the whole country in 1949 and the great victory in the democratic revolution by the Chinese people, the "three great mountains" which weighed down over the head of the people—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism—were overthrown, and the People's Republic of China was founded, paving thereby a bright and smooth path for China's national economic construction.

The economic development of China in the last ten years may be divided into three stages.

THE PERIOD FROM 1950 TO 1952 WAS THE ECONOMIC REHABILITATION STAGE.

During this stage, on account of the chaotic economic condition left over by old China and the existence of

the highest pre-liberation figures. That is to say, devastation of ten years of war and the wounds of over twenty years caused by the Kuomintang reactionary rule were rehabilitated in the short space of three years after the victory of the revolution.

SECOND STAGE

THE SECOND STAGE WAS THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN STAGE.

Beginning from 1953, China embarked on a large scale and planned economic construction—the commencement of the gigantic First Five-Year Plan.

The basic tasks of this Plan were to amass China's main strength to carry out the industrial construction consisting of 694 above-norm projects centering round 153 items designed with the assistance of the Soviet Union, so as to lay the preliminary

Three Stages of Development

Economic Rehabilitation, First 5-Year Plan, Great Leap Forward

ducts they produced and to use them as retail distributors or commission agents, so as to bring them into the orbit of State capitalism. With reference to State-owned factories, mines and enterprises, a democratic and production reform was carried out.

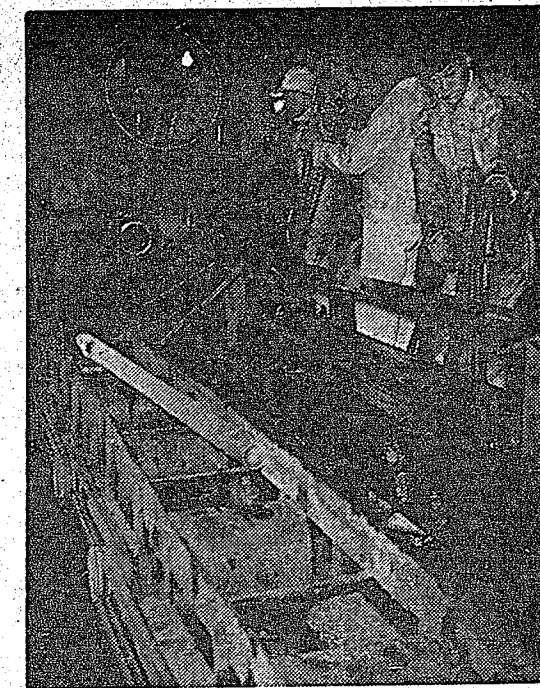
At the same time, through the campaign for rationalisation proposals and other movements the consciousness of the masses as well as their productivity were elevated, expediting thereby the speedy rehabilitation of China's national economy.

In 1952, the total output value of industry and agriculture as well as the varieties and quantities of all kinds of principal industrial and agricultural products reached or exceeded

foundation for Socialist industrialisation; to develop agriculture and handicraft cooperatives on a collective ownership basis, and to bring private capitalist industry and commerce into the orbit of State plans.

This was a glorious but complicated and arduous task, but it had to be accomplished without fail. At that time, the imperialists sneered at the Plan as "bluffing", "a castle in the air", "utopian" and what not. Things turned out to be contrary to their expectations. The result showed that the First Five-Year Plan was not only fulfilled but also overfulfilled.

In 1957 the total investment for capital construction onstripped the original target by 15.3 per cent, the



The Yungshing Seamless Tubing Mill in Shanghai, a small back-street works with poor equipment previously, has drastically changed its look after technical innovations during the great leap forward.

total industrial output value exceeded by 21 per cent, the total agricultural output value by one per cent and railway freightage by 11.7 per cent.

Industrial enterprises placed under State-private management accounted for 99.8 per cent of the total of industrial output value of the original capitalist industry, while capitalist commercial enterprises were basically transformed into State-private operation.

The success of the transformation in the three branches of China's national economy created a most favourable condition for China's Socialist economic construction.

THIRD STAGE

SINCE 1958, THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF CHINA HAS ENTERED A NEW STAGE — THE STAGE OF THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD.

In May of the same year, the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party brought forward the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economic results in building Socialism" and the important policy of "developing industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry and, with centralised leadership, over-all planning, proper division of labour and coordination, developing national and local industries, and large, small and medium-sized enterprises simultaneously."

This is the mass line of the Communist Party of China applied and developed in Socialist construction and is also a complete set of policy of "walking on two legs".

Thanks to the thorough implementation of this General Line, a great leap forward has emerged in the national economy of the whole country since 1958 and the enthusiasm of the broad masses of people has been brought into full play in industry, agriculture, transport and communications.

In the field of industry, scores of millions of workers, peasants, cadres, army-men, students and citizens participated in setting up industries.

* SEE PAGE 10

This picture of the Yungshing Mills shows how push-button installations have replaced arduous hand labour in main working processes.



IN MANIPUR

Manipur's cup of frustration and bitterness is full. One must understand this to appreciate the prevailing mood of its people and the present stirrings all over the land. Unfortunately our rulers in New Delhi who hold the destiny of the Manipuris in their hands would still not face truth.

LIFE is moving fast—and challengingly, too. But the administrative brass-hats live in the world of their old, outmoded ideas and moth-eaten files. This patent stupidity is, of course, sought to be clouded by high-sounding

Universal Demand

Entire Manipur is aroused by the demand for a popular elected Assembly and a Government responsible to it. This demand is backed by all sections of the people including Congressmen although the latter are not, for understandable reasons, officially in the movement. Here is what even the President of the Manipur State Congress, Salam Tombi Singh, said in a Press statement:

"Therefore the State Congress has been persistently writing to the Government of India and the Congress High Command for the transfer of more powers to the people, for the maintenance of Statehood of Manipur and for the establishment of fully democratic form of Government here." (The Eastern Express, Imphal, April 11, 1960)

In the same statement, the Manipur Congress chief spoke of "the unsatisfactory nature of the present administration in many respects" and announced: "We are taking up measures such as sending deputations to the Government of India and the Congress High Command for the sure transfer of power to the people to the greatest possible extent."

Borrowed Wisdom

Salam Tombi Singh also made a trip to New Delhi. What passed between him and the Congress High Command is not fully known, but he evidently came back with some borrowed wisdom. In an interview to the Press on his return to Imphal, he said "that he did not think any change could be effected by the present political agitation and held no brief for the movement." (The Eastern Express, Imphal, May 9)

He could not, however, altogether eat his past words and sought to regale the people by saying "any reasonable demands for reforms in the administrative set-up of Manipur would be sympathetically considered by the Government of India" (Ibid). According to this paper, "he was confident that Parliament would concede reasonable demands."

The Manipur Congress President and the local official leadership are not supporting the movement, although any active opposition to it would seem too tough a business even for the proteges of the Con-

gress High Command to try. What, however, is significant in all these utterances of Salam Tombi Singh is that the demand for responsible Government has won so universal a backing that the local Congress dare not brush it aside. There are prominent Congressmen like L. Jogeswar

sermons and by fulminations and lies against the people. Little do they bother that this is an exploded trickery, liable only to rebound on its perpetrators. Manipur is an acid test for their democratic protestations.

Bestial Repression

The present agitation was launched on April 8 with a huge mass rally and an impressive series of mass actions have marked its progress over the past few weeks. The General Strike of April 11 was a complete success and this was followed on April 16 by the biggest students' rally Imphal has ever witnessed.

Then came the spectacular women's mass rally on April 21, before the Chief Commissioner's residence when they presented a memorandum to him signed by 50,000 women. The impact was such that the Chief Commissioner was obliged to send the text of the memorandum to the Home Ministry the same evening adding:

"I am to convey their strong feelings for the installation of a popular elected Assembly in Manipur and this matter be decided immediately and for sympathetic consideration. Please bring it to the notice of the Home Minister."

The next two weeks or so saw mass rallies and satyagraha in the form of defiance of Section 144 by small battalions, despite barbarous and wholly illegal police beatings. The Manipur Bar Association passed a resolution on April 23 in support of the demand and other public bodies did the same. On April 25, a mass demonstration took place in Imphal and this time in addition to lathi-charges and tear-gassing, the police resorted to unprovoked firings, resulting in the death of one and injuries to many.

A demand was spread that the demonstrators wanted to destroy the Inter-State Wireless Centre and the State Transport depot; but that was a blatant lie to justify police atrocities. Not one in Imphal believed this falsehood and I am told that most of the demonstrators did not even know where the Wireless Centre was.

The crowning event of this phase of the movement was

Singh, former M.P., who openly support it. Incidentally, it is he who controls the Eastern Express which is championing the cause of the movement.

If the Manipur Congress leadership wants to run with the hare and hunt with the hound, that is not so with many of its followers. They are in the agitation. The movement is, however, under the leadership of the Assembly Demand Coordinating Committee of which the Socialist (not P.S.P.) M.P. Achaw Singh is the President and the Secretary of the Manipur State Committee of the Communist Party, Tr. Bira Singh is the Secretary. The PSP is keeping aloof, somewhat undecided.

Apart from the first two parties, many non-party people have rallied to this Coordinating Committee. In fact the upsurge is far ahead of the organised leadership represented by the Committee. Vast masses are on the move peacefully but unflinchingly.

GENESIS OF DEMAND

Manipuris, demand for responsible Government is by no means a sudden cry. The urge for this is very much the product of its history and social and cultural milieu. And the Manipuris' bitter experience of the Central Government and its direct rule has gone to completely disillusion them about New Delhi. The anguished people have been driven to such desperation that they see no other go but to fight. And fight they will.

With an area of 8638 square miles and a population of 577,635 (1951 Census), Manipur has always cherished its distinctiveness in language and traditions, culture and customs. Even when the British reigned supreme, they found it difficult to bypass what is Manipur's intimately own. Generations of Manipuris grew up with a sense of

their distinctiveness and of pride in their heritage which has given India their fascinating dance and music and their remarkable colourful creations on the handloom. One of Manipur's great accomplishment is the part its womenfolk plays in the society—in handicraft, industry, trade, agriculture and everywhere. As time went, the people became conscious of their political personality.

Bold Step

Not that they wanted the Maharaja to go. Nonetheless, the demand for responsible Government was raised as early as before the last war by the Manipur Mahasabha (not the Hindu Mahasabha), supported by the all-India Congress. After the war, a Legislative Assembly of 53 members elected on the basis of adult franchise (at that time there was no adult franchise in the Indian Provinces) and a responsible Government came into existence in 1948 under the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947.

It was no doubt a bold step for a tiny State of India to take in those undecided days. One can now well understand why the

Government by 1954. Nobody in the High Command, of course, took any notice of what its followers were saying in that frontier State. When the State Reorganisation Commission entered the scene, this demand was reiterated by everyone in Manipur. All Manipuris had essentially the same case to argue.

Part 'C' State

However, under the States' Reorganisation in October 1956, Manipur, like certain other 'Centrally-administered areas,' got a Territorial Council of 30 members, where the Congress enjoys a narrow majority. This Council is a miserable caricature of self-rule; its authority and powers are perhaps less than that of a District Board. No wonder the people of Manipur have long called the bluff.

What really obtains in Manipur behind this shabby facade of Territorial Council is an arbitrary, authoritarian rule of the Chief Commissioner imposed from above—from New Delhi. Since independence five such Chief Commissioners have come to Manipur and everyone of them has made

the corresponding figures for the Manipuris work out to Rs. 87 per year or Rs. 67 per month. So, when the Manipuris complain that they have been kept down, their grievance is by no means baseless.

The Central Government, of course, tried to explain this away by saying that the Manipuris did not possess the requisite qualifications but after ten years of direct Central rule, this sort of argument would hardly stand. On the contrary, it would sound an admission of failure of the Central Government to train up the Manipuris for important Government jobs. Moreover, I am told that for comparable qualifications, local recruits are offered much less than what is given to those who come from outside. While a deputed overseer, coming from outside gets Rs. 300 per month, a local overseer draws Rs. 150.

Problem of Democracy

One can well understand why the people of Manipur feel that they are the underdog of the administration. Some extremist parochial elements may seek to exploit this on communal

and much happier. Indeed the present Manipur administration means good business and there is no dearth of business-minded people in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy and these gentlemen know how to make hay when the sun shines!

Economic Distress

As was to be expected, under such an irresponsible set-up, inefficiency and bungling have grown and during the two Five-Year Plans, several crores have been spent, but non-developmental expenditures and those on construction of officers' quarters, etc., have eaten up the major part of the allocations. Hardly has anything been done in these years to implement projects that would generate incomes and improve Manipur's economy. Some projects which were taken in hand have now been abandoned after spending thousands and lakhs of rupees, e.g., the Imphal Waterworks Scheme, Imphal Agricultural Farm, Hydro-Electric Scheme. One can see the water mains for the abandoned pro-

and women of dance, drama and music are denied her blessings, for they happen to be persona non-grata with the administration. Is that the way to preserve and promote Manipur's folk art and folk culture?

The economic conditions of the masses have shown no sign of improvement; in some respects they have rather deteriorated.

Take, for example, food. Manipur is a surplus area and yet it is passing through an artificial food scarcity. Normally this time of the year rice should sell at Rs. nine to ten per maund at the highest, but the current open market price is Rs. 25 and even more. Stocks have gone into hoards. Some have been surreptitiously exported out of Manipur with the connivance of the adminis-

★ by BHUPESH GUPTA

cularly the Union Ministry for Home Affairs have adopted an exact opposite approach.

Under their orders, the Manipur administration is out to suppress the present movement by methods of sheer violence and intimidation. By May 19, already over 310 men and women (counting those who have been released) were sent to the Imphal prison. Of these, 109 have been convicted and cases against many including Tr. Bira Singh, Secretary of the Manipur State Council of the Communist Party, and Retishang Keising, former Socialist M.P., both of whom are in jail custody, are pending.

Leave alone other considerations, this has very serious repercussions not only on the people of Manipur but on the entire tribal belt which is already seething with discontent. "We have been ruled from New Delhi and by outsiders and now we are also beaten up by outsiders" this is what the people are saying. It is simply astonishing that the Central Government does not realise that this abounding folly on its part is subversive of the integrity of the country—a blow to its unity.

No Civil Liberties

When I met them in Imphal prison, I found that Bira Singh had five cases under nearly two dozen sections of the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code. Nobody exactly knew about the Socialist leader's cases—not even the prisoner. In addition, many warrants including one against Achaw Singh,

From this wholly needless show of might, it would appear as though a sort of miniature war is on somewhere near Imphal. But people go about their vocations calmly and peacefully. The only people who seem highly excited are these policemen.

Early because they want to overawe the Manipuris, the authorities have imported police contingents from Bihar and West Bengal.

As for Bihar and West Bengal, it is the State Governments, who authorised the police to act as the gendarmes of the Manipur Administration and thus brought disgrace on these two States. Certainly not the people! It is for the public opinion in Bihar and West Bengal to take up the issue and force their respective Governments to withdraw the armed police from Manipur.

Provocateurs in Action

Police methods are not, however, the only tactics. Lately, the Manipur administration is busy provoking tensions and conflicts between the Manipuris and non-Manipuris. The organized movement is quite free from any communal feelings and all its leaders are determined to maintain the unity and accord between these two sections of the population. Yet, the Publicity Officer of the administration issued an appeal ostensibly for communal harmony; the real object of this clumsy manoeuvre was, however, to raise the communal bog and indirectly instigate the non-Manipuris.

Besides, some reactionary, wealthy, non-Manipuris elements who are closely connected with the administration are also interested in a diversion. Let it be said that but for their machinations and provocative tactics, there is no danger whatsoever of any communal frictions. The people are only too acutely conscious that such ugly developments will ruin their movement and seal Manipur's future for many years to come.

One or two odd unfortunate incidents that took place in Imphal had nothing to do with the organised movement and all the leaders have deplored them. Not that there are no disruptors among Manipuris but they cannot easily have their way. Nevertheless, the people have to be vigilant and on guard against the communal reactionaries of either side and above all, against the unscrupulous administration.

The present policies and behaviour of the Government in regard to Manipur stand condemned on all hands, and Manipur Rifles are permanently stationed there.

* SEE PAGE 13

GREAT UPSURGE FOR JUSTICE

AND DEMOCRACY

people of Manipur today speak in terms of "restoration of a responsible Government". They feel they have been robbed of what they had even in the Maharaja's time. The Manipuris bluntly ask: "Did the Government of India abolish the Maharaja's rule to impose on us the present Chief Commissioner's regime." To this even the most shrewd and subtle Union Minister for Home Affairs, Govinda Ballabh Pant, has not provided any satisfactory answer. How could he?

Centre Takes Over

When in October 1949, the administration of Manipur was taken over by the Central Government, the very first act of its was to abolish, instead of improving and developing, that Assembly and the responsible Government. Platitudes and promises from New Delhi, however, came like monsoon rains, but these were all false pretences and pure bluff.

Then came the formation of what was called Part 'C' States and Manipur was placed in that category. But while certain 'C' States were given Legislative Assemblies and a kind of responsible Government, Manipur, like Tripura and Cutch, was denied even these small mercies, despite the universal popular demand. Instead, they were given a consolation prize in 1953 and that was the so-called Advisory Council of the Chief Commissioner.

It was a plain affront to the people and the people justly denounced it. Popular feelings ran so high that even the very obedient Manipur Congress had to pass a resolution at its Annual Conference in 1953 demanding the establishment of respon-

his blessed contribution to build a corrupt, oppressive, wasteful regime. They have done everything to estrange and antagonise the people and bring the Central Government to mounting disrepute.

The key posts are held by bureaucrats who are imported from outside—generally from among the second and third rate civil servants. As against the prizes in the Secretariats in their own States in the New Delhi Secretariat, Manipur has its compensatory allowance to offer to them—in terms of untrained power, pompous living and plenty of cash. Parliament has little time for small Manipur matters and Manipur has no set-up where corruption and money-grabbing can effectively be called in question. The corrupt and greedy among the officers take the fullest advantage of this golden opportunity—'golden', be it said, in the material sense as well.

What the Chief Commissioner's regime is like is well described in the lengthy Memorandum of the Assembly Demand Coordinating Committee which a deputation on its behalf submitted to the President of India early last April. This memorandum would show how almost all departments in the administration PWD, Public Health, Medical Services, Education, Industries, etc.—have become a sink of corruption and source of personal gains for some top officials. As long as the men at the top are propitiated, there is no fear of being called to account.

Manipuris Kept Down

According to a recent Press Communiqué issued by the Publicity Officer, Manipur Administration, there are 5,720 Government employees in Manipur out of whom 132 have come from outside. The local people dispute these figures. However, this Press Communiqué gives some information which is worthy of attention: "The total annual average pay bill for all Government employees is Rs. 50 lakhs and out of these only Rs. 4.89 lakhs are paid to these Government employees who have come from outside Manipur." What does this show? The average per capita bill for the 132 persons is Rs. 3,553 per annum, or roughly Rs. 300 per month. Whereas

lines; but the problem that this sorry aspect of administration poses is essentially one of democracy. The local people have got to be closely associated with the administration at all costs. They must be given their due say in it.

The present regime has proved not only a stumbling block in this respect, it has also proved a complete failure even from a narrow, administrative point of view. What the Centre and the batches of bureaucrats sent by it to Manipur have given the people is not an efficient or a good administration. They have fastened on Manipur a festering misrule, with its unending catalogue of bribery, corruption patronage, and squandering of public funds.

Neglect in All Fields

The Imphal Civil Hospital, which I visited, is again a poor, depressing spectacle. Apart from the shortage of beds, it lacks essential equipment and an adequate supply of medicines. Around the hospital there is black business in medicine. The pay scales of the Assistant Surgeons, let alone others, are too low and the hospital staff is justifiably discontented. The story goes that the people "pray to god" so that they do not have to come to the hospital!

Some neglect is noticeable in other fields, such as education, tribal welfare, etc. As for cultural activities, the centre of attraction, as far as the Central Government is concerned, seems to be the Chief Commissioner's wife in whose hands funds are placed, as was done by the Minister for Cultural Affairs, Prof. Humayun Kabir recently, and who disburses them as she likes. Many deserving men

jects lying all over Imphal and none seems to be worried. Yet Imphal has very few public water taps. The town lives in chronic water scarcity and what is most scandalous is that while hundreds of families scramble for some trickling water at public taps, new taps are liberally sanctioned for the houses of the favourites of the Chief Commissioner and other bosses. All Imphal is bitter over this sort of discrimination.

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tion. The administration that had refused to procure rice and ignored the State trading scheme has, however, shown extraordinary solicitude for the profiteers and wholesalers and all Manipur is talking about the collusion between them.

There is of course, the usual show-window of fair-price shops in Imphal, but the supply is inadequate, quality often inedible. Thus, a current surplus area has been transformed into worse than what one sees in a chronic deficit region—and for this none seems responsible in the eyes of the Union Home Minister.

Manipur's wonderful handloom industry is steadily passing into the grips of the wholesalers, who deny the weavers a fair price and grab the products, because there is no proper marketing facilities. The cooperatives are again under the control of the wrong type of persons, and are in neglect.

Unemployment is on the increase and so is the cost of living. Bureaucrats are, however, unconcerned. This widespread economic distress has added to intensify the feelings against the Centre's direct rule and Chief Commissioner's nawabshahi.

Growing Unemployment

By all accounts the situation in Manipur would call for heart-searching and rethinking on the part of the Government of India. But the Government and parti-

Socialist M.P. from Manipur, are pending.

Our Party and the Socialist Party are not allowed to carry on normal functions. The daily paper Anaba Samaj, connected with the Socialist Party, has been banned and its press seized. Imphal town and all areas within five miles are under Section 144 Cr. P.C. The fundamental right of the citizens to voice their grievances and demands through meetings, processions, etc., have been unceremoniously trampled underfoot.

In this connection it must be mentioned that the orders promulgated under Section 144 Cr. P.C. were partially set aside by the Judicial Commissioner. The Manipur District Magistrate, C. H. Naire, did not even consult the Criminal Procedure Code before issuing his orders and committed some silly mistakes. Under these partially illegal orders, people were all the same assaulted and jailed. But Naire still occupies the office of the District Magistrate—without any expression of regret or apology to the public.

Satyagrahis are severely beaten up even if they go in small batches and are absolutely peaceful. The line is to teach them a lesson. To add to the terror and perpetrate such open crimes, some contingents of the Bihar Military Police and West Bengal Armed Police have been drafted to Manipur, although apart from the ordinary local police, both the Assam Rifles and Manipur Rifles are permanently stationed there.

HIGH-SPEED GROWTH OF CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

★ FROM PAGE 7

and smelting steel, conducted large-scale geological surveys all over the country, and discovered a great deal of mineral deposits, built a great number of small iron-smelting blast furnaces and steel-smelting furnaces and set up countless small coal mines, coke ovens, chemical fertilizer plants and machinery factories in the various parts of the country.

In the big and medium-sized modern enterprises, the workers were also mobilised to start technical revolutions and to fully develop the potentialities in production.

In the field of agriculture, the most conspicuous point is that the peasants, through their indefatigable energy and strong will, have crystallised their experiences of increasing the yield into the "Eight-Point Charter", a complete set of methods comprising soil amelioration, fertilisation, water conservancy, seed selection, close planting, plant protection, tools reform and field management. It has enabled the rapid development of agricultural production and construction.

People's Communes

The original form of agricultural producers' cooperatives could no longer meet the requirements for the great leap forward in rural economy. Toward the end of spring and the beginning of summer in 1958, the organisational form of the People's Commune had emerged in many localities. In August of the same year, the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, in conformity with the ardent desire of the broad mass of peasants, passed the "Resolution concerning the problem of the establishment of People's Communes in rural areas".

Within a matter of several months, the rural areas of the whole country were switched over to People's Communes and the 740,000-odd agricultural producers' coops all over the country were reorganised into more than 26,000 People's Communes.

After a series of readjustment and consolidation work done to the Communes, the superiority of the People's Commune has become more and more conspicuous with each passing day. Especially, in 1959, when China was subjected to natural calamities unprecedented in this century the agricultural output showed some increase instead of being diminished. This has further proved the superiority of the People's Commune, which played an important role in the big leap forward of 1959.

As a result of the overall great leap forward in 1958, the total output value of industry and agriculture

acclaimed at home and abroad.

As a result of the huge investments and many new enterprises put into production, many things which could never be produced in the past are turned out now. Take as an example the machine-making industry in the past, it could only turn out simple machines and parts while at present it is capable of manufacturing complete sets of equipment for metallurgy, mining, electric power generation, chemical industry, hydraulics, etc.

In the past, China could not even manufacture a motorcycle. At present, she is able to mass produce the latest jet-planes, automobiles, tractors, machine-tools and electronic tubes.

Owing to the large investments in capital construction in a planned way, the geographical distribution of industry which was once extremely irrational has undergone initial improvements. In old China, industries and railways were concentrated in a few coastal regions, this condition has also been undergoing a change and gradually embarking on the path of rational distribution. Many cities in the interior are now gradually provided with modern industries which were unknown to them in the past.

Particularly since 1958, the year of the great leap forward, construction of new industrial and mining enterprises in inland provinces has greatly increased in number, and this promoted the rapid

development of industry, agriculture, transport and communications, as well as the circulation of commodities.

The high-speed growth of industrial production is one of the manifestations of the gigantic achievements in economic construction scored by China in these ten years. In 1958, the total output value of industry and handicrafts of China amounted to 117,000 million yuan, an increase of 8.3 times over 1949 or an average increase of 28.1 per cent per annum.

In the last decade, the output of cast iron increased 53 times; steel 66 times; electric power 5.4 times; coal 7.4 times; crude oil 18 times; chemical fertilisers 29 times; metal-cutting machines 31 times; timber 5.3 times; cement 13 times; cotton yarn 2.4 times, cotton cloth 3.5 times, sugar 3.5 times.

New Techniques

Thanks to the industrial development at this phenomenal speed, great numbers of personnel have been taught to master new techniques. At present, China is able to design by herself a number of industrial enterprises of a large scale and involving complex techniques which she could not do in the past.

This had laid a solid foundation for the Socialist industrialisation of our country.

The brilliant achievements of agriculture scored in the past ten years, FIRST of all, manifest themselves in the tremendous increase in the main agricultural products; in 1958 the grain output, amounting to 250,000,000 tons, was 2.3 times that of 1949 cotton output, amounting to 2,100,000 tons, was 4.7 times that of 1949.

SECONDLY, animal husbandry showed a rapid growth; pigs increased by more than two times, sheep by 1.6 times, oxen, horses, mules, donkeys and other livestock by more than 40 per cent.

THIRDLY, there was a great extension of the area of afforestation; the acreage afforested from 1953 to 1958 amounted to 490,000,000 mu, that of 1958 alone exceeded the total of the five preceding years.

FOURTHLY, water conservancy projects were carried out on a large scale unprecedented in history; besides some world-known projects such as the Sanmen Gorge project on the Yellow River built by the State with an investment of more than 5,000,000,000 yuan in seven years, projects of medium and small sizes, built by the masses under the leadership of the Party spread far and wide throughout China.

Earthwork and stonework completed for water conservancy projects during the nine years from 1950 to 1958 reached 67,000 million cubic metres, over 90 per cent of which were done by the masses themselves. By the end of 1958, the irrigated acreage totalled almost to 1,000 million mu, about 60 per cent of the entire cultivated land. The irrigated area increased during the last decade was more than three times the aggregated fields in thousands of years before the liberation of China.

In the past ten years, communications and transport

★ SEE PAGE 14

INDIA AND LENIN

BOOK REVIEW

INDIA AND LENIN—A collection edited by Anand Gupta. New Literature, 2 Tropical Buildings, P.O. Box 206, New Delhi. Price—Popular Rs. 2 Library Rs. 3.00.

THE publishers and editor deserve the gratitude of all progressives in India for having brought out so timely a publication—it was released on the ninetieth birth anniversary of Lenin. It is sad, indeed, that this commendable initiative was restricted only to this publication. As far as we know, no one else in India has launched upon a similar venture. Sad indeed. The book is divided into two sections. The first part consists of the writings and reminiscences of various Indians about Lenin. The second part takes up Lenin's work on India.

Nehru's pen-sketch of Lenin is so well done that the author himself would be rather embarrassed about it now. Still it serves as an illustration of what the image of Lenin could do even to a blasé soul. Sajjad Zaheer has contributed

a charming cameo—Lenin enters to freshen feudal ideas to patriotism. There is a great sincerity in it which lifts this little piece to the level of literature. B. T. Ranadive has written about an important aspect of our national movement and its ideology—the impact of Leninism on our freedom movement.

When Nehru and others talk of Lenin's ideas being old-fashioned, they conveniently forget about this so recent past of theirs. This also knocks the bottom out of the propaganda that Communism is alien to India, a "foreign" ideology. The attractive force of this ideology is a simple and elemental one—it gives the answers to the agonising questions which confront us all.

The second part has as its core and centre a rich article by Komarov which gathers together a great number of

observations made by Lenin on India at one time or another. Most of them would be quite new to the non-Russian knowing reader. Still it is piquant and even a trifle shameful that a Russian had to do this article. How much

we have yet to repay—even if only by progressing in our study.

It is as an impetus to this study that the main value of the book resides.

—HOHIT SEN

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

April Issue

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, April 1960; Price: Re. 1.

THE April issue of *World Marxist Review*, naturally enough, opens with an editorial on Lenin, whose ninetieth birth anniversary the whole world celebrated. The editorial lays great stress on the prophetic teachings of this titanic leader of the world proletariat and their indispensable value today. Particular

mention is made of his doctrine of peaceful coexistence.

There are two other articles which deal more directly with the work of Lenin. J. Duclos writes on the foundation of the Communist Party of France under the direct guidance of Lenin and the Third Communist International. He analyses the manner in which the French Communists have been implementing the behests of this master strategist of the working class movement.

The other article is on the developments in natural science and Lenin's work by Ernest Kolman. The author has, with a wealth of detail, dealt with the epistemological questions raised by the tremendous advances in all the sciences, more notably physics.

He has used very apt quotations from Materialism and Empirio-Criticism to emphasise the point that "dialectical materialism has become the methodological basis of modern natural science."

Carrying forward this Leninist thesis, Kolman shows how the fashionable philosophy of positivism is losing ground even among distinguished scientists who had till only recently adhered to the positivist philosophical positions. "The alliance between Marxist philosophers and natural scientists, must, as Lenin taught us, be considerably strengthened. And in order to consolidate this alliance it is essential to overcome the dogmatic approach of some Marxist philosophers to natural science....."

Fernanda Claudin sets out in detail the policy resolutions adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain. The essence of these positions is the appeal to "all the opposition forces, including the Monarchists, Socialists, Centrists and Republicans to take part in a round-table parley with a view to reaching understanding and elaborating a plan for joint action against the dictatorship and ensuring peaceful transition to a democratic system."

Finally mention has to be made of a scathing review of Strachey's *End of Empire* by R. Palme Dutt. This is an example of Marxist polemics at its best and at the same time an illuminating depiction of the Leninist theory of imperialism.

—EDITORIAL BOARD

A NOVEL OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE

ANYA DRISHTI by Sunil Ghosh. National Publishers, Calcutta. Price: Rs. 6.

THE Bengali novel cannot lay claim to a respectable antiquity but it has already acquired a rich heritage. The new tradition that has been created mainly during the postwar period derives its strength from the novelists' awareness of the socio-economic forces operating in the country.

Sunil Ghosh is a successful inheritor of this tradition. In *Anya Drishti*, his latest novel, his vision seems to have deepened and extended, though the first indication of this deeper vision was apparent in *Byakul Basanta* and *Swarna Mrigaya*, his earlier works.

It is a novel set in the background of contemporary life under a capitalistic society with its fascinating complexities. The canvas, naturally enough, is vast and life under capitalistic form of government with all its familiar traits and facets—corruption, nepotism, bribery, blackmarketing, exploitation as well as despotism in the garb of democracy and as against all these sordid things, the struggle of the people for better living—has been rendered vividly.

And in the vortex of life that is presented here are a set of people whose hopes and struggles, loves and frustrations form a commanding centre of the large canvas. A triangular love theme provides the central interest and the chief merit of the novel lies in the integration of the love theme with a slashing criticism of the socio-political condition obtaining in the country today.

Ashoke Mitra is the narrator

of the story which revolves round Anuradha, the central female character. She is handsome, educated and ambitious. Her father was killed in the Great Calcutta carnage of 1946 and it was during those turbulent days that she came in contact with Boltu (Amal Mazumdar) a notorious leader of young men who took upon themselves the task of defending the Hindus.

Boltu proves himself to be of great help to the distressed family of Anuradha and gradually gets near to her heart. Anuradha's attachment to Boltu seems to be based on gratitude rather than on natural attraction and mutual respect for each other. Anuradha has an aversion to the sort of life Boltu lives. It is the life of a goonda.

But Boltu is not a goonda by natural inclination. He is being used as a pawn by the political chess players. Anuradha wants to reform Boltu and for that purpose becomes rude to him. This creates misunderstanding. He is offended with Anuradha but suffers from self-pity nevertheless. Ultimately Boltu sees through the sinister game of the political leaders, tries to turn over a new leaf, goes to Patna, educates himself and starts making an honest living as a worker in a factory.

Boltu's character has been excellently drawn. One sees him as a natural growth, shaped by innumerable pressures of circumstances into his own individuality, as a tree is shaped to its own form by wind, rain, hazards of climate and the nature of its species.

But the growth of love of Anuradha for Boltu is not the chief interest of the love-

theme. It is the slow but steady growth of attachment of Ashoke, the narrator of the story, to Anuradha which provides the much needed complication and which holds the interest of the reader through suspense and uncertainty.

Ashoke is a worker in a factory, a novelist, and a trade unionist all rolled into one. But he is not unconvincing. Ultimately Ashoke expresses his love for Anuradha in a letter written to her. But Anuradha, a compound of honesty, pride, ambition and innocence cannot bring herself in the greatest moment of her life to flout her early attachment to Boltu though she also came to love Ashoke inwardly.

Unfortunately this mental conflict in Anuradha has not been sufficiently developed. She ultimately throws in her lot with Boltu. And Ashoke, frustrated though not depressed, seeks solace in lofty idealism and leaves for England. Here ends the story.

There are several other charmingly drawn characters such as Bagala Pyne, Haripada Babu, Niranjana, Latika Sen, Ghanashyam Jalan, etc., who stand out prominently. The fulfilment of the love of Anjali Banerjee for Fadke provides an interesting sidelight on love.

The author has an eye for details and the novel ranges from the most trivial and the farcical to the most gravely serious.

Anya Drishti is a remarkable achievement as a scientific study of the trying times through which we are passing. The rhythm or rather lack of rhythm of the life around us has been faithfully transcribed with a sureness of touch that is surprising indeed.

—J. B. HOITRA
NEW AGE

MAY 29, 1960

of the whole country increased by 48 per cent over the 1957 figure, in which the total output value of industry increased by 66 per cent and that of agriculture by 25 per cent. Such a great leap forward of the national economy was never witnessed in the capitalist countries, nor is such a great leap forward conceivable to them.

It is just for this reason that the imperialists spared no efforts to fabricate lies slandering that the great leap forward of China in 1958 and her continued leap forward in 1959 are "false". It is the same case with a blind man who does not believe the existence of the sun because he is not able to see it.

In the last decade, the gigantic achievements of China's economic construction are shown in the following spheres:

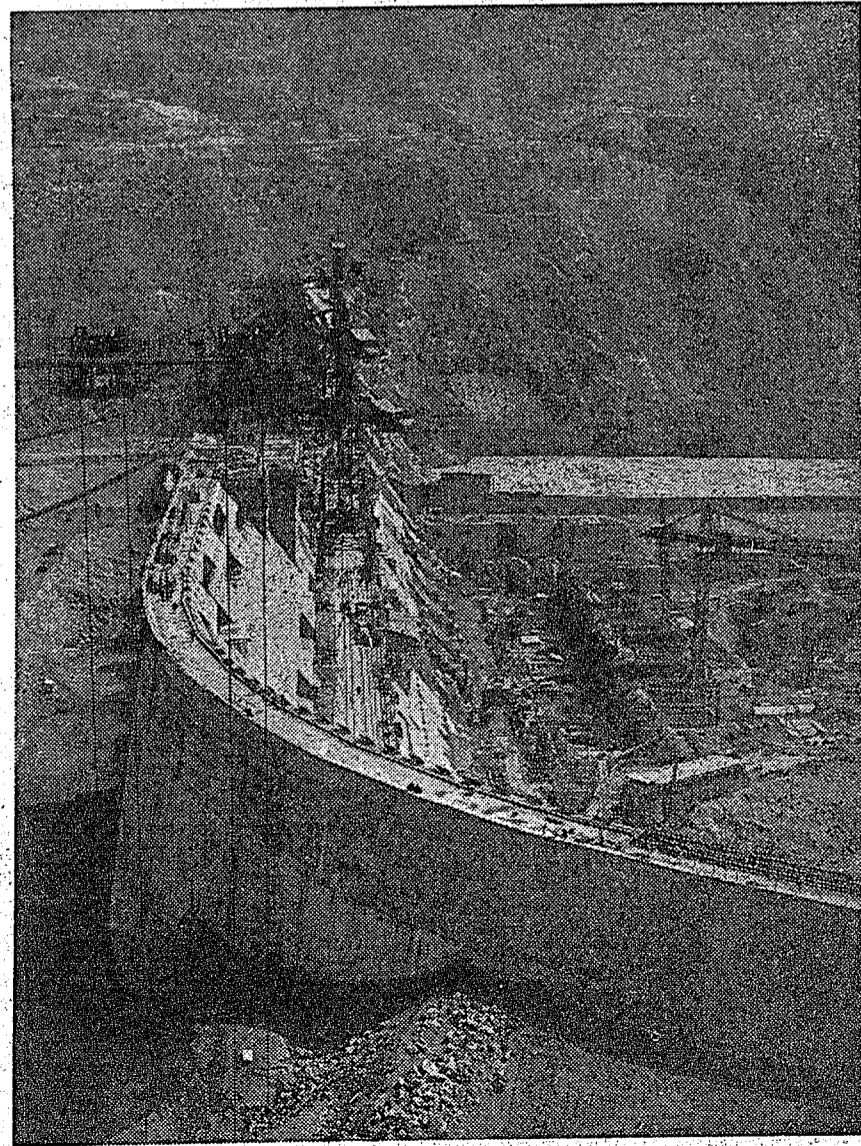
Within a period of ten years,

the State has invested 114,300 million yuan in capital construction. This amount is equivalent to 1,150 million ounces of gold. With this colossal sum for capital construction, the industries and communications which were in a backward state in the past have changed completely. Many up-to-date industrial enterprises have been put into operation.

A Few Examples

To cite a few examples, the expanded and newly built Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the Changchun Automobile Plant, the Kirin Fertilizer Factory and Dyestuff Factory, the Wuhan Heavy-Type Machine Tool Plant, the Honan Tractor Factory, etc., have reached the top technical level of the world. The Yangtze Bridge for both railway and highway traffic is widely

★ ★ A view of the Sanmen Gorge Project, one of the biggest water conservancy projects in China. When completed, it will wipe out flood menace for eighty million people and power station inside the dam will have a generating capacity of about one million kilowatts.



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TEXTILE WORKERS' ONE-DAY STRIKE

First Statewide Action In Recent Years

MAY 20 will be an important day in the history of the trade union movement of Rajasthan. On that day, at the call of the Rajasthan State Trade Union Congress, ten thousand textile workers of almost all the textile centres of this State went on a one-day protest strike demanding the early implementation of the Wage Board Award for the textile industry. It was the first occasion when in the textile industry of this State a united action on a State-wide scale had taken place in recent years.

The strike was a complete success at all the places—Beawar, Pall, Jaipur, Ganganagar, etc., except at Bhillwara. It was a unique demonstration of the unity and solidarity of the working class and an expression of their anger against any further delay in the implementation of the Wage Board decisions. To be able to understand the full import and significance of this action, it is necessary to go a little into its background. It may be recalled that textile workers started getting organised on a State-wide basis in 1955 when the first conference of the Rajasthan textile workers took place in Jaipur. Beawar and Pall were two strong centres of textile unions for some years. Even in Bhillwara there were unions but internal disunity had created a situation where the labour movement there was unable to utilise its full strength. However, the conference of textile workers held at Jaipur gave the call for a Statewide organisation and action. Soon after this came the publication of the report of the Deshpande Committee which the State Government had appointed to go into the question of textile workers' wages, which recommended that textile workers in the State should get a minimum of Rs. 65 and that dearness allowance should be adjusted with the cost of living index which should be prepared for the textile centres.

Complete Success

For months and years after the publication of this report, the Government tarried. Some cursory meetings were called where the owners were mildly told to implement the report and when the owners stoutly refused, the Government took the position that nothing could be done about it. In the meantime, the owners started an offensive of imposing increased workloads on the workers. At centre after centre, on issue after issue there were local struggles and demonstrations against these attempts of the owners. The Government looked on and openly accepted the false and self-serving plea of the millowners that the workload in Rajasthan was really much less. With this acceptance of their stand by the Government, the owners were further emboldened. The police and the "law and order" machinery could always be made available, and with the help of all this the owners launched their offensive. But they met with resistance everywhere and their game did not succeed very much.

Wage Board Decisions

At that stage came the announcement of the decisions of the Central Wage Board granting an immediate increment of Rs. six and Rs. eight and the recommendation that dearness allowance should be calculated according to the rise in the cost of living. Implementation of the Wage Board decision thus became an urgent matter for the textile workers of this State, specially when they had, for almost five years, been denied even what the Deshpande Committee had recommended.

The millowners of the State stoutly resisted this claim. They came out with a memorandum stating that the number of workers in the State per machine or per spindle was much more than in the other textile centres and that, therefore, their plea was that unless a scheme of rationalisation was first implemented there was no possibility of implementing the decisions of the Wage Board.

Almost during this very period, two of the mills in the State—one mill at Bhillwara and the Edward Mill at Beawar—began having financial troubles. The reason for such troubles was not far to seek. The assets of the mill had been misused by the directors and their relatives and naturally the concerns were in trouble. Even the wages of the workers could not be paid in time leading to frequent play-offs and closures on an intermittent basis.

There are reasonable grounds for the apprehension that all is not well at Rourkela. I have narrated here only the first part of the sordid story. Other parts, showing up more skeletons in the cupboard will follow in subsequent issues of New Age.

Somani, had to come to the conclusion that what was wrong with these mills was in their management and given better management, they could run properly. Finally the mills were taken over by the State Government under the Industries Development and Regulation Act. Thus the State Government itself became the "mill-owner" in respect of these two units.

This circumstance added to the complications of the situation. The false and misleading cry of the millowners now found a still more ready response in State Government circles which had to "manage" the units. As a matter of fact the administrator appointed by the State Government for the Edward Mill at Beawar has already taken steps to get the Minimum Wages Act and some sections of the Industrial Disputes Act suspended for the Edward Mill at Beawar where the State Government is trying to force increased workload and deny even the recommendations of the Wage Board.

Millowners' Attitude

Encouraged and abetted by such a policy of the State Government, the millowners naturally were reluctant to come to a decision about the implementation of the decisions of the Wage Board. Mohan Poonamiya, General Secretary of the Rajasthan State TUC, in a tripartite meeting held at Jaipur last month, had clearly offered

that the millowners should immediately grant the wage increase as recommended and the trade unions were prepared to sit and discuss and decide the question of workload according to the Nainital formula which is agreed to by all the three sides. Even such a reasonable and conciliatory approach failed to evoke any response from the Government or the millowners. It was in this situation that the State Conference of the Rajasthan TUC which met at Udaipur on the 23rd and 24th of last month decided to give a call for a one-day token strike on May 20 of all textile workers in the State.

In view of the utterly, reasonable attitude of the State TUC, there was no reason why this call could not have been unitedly put into practice. As a matter of fact the unions affiliated to the State TUC approached the other unions for their co-operation. However the top leaders of the INTUC at all the places opposed this action. At Beawar, they openly campaigned amongst the textile workers not to go on strike. At other centres, too, some of their leaders raised the same cry.

However, the textile workers, even those following the INTUC, gave their reply. To a man they joined the strike and at all the textile centres of the State except Bhillwara, the strike was a complete success.

It is a shameful spectacle to see the leader of the INTUC, Durgavat, who probably has no relation with any textile union at any

centre, coming out with a Press statement on the day after the strike calling upon the State Government to declare the strike illegal and take action against the workers. This was worse than even black-legging, this call for punitive action against the workers for the mere fact that they staged a one-day token strike for implementation of the decisions of the Wage Board appointed by the Government of India itself.

Unity And Self-Confidence

However, this first State-wide action of the workers has instilled a new sense of unity and self-confidence in the workers. As Mohan Poonamiya, General Secretary of the State TUC, said, if the mood of the workers as shown through this strike is not taken note of by the tripartite deliberations to be held on May 26 at Abu, then the textile industry in this State will have to face more serious and direct actions by the workers of the State.

This strike has brought into relief all the issues involved in regard to the work and conditions of the textile workers of the State and also brought to the forefront what can be termed the whole question of the labour policy of the State Government.

This struggle of the textile workers of the State is being watched with interest, sympathy and support by the entire organised working class of the State.

MANIPUR

FROM CENTRE PAGES

can only aggravate the situation there, as well as add to apprehensions in the entire tribal belt. This has to be avoided at all costs, for the sake of unity and integrity of India and for helping the process of fuller emotional integration of the peoples of the region with the rest of the country. In this context, a change of the Government's attitude and approach and a realistic, bold review of the situation have become imperative. Any petty-minded tinkering with the problem would only irritate the people.

It is futile to deny Manipur's demand on the ground that its area or population is small and it is economically too weak and dependent on Central subsidies. The smallness of the area or population surely does not stand in the way of responsible Government; rather this would involve less commitments and pressures on a Government. Here is a vital question of principle and democracy and in this context the considerations of size, etc., are at best of secondary importance only. As for the economic and financial considerations, it is

idle to distort and exaggerate them. Manipur, no doubt, receives funds from the Centre and these funds had better be placed in the hands of a responsible Government rather than an irresponsible Chief Commissioner and the bureaucracy. It is sometimes asked why the Centre should take the financial liabilities for an Assembly and a responsible Government when Manipur is not in a position to pay its way. This argument is again politically hollow and economically fallacious and one-sided. It is true that a democratic set-up would mean certain new heads of expenditure, but let it also not be forgotten that this would create checks on Government spending (compared to what happens now) and this will help effect economy in many branches of administration. Those who handle public funds will know that their doings will be under constant watch and review in the assembly.

But the greatest advantage of a democratic set-up would offer is, of course, the opportunity for a closer association of the people with the administration and for stabilising it. Manipur's economy is bound

to benefit from this. In the long run, the proposition is one of gain, not only constitutionally and politically but also economically. The official arguments against Manipur's demand are all petti-foggery. The fundamental issue is one of democracy, of our attitude towards the nationalities and sub-nationalities. Once this question is settled in a straightforward manner, other considerations and problems would seem easy of solution. Will the Central Government have the sense of justice, fair play and democracy to come to the heart of the problem and solve it in the interests of democracy and the unity of India?

Let the Central Government give up its policy of repression and start discussions with the leaders of the people of Manipur for such a democratic solution. The people of Manipur have their right to govern themselves and any attempt to hold them in their present unwanted status at bayonet point is fraught with grave consequences.

May 23, 1960.

On May 16, the Additional Sessions and District Judge, Singbhum, Syed Bahauddin Ahmad, delivered judgement in the famous Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case of 1958, sentencing the principal accused, namely Kedar Das, MLA, Ali Amlaj and Barin Dey, General Secretary, Secretary and Treasurer respectively of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union (JMU), and two other labour leaders, Satyanarayan Singh and O. Gopalan to four years' rigorous imprisonment each.

KEDAR DAS, Barin Dey and seven others were also sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each on a charge of rioting. The sentences of Kedar Das and Barin Dey are to run concurrently.

Twentythree of the accused were acquitted and released, among them being Habibur Rahman, President of the Bihar Trade Union Congress, Khushi Ram, Vice-President of the JMU, and Ramavatar, a prominent worker of the union.

2 Years After Struggle

Thousands of workers came to the jail gate in Jamshedpur where the court was being held and the Sessions Judge was to deliver his judgement. They were celebrating the second anniversary of their struggle of May 1958 observing the week from May 12 to 20. Exactly two years had passed since their glorious struggle which faced brutal suppression by the enemies of the working class, the Tatas and the Government of Bihar, the calling in of the military, firing resulting in the deaths of at least two and wounding of many, dismissals of hundreds and the arrest and prosecution of dozens of workers and all their leaders.

Two full years had passed during which the workers allowed time to heal their wounds, kept alive their union and bustee offices, and collected and spent many thousands of rupees in the legal defence of their leaders who were in jail ever since May 20. On that date was arrested Ali Amlaj from the office of the union, while a tug-of-war was going on down below between the police and twenty thousand demonstrators. Kedar Das was arrested a few weeks later in June, 1958, in the Bihar Assembly Bhavan while attending its session.

Background To Case

What had led to all this? The Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union had been agitating for the workers' demands, for an increase in wages, for enhanced dearness allowance and for the recognition of the union. Not only mass meetings with huge unprecedented gatherings and big demonstrations but also the collection of 32,000 signatures from among 38,000 workers of the TISCO collected in a mass campaign in the teeth of opposition and terror launched by the company, conclusively proved that it was the JMU which spoke on behalf of the workers.

The Tatas, however, would not recognise the union and would not talk to it. And the Bihar Government, which had no rules regarding the recognition of unions by the employers, even though they represented the majority of workers, pleaded its inability

to do anything against the mighty Tatas. A memorandum to the Central Labour Minister and an interview with the Prime Minister, too, did not yield any result.

The JMU ultimately gave a call for a one-day token strike on May 12, 1958, which was a complete success and by all accounts, absolutely peaceful. The Tatas, instead of accepting this unanimous verdict of the workers, launched upon a course of reprisals, victimisation, suspension and dismissals. This automatically resulted in stoppages, workers spontaneously walking out or deciding on a sit-down strike.

The situation forced the JMU to call for a one-day general protest hartal on May 20. It was then that the Bihar Government intervened—not against the Tatas but against the workers. The union office was raided, leaders were arrested, firing was resorted to, the military was called in and mad terror was let loose on the city.

It was in this background that the Government decided to start proceedings against the JMU leaders for criminal

The Additional Sessions Judge trying the conspiracy case at Jamshedpur, however, said that this court was not bound by the judgement of acquittal in those cases. But he changed his opinion after the Defence Counsel presented a ruling from the Howrah Conspiracy Case where the Judge, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, had said that "a judgement of acquittal or conviction is conclusive and neither the prosecution nor the defence would be heard to challenge that judgement."

Offence Of Conspiracy

The Additional Sessions Judge trying the Conspiracy Case admitted that "It is true that the Prosecution has failed to show that any of the conspirators had taken part in the occurrences. I mean, the overt acts. But a clever conspirator would never expose himself and would always keep behind the screen and pull the wires from behind."

In fact, for purposes of conspiracy, it was not at all necessary for the JMU leaders to have indulged in any of the actions. For, as Additional Sessions Judge Bahauddin declared, "only an intention which is manifested in an agreement is enough to complete the offence of conspiracy."

And as a proof of the JMU leaders' "intention which is manifested in an agreement"

In the judgement it is given that "Sheo Ratan claims to have been present in both the secret meetings. He says he was the employee of TISCO for 22 years... was removed from service because he was guilty of theft...."

Again, "after being dismissed from service, he approached Kedar Das who asked him to work in the office (of the JMU—A.A.) at Rs. 30 per month saying that he might secure him a better job after the strike succeeded." Thus, it is claimed, that Sheo Ratan was employed by Kedar Das in the JMU office. But is there any other evidence of this besides the lone claim of Sheo Ratan himself? The honourable Additional Sessions Judge says that "It is true that nobody has been examined to support the talk but then it is always not possible to have witnesses to support such matters...." (Emphasis added—A.A.)

And, therefore, the Hon'ble Additional Sessions Judge has come to the conclusion that "...his evidence that he was working in the union since January should be believed."

And how was the evidence of the PW 48? In the judgement, it is said: "He claimed to have identified Kedar Das, Ali Amlaj, Barin Dey, Satyanarayan Singh and O. Gopalan. He says that he identified Khushi Ram and Ishwar also but he could not identify them in the dock and identified

in the meeting but did not identify him."

But in each case the Hon'ble Additional Sessions Judge has said that "the mere fact that he (Nepal Dube) failed to identify the two persons cannot lead us to the conclusion that his evidence is false." And again, "But the fact that he (Rajindra Singh) failed to identify three of them cannot lead me to disbelieve him." Moreover, the brother of the witness Rajindra Singh is given service in the TISCO. The Judge says that "this service was given to his brother on 8.8.59, more than a year after he made the statement before the Investigating Officer." Obviously, the service could be given only after and not before he had made the statement!

As a circumstantial evidence in support of the fact of conspiracy, the judgement takes note of the fact that "...by February 1958, the JMU had come to a state of abject frustration and felt that all doors of peaceful negotiations had been shut on its face.... It is these conditions of rank disappointment and abject frustration which the Prosecution suggests led the accused persons to enter into an agreement to commit acts like loot, arson and causing grievous hurt with a view that the Government and the TISCO might be brought to their knees and cowed down into recognising the Union." As a confirmation of the judgement takes note of those statements in the speeches of the JMU leaders in which the Company and the Government were warned of the dire consequences of ignoring the workers' demands.

But the leaders had also asked the people to remain peaceful. The judgement notes the fact that "Kedar Das... said that on the day of the strike the workers should all keep inside their homes and take complete rest." And again, "in one of the meetings, Ali Amlaj asked people to remain peaceful." And instead of asking the workers to violate the order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. "Barin Dey said that if there was 144 order, the workers should go in batches." The Hon'ble Additional Sessions Judge's finding was, "But then I have already pointed out that the leaders had spoken of peaceful methods just by way of camouflage...."

The leaders of the JMU took special care to see that the workers of the Essential Services went to work on the day of the strike in the TISCO. It was, however, objected by the management before the court that the list of essential services was incomplete. But the JMU had also requested them to complete the list, if it was necessary. But the management decided to ignore this whole offer.

The Hon'ble Additional Sessions Judge remarks that "...the fact that a few departments were chosen at random to be essential services departments and an intimation was given that no strike would be held in those departments cannot in any way indicate that the intention of the accused persons was only to call a peaceful token strike...."

And so the JMU leaders are sentenced to "four years' rigorous imprisonment for criminal conspiracy. (May 22, 1960.)

Identification Of Accused

Identification Of Accused

This witness who claims to have worked as an employee in the office of the JMU since January 1958, claims to have attended two secret and exclusively meetings of the conspirators, yet fails to identify Khushi Ram who is the Vice-President of the union. The Additional Sessions Judge has noted this fact and has said: "The fact that the witness could not identify Khushi Ram in the dock but that fact alone in my opinion cannot lead me to disbelieve...."

The other witnesses of the secret meetings, Bindu, Nepal Debe and Rajindra Singh, all fail to identify some one or more of the leaders said to be present in the secret meeting. "Bindu... could not identify Habibur Rahman." "Nepal Dube... failed to identify Khushi Ram and Ramavatar." "Rajindra Singh... has identified all of them in the dock except C. C. Pillai, Suresh Prasad and Ramavatar.... He had also named Habibur Rahman as one of the persons who were present

THE JAMSHEDPUR CONSPIRACY CASE

From ALI ASHRAF

conspiracy. It is interesting to note that before the case was launched, the Tatas circulated a booklet called 'The Story of a Strike or the Communist Attempt to Capture Power!'

After preliminary investigations by a Magistrate, the JMU leaders were committed to the Sessions Court in July 1959. In all 212 witnesses were examined by the Prosecution. Sixty-nine out of them were Constables, Havaldars, Jamedars, Subedars and police officers, including the Superintendent of Police, Jamshedpur, the Bihar Military Police Commandant, the Assistant Commandant, Sergeant-Majors, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors. Sixteen out of these Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors are also the investigating officers in the different cases registered in the different police stations. Twelve out of the Prosecution witnesses are Magistrates, including the SDO, Jamshedpur, besides the Deputy Commissioner, Singbhum. Eighty-six of the witnesses were employees of the Tatas.

Acquittal By One Court

By the time the conspiracy case opened in July before the Additional Sessions Judge, the JMU leaders had been acquitted and declared innocent in the overt act cases of incendiarism by the Sessions Court of Dhanbad.

MANUFACTURING EVIDENCE AGAINST COMMUNIST PARTY

* FROM PAGE 2

ctions and implements them. One police official actually joked, the I. G. goes to the office every day with a note-book to take down the Minister's dictation.

That is how Mariarpotham was appointed boss of the Special Branch and is now to head the Special Political Branch and, over the head of the Inspector-General of Police, keep in direct touch with the Minister.

The Police Minister had begun all these extraordinary activities in the Police Department with the avowed intention of foiling "Communist plans for subversive activities."

After his declaration that the Communists were conducting study classes to prepare for a mass struggle, he is now busy manufacturing the "evidence" for his wild charge.

The Malayala Manorama on May 19 had as its lead story a statement by a self-styled leader who had resigned from the Communist Party.

This person said in his statement that he was a member of the Secretariat of the Trivandrum District Council of the Communist Party, a member of the Editorial Board of the District Council's evening daily Visva Kerala, a member of the Corruption Enquiry Committee of the Party of which C. Unni Raja is the convenor, a member of the Working Committee of the Kerala Youth Federation and a member of the "Study Class Group" of the Communist Party.

In his statement which the Manorama headlined "Kerala Communist Party adopts programme of subversion", this person made a number of charges.

ONE, the Communists are preparing to implement a programme said to have been prepared by Stalin for use by Communists in some European countries in their struggle against the Catholic Church.

TWO, a high-level conference of the Party in Trivandrum on March 16 and 17 had decided on launching a struggle to subvert the present Government.

THREE, there were a number of instances of corruption for which Party members were responsible before which even the "Andhra rice deal" would pale into insignificance. The signatory of the statement is one Kallara Sukumaran.

THE TRUTH

FIRST of all, there is no person of such a name in the Secretariat of the Trivandrum District Council of the Party nor on the District Council itself which elects the Secretariat. Leave alone the District Council and its Secretariat, this person was never a member of any elected leading body of the Party.

SECONDLY, the Party has no such Committee as a Corruption Enquiry Committee.

THIRDLY, the high-level conference of the Party to which the statement refers is the meeting of the Kerala State Council of the Party which reviewed the election results and the Party's tasks

as a responsible opposition party. Sukumaran never attended this meeting not being a member of the Council. Still he gives details of what happened there.

FOURTHLY, this person was never connected with the Editorial Board of Visva Kerala. But he was connected with the paper—as an advertisement canvasser on a commission basis. He had been dismissed from this job because he failed to remit all the cash he had collected. Obviously a person dis-

INSIDE THE K.P.C.C.

THE newly-elected President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, C. K. Govindan Nair has not yet been able to appoint the Secretaries of the KPCC, due mainly to the Chacko group's opposition to his plans.

The Secretaries have to be appointed from among the members of the KPCC Executive, but the new President feels that there is not one member in the Executive whom he can trust enough to make him Secretary.

What the new President would like to do is to fill up the two vacancies which exist in the Executive Committee with two of his followers from Malabar and then make them Secretaries.

For this, he quotes a precedent. When R. Sankar was elected KPCC President, a committee had been set up

missed for such a reason was fertile ground to work on for "evidence" against the Communist Party. The text of the statement and the prominence given to it by papers like the Malayala Manorama do raise the question whether it is not part of the Party's Ministers' evidence-manufacturing plan. It is rather tragic that P. T. Chacko has only the worthless words of such an ex-Communist to prove his charges against the Communist Party.

of Sankar, outgoing President K. A. Damodara Menon and leader of the Congress Legislature Party P. T. Chacko to draw up a panel of names for the Executive. If this precedent is followed, the new President hopes to mobilise Sankar's support to get two of his Malabar followers nominated. In return he will nominate, as one of the Secretaries, Sankar's henchman Henry Austin who is at present a Secretary of the KPCC.

The Chacko group has opposed this demanding that election should be held to fill up the two vacancies. The counter-demand from the President's supporters is that in such a case the whole Executive should be re-elected.

All these questions will dominate the KPCC Executive which meets in Ernakulam on May 29 and 30.

BISHNU DEY'S REVIEW

* FROM PAGE 6

step by step through this expression of the pity and the terror of this, our true representative life.

And that Jyotirindra Maitra has done with a mature fecundity not unnatural to expect from a poet who is a first-rate musician, a composer with varied experience and knowledge of music. He has, in this film, used our classical music to fine dramatic purpose; for example, in the way, the somewhat incomplete singing in an earlier context develops later into a full-blooded song with the triumphant ease of a master.

It is to be noted that this repeated use with a modification has obviously a lot to do with the growth of the character of the musical brother in the story and it has a further wider bearing on the main drama as well. The music director has used two folk songs poignantly well, and even the hill people's singing, the railway engine, the birds, everything in song and sound, have been used according to the dramatic musical purpose of the film. And his use of a Tagore song shows what tremendous drama Rabindranath's songs have in them, if only they are used properly as here and as sung by Debabrata Biswas.

Ritwik Ghatak must be congratulated for his courageous choice of his music director, who has gloriously utilised his gifts within the scope of this film. Let me remind my readers that in the usual film, music is used for entertainment or diversion, or at best as decoration to the

visual drama itself, in short as an internal aid. In Meghe Dhaka Tara, Jyotirindra Maitra has experimented magnificently and produced music which with its rich variety of voices, instruments and natural sounds further enhances and thus reorganises the organic unity which is the most striking quality of this film.

I can think in this context of no other film direction except the famous Eisenstein-Prokofiev collaboration for Alexander Nevsky. But then Eisenstein is a little too remote from us in his giant preoccupation with isolated aesthetic forms and his gorgeously spectacular victories seem a little too dream-like to us in India, in the midst of our bleak and barren life. This modest film in its humanity is near our heart, and when a work of art, however composite, springs from a source where sympathy for or identification with the living is integrated with an acute aesthetic sensibility, it may in its total impact get over many minor technical blemishes. And the total effect has been mounted and framed here by the music direction which does not only underlie acoustically some of the beauty spots or the peak points of the drama, but enfolds the whole film and endows it with a third and deeper layer of meaning. And the utter loneliness of the heroine in a money-driven selfish world is too human a tragedy for any one to forget. Indeed to see and listen to this unique film has been a great civilising experience to many of us.

China's Economic Construction

* FROM PAGE 10

have made phenomenal advance. Trunk railway lines, double tracks, branch lines, and special lines for enterprises, newly constructed and repaired during the nine years from 1950 to 1958 were 15,800 kilometres; the mileage of railways open to traffic has increased by 44 per cent their freightage increased nearly sevenfold. The mileage of highways open to traffic increased five fold; that of inland rivers open to navigation more than doubled; civil aviation lines almost tripled.

With the growth of communications and transport, the southwest and northwest provinces of China which had not the advantage of railways are now accessible by rail; many mountainous regions which had no highways in the past can be reached by motorcars; on the rivers which were once un navigable, ship services are now available.

Thanks to the rapid growth of industrial production, the brilliant achievements in agricultural production and the phenomenal progress in communications and transport, the turnover of commodities in the country also increased speedily. In 1958 the amount of retail sales in the country reached 54,800 million yuan, showing an increase of 2.2 times over the 1950 figure. The prices in the corresponding period were stable.

Wages Doubled

As a result of the development of industry, agriculture, and communications and transport, the number of office and factory workers was augmented rapidly; the 1958 figure reached more than 32 million, an increase of three times over 1949 and the problem of unemployment left over from the old China was wiped out. It forms a sharp contrast with the huge army of industrial reserves and unemployed in the capitalist countries.

The average wage of the industrial workers and staff members more than doubled from the 1950 level. During the seven years from 1952 to 1958 labour insurance funds, medical, cultural and educational expenses, bonuses and other welfare fund paid by the State totalled 14,100 million yuan, about 17 per cent of the total pay roll in the corresponding period.

During the period from 1949 to 1957, the income of the peasants in the whole country increased by about 90 per cent. Since the big leap forward in agriculture from 1958, the livelihood of the peasants has been further improved.

Owing to the improvement of material life of workers and peasants, the level of the cultural life of the people is also raised. The unprecedented growth of education is especially noteworthy among them. In the last decade the enrolment in the institutions of higher learning in China has increased by 4.7 times; the enrolment in secondary schools by 8.5 times; the number of (primary) school children increased by 2.5 times, primary education has become

universal in a great many countries, and children of school age in schools in the whole country have reached 85 per cent.

In these ten years spare-time schools for the broad masses have shown remarkable advance, especially since 1958, the year of the big leap forward when countless factories, mines, government departments and the countryside set up various kinds of spare time schools; they have played a great role in raising the cultural level of the broad masses of workers and peasants.

After the people of the whole country adhered persistently to the General Line of Socialist Construction, to the big leap forward, to the People's Commune in 1959, the major targets of China's Second Five-Year Plan were reached three years ahead of schedule.

The original target set for 1962 in the Second Five-Year Plan in steel output was 10,500,000-12,000,000 tons, but the actual output in 1959 already reached 13,350,000 tons (not including the steel made by native method); according to the original plan coal output was 190,000,000-210,000,000 tons, but its actual output in 1959 reached 347,800,000 tons; the grain output was scheduled at some 250 million tons, but it actually amounted to 270.05 million tons in 1959; cotton yield was scheduled at 2,400,000 tons but it actually amounted to 2,410,000 tons in 1959. The output of other industrial and agricultural products also greatly increased.

In short, the achievements in China's economic construction in the last decade were truly phenomenal. The Chinese people, however, do not rest content with their past achievements, but will continue to bring about greater achievements.

Correct Leadership

The most important reason for these results is the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; it has not only put forward the correct line, principles and policies at every important stage, but at each link of every stage, it has also raised timely questions which might arise in the course of their implementation and pointed out the proper ways for the solution.

It is just for this reason that China has been able to march forward from victory to victory. The tireless labour of the 650,000,000 brave and industrious people, together with their ever-increasing labour enthusiasm, is the chief guarantee for their brilliant achievements in China's economic construction. In the past ten years the Chinese people have made immeasurable contributions to their economic construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Now, with confidence, they are forging ahead to make a continued leap forward in the national economy in 1960.

ANDHRA

THE shadow-boxing on the issue of land reforms that was going on in the Andhra Congress is evoking laughter in large sections of the State's people.

The latest contestants in this shadow-boxing are Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, the so-called progressive on the one hand, and K. V. Ranga Reddi, Deputy Chief Minister, a representative of the feudal and landlord interests and a strong advocate of the Swatantra ideology.

Publicity was given very much in advance. There was a lot of talk about it all over the State for years together. Lakhs of words must have gone into print and plenty of energy spent to emphasise the importance of this show.

Landlords Take It Easy

The talk about land reforms had started with the First Five-Year Plan and had become a spill-over project in the Second Plan period. The landlord sections were not at all perturbed but became alert and a little anxious during the Second Plan period. They were, however, not scared in any way or frightened about their future.

They raised a shindy inside the Congress organisation saying it was rank discrimination to impose a ceiling on rural incomes alone without imposing such a ceiling simultaneously on urban incomes as well. The "progressives" inside the Congress were, in their heart of hearts, only too convinced of this argument and would have very much welcomed an opportunity to shove land reforms once for all.

But, any such step would not fit in with the "progressive" outfit they had worn. So, they mouthed phrases like, in the situation now obtaining in the country, a ceiling on land was inevitable for the advancement of the country and that a time would come when ceiling would be imposed on urban incomes as well. The reactionary section was "defeated". The first round of the shadow-boxing was over.

The second round of shadow-boxing started with the attempt to make the proposed land reforms as harmless as possible.

The "painless child birth" operation was entrusted to the then Revenue Minister, the late Kala Venkatrao, perhaps the most conscious and clever Minister the Andhra Congress has ever produced.

Last Warning

The talk about impending land reforms became louder and louder, the landlords became alert and started "making hay while the sun shines," by splitting up their existing farms into small plots in the names of individual members in their families.

The last warning was given by the Government to all landlords in the shape of an ordinance which stipulated that all landlords who have over 20 acres should file a return with the local authori-

CEILING : ANOTHER ROUND OF SHADOW-BOXING RESULT: LAND REFORM SCUTTLED

ties about their excess holdings.

This ordinance produced an unusual rush in the market for old stamp papers. In the offices of the Registrars' midnight oil was burnt in abundance. The annual report of the Registrar was hailed by the Revenue Minister, since the income out of the sale of non-judicial stamps for benami transfers and out of registration reached an all-time record.

Large-Scale Evasion

According to the budget speech of the Finance Minister for the year 1960-61, the income from registration increased from a mere Rs. 47.15 lakhs in 1956-57 to Rs. 90 lakhs (revised estimate) in 1959-60. It was estimated that the Government would receive an income of Rs. 95 lakhs during the current year. Again, according to the Administrative Report for the year 1957-58, the receipts from sales of non-judicial stamps rose from Rs. 2.46 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 3.67 crores in the next year.

BEHIND THE SANJEEVIAH SUBBA REDDI TANGLE

Race for Power after General Elections

THE Andhra Cabinet crisis would have been solved by the time this issue is in your hands, either way, but it has once again exposed many a thing and exploded many a myth about the Congress Party, which one and all should know.

The story in short is this: the Pradesh Congress called for a general body meeting to elect a nine-member election committee, which would be the most crucial committee since the members elected to it are to select the candidates of the Congress Party for the 1962 General Elections.

An informal meeting of the Cabinet members—and NOT the Congress Executive—decided how these nine members should be elected. It is reported that the Pradesh Executive later was obliged to okay the list. One of the Ministers in the Cabinet, A.C. Subba Reddi, who is said to have been a party to the decision of the Cabinet members, refused to abide by that decision and forced a contest, in which he lost.

The Chief Minister has treated this as a matter of no-confidence in him and called upon Subba Reddi to resign. But Subba Reddi refused to oblige the Chief Minister saying the election was an organisational affair and the question of no-confidence in his chief did not arise at all. Having failed to force Subba Reddi to resign, the Chief Minister

This increase, according to the report, was "due to the general increase in the registration of documents and particularly due to the increase in the value of properties. The contemplated legislation relating to the ceilings on landholdings had a definite effect, resulting in the increase of registration of sale and gift deeds."

The number of documents registered during 1957-58 showed an increase of 13 per cent and this is "directly attributed to the promulgation of the Andhra Pradesh Land Censor Ordinance, 1957, which was regarded by the public as a forerunner to land reforms legislation".

After every care had thus been taken to see that the landlords would not be the losers, the Land Reform Bill was introduced, marking the completion of the second round of the gala land-reform shadow-boxing show.

This Bill, as is already known, fixes the ceiling at a gross income of Rs. 10,800 per every individual member in the family. This had the approval of the "progressive" section inside the Congress.

The third and last round in any game is always exciting and steals the whole show.

Ceiling Again Raised

It was in this third round that A. Satyanarayana Raju and K. V. Ranga Reddi entered the arena. In a last minute attempt, K. V. Ranga Reddi proposed that the ceiling be fixed in terms of acres and not in terms of money and that the ceiling should be raised to such an extent of land which would yield a gross income of Rs. 120 lakhs.

He made these proposals straightaway in a general

body meeting of the Congress Legislature Party, over the head of the Cabinet, though he was a party to an earlier decision to fix the ceiling at Rs. 10,800 gross.

The "progressive" section was "furious". It wanted the public to know that it did not agree with these proposals at all. Stories were "leaked" to the Press that there were sharp differences in the Cabinet.

A special meeting of the Cabinet discussed these proposals of K. V. Ranga Reddi. Differences continued to exist. However, at the next Cabinet meeting, both the "progressives" and "reactionaries" came to unanimous decisions.

Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, who was known to hold the view that ceiling should be placed at a net income of Rs. 3,600 expressed complete satisfaction with the decisions of the Cabinet. Simultaneously, K. V. Ranga Reddi who had suggested that the ceiling should be placed at a gross income of Rs. 120 lakhs also expressed satisfaction that his proposals had been upheld by the Cabinet.

It is understood that the Cabinet has decided to increase the list of categories of land to be exempted from landholdings to such an extent that a good amount of land would escape the Land Ceiling Bill.

Secondly, it is also understood that the lands have been divided into about eight categories. The lowest ceiling is understood to have been fixed for the first two categories of land, but this type of land hardly exists anywhere in the State.

Reduced To Scrap Of Paper

The practical ceiling would thus apply to the third category, which would come close to Ranga Reddi's proposals, while the ceiling for the first two categories would be nearer to Raju's ideas. The game is now clear. Both the "progressives" and reactionaries would desire a high ceiling. But to deceive the public, the "progressives" have stage-managed this shadow-boxing, as if they had saved the Land Reform Bill from going in a further reactionary direction.

The twin purpose of land reforms are: first to bring about a more rational distribution, and secondly, to distribute excess land to landless people. Both the sections inside the Congress by vailing the benami transfers, have nullified the first purpose and by publicly declaring that the purpose of the Land Reform Bill was not to distribute excess land to landless, have reduced the value of land reform legislation to just a scrap of paper.

After the Karnal Judgement

KAIRON MUST GO

NOW that the Punjab High Court has given its verdict in what has come to be known as the Karnal Murder Case, it is time that certain issues regarding affairs in the Punjab are squarely faced by all concerned, especially the Congress High Command.

The High Court has rejected the appeal of the Punjab Government and has upheld the acquittal by the trial court of D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of Police, and nine other police officials.

Law And Order

It is common knowledge that the law and order situation in the Punjab is anything but normal, that people are feeling insecure, that even the honour of women is not safe. The present judgement has revealed in all its horror the extent to which the situation has deteriorated. No Government worth the name

can sit with folded hands in such a situation. Yet the Kairon Government has not only taken no action to control the situation, all its doings have only been to worsen it.

The Karnal Murder Case arose out of an encounter in which a police party shot down three people, two of them notorious characters involved in a number of cases including those of murder.

What caused initial surprise was that in a State where it was not such an uncommon occurrence for decoits and smugglers to be liquidated without bothering too much about fulfilling the conditions laid down by the law—a practice against which the democratic movement has always protested, the State Government had decided to charge top district officials of its police department with the crime of abduction and murder of a couple of decoits.

As the trial proceeded in the lower court, it was revealed that these two notorious characters had sought the intervention of Sardar

Pratap Singh Kairon and the Chief Minister had ordered the Karnal police officials to give them "legal protection"—protection to persons who were the terror of the area, who were already involved in a case for the murder of five members of a family and who, the police had information, were preparing to murder the rest of that family.

Misuse Of Authority

This was what drew public attention to the case. Both the trial court and the High Court have found that the prosecution story of abduction and murder did not stand, that the notorious characters had been killed in an encounter. The people were not so much interested in whether it was murder or killings during an encounter. To them what mattered was that the Congress clique in office was misusing its authority to settle personal scores and in the process reducing the administration and the judiciary into a farce. All

their pent-up hatred for the Kairon-led Congress regime began bursting out.

The judgement of both the trial court and the High Court are a severe indictment of some high officials—Sardar Asa Singh, who was then Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, and Chaudhri Ram Singh, who was then Deputy Inspector-General of Police—filed applications in the High Court to get some of the remarks made against them by the trial court Judge expunged.

The High Court has partially expunged some of the remarks. But what remains is still a very severe indictment. For instance, the High Court did not find any reason to expunge the following remark:

"The high police officers, Ch. Ram Singh, Additional Inspector-General of Police, including, however, appear to have believed that they would be pleasing the Hon'ble Chief Minister and thereby serving their own ends if they went out of their way and arranged false and fabricated evidence which might somehow secure conviction of the accused, particularly D. S. Grewal."

what safety can the common man feel, what confidence can he have in a Chief Minister who not only allows this but is himself responsible for such gross abuse of power.

Such a Chief Minister has no right to continue in his post, such a regime requires a thorough shake-up. What has been revealed—of abuse of authority, of administrative impropriety and high-handedness—is too shocking and the only action that will satisfy the people is Kairon's dismissal and along with him of those police officials whose evidence the court found "had every semblance of being false."

Shameless Hypocrisy

The Karnal case is only one expression of the rottenness in the Punjab. Many are the grave charges that have been raised against Kairon in the past. But every time the Congress High Command has shielded him.

It is the same Congress High Command which rushed to intervene in Kerala shouting that the Communist-led Government was interfering with the administration and tampering with the judiciary. It was a baseless allegation which the Congress High Command could not prove. But in the Punjab today its nominee Kairon stands fully exposed. What shameless hypocrisy then that it does not show the same concern for the administration and the judiciary, that it does not intervene in the Punjab and throw Kairon out.

(May 25, 1960)

Felicitations To Sumitranandan Pant

SUMITRANANDAN Pant, well-known Hindi poet, celebrated his sixtieth birthday recently. We offer him our sincere felicitations.

Some fifteen years ago he had said:

"I am in deep love with the beauty of MAN and I believe that Communism alone can rid the world of filth and dirt and re-establish the real grandeur of man. I welcome Communism as a new cultural awakening and wish the Communist Party all success. I have tried to throw some light on this world-wide new awakening in Yugvani and Gramya...."

The message was accompanied with one hundred rupees sent for the Party Fund in the days when the Party was being attacked by reactionary forces from all sides.

What brought Pantji, one of the outstanding poets of the Trinity of the Chirayavadi—the poet of Pallava, Jyotsna and Yugant—to Yugvani and Gramya, which he calls "first steps in the realm of progressive literature" was the realisation that the real beauty and grandeur of man, which he dreamt of, cannot be brought about by wishful thinking. In the

words of the poet: "I realised with full intensity of heart the new society should be based on new political and economic foundations."

It was in this period that he wrote his famous poem on Karl Marx and welcomed the "Golden era ushering along with Communism" where "humanity is freed of its fetters." He condemned the exploiters in his poem Dhanapati and declared that their days are over. He hailed the workers as the champions of a new socio-economic order in the poem Shramajivi and called him the architect of new life. His poem Ghana Nad called upon the workers to arise:

"Rise, Awake, O workers
You are the real masters
of the earth!"

Any number of other beautiful poems are in the other collection of poems mentioned above, viz. Gramya.

Unfortunately Pantji in the latter period, isolated himself partly from our democratic movement and sought escape into Aurobindo philosophy. And there were reasons for it.

As Narendra Sharma, another Hindi poet stated:

"It is one thing to dream of a happy future and another thing to CREATE it. A very hard, merciless and even ugly struggle has to be waged in order to create a beautiful future. And the poet Pant.... would not be able to wage this struggle."

It would perhaps be incorrect to surrender to this pessimistic view—aroused no doubt by Pant's Swarn Kiran and Swarn Dhulla. Pantji is basically different from the champions of obscurantism, the so-called 'new poets' and has unshakable faith in the bright future of Hindi poetry. For litterateurs, he puts forward the example of Premchand:

"The realism of Premchand was a realism moving in step with life, developing, optimistic and potential realism, leading humanity forward...."

On this occasion, when his sixtieth birthday is being celebrated, we express our confidence that Pantji's disgust towards all that is dull and insipid in life and his love for humanity and the beauty of man will continue to inspire him to enrich the treasure house of Hindi poetry.

—MUNSHI.

No Right To Continue

It is not a pretty picture that emerges. A Chief Minister asking for protection to notorious characters and top police officials fabricating false evidence to "please" the Chief Minister and to grind their own axe.

We know that the Congress Governments practise discrimination. But when the administrative machinery is so blatantly misused for personal vendetta, when all that is guaranteed by the law of land is so impudently trampled underfoot,



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