

THE STATUS QUO CABINET

By MOHIT SEN

In a situation which calls out for urgent change Pandit Nehru has given the country a status quo Cabinet. After an election the results which heavily underlined the need for rapid reshaping of authority at all levels, the Prime Minister has, by and large, chosen the same old team. Above all, after the bang of the electioneering by Pandit Nehru it is distressing to have this whimper of a Cabinet.

THE Free Press Journal (April 10) has rather accurately characterised the choice made by the Prime Minister as exhibiting a "cynical reverence for the status quo". It has correctly added "the mandate given to Nehru by the electorate was so clear that he would have had full popular backing had he gone in for spectacular leftism". Even this far from radical paper, wiser with the experience of North Bombay, is plainly disappointed.

Great Glee

At the other end of the spectrum there is the unceasing glee of the Economic Times: "There had been much glib talk of a possible ascent of more radical elements in the Congress party and a push to the left, but the familiar face of Nehru's Cabinet should set these apprehensions at rest... By reiterating his faith in Desai, the Prime Minister has lent a new dimension of stability to the Government's economic policy."

The Hindustan Times says with typical superciliousness that the lack of change is due to "poverty of talent rather than deliberate choice" and concludes that in the new Cabinet "if there is a swing to the Right in its composition, it is almost certainly not by design".

A very backhanded compliment for the Prime Minister. But even the arrogance of this Birla organ has lessons for the Cabinet-maker and for all of us, who are affected by this manner of making the Cabinet.

It is being said, in some attempt at justification that, after all, there has been an accretion of strength to those in the Cabinet who were sincere about the proclamations of the Government. It is further said that those from the Right who have been added are nonentities.

It is well to be thankful for small mercies and nobody will deny a certain element of pleasure that at the highest levels of policy-making the relatively more progressive personalities have increased in number. One hopes that they will increase in cohesion as well.

But this is, all said and done, a very small mercy. One has only to consider the situation in India with all its promise and its peril.

It can, perhaps be said that the most prominent feature of the election results has been the bifurcation of the Opposition. Today in the Parliament and in a number of States the Right (as a whole) competes with the Left for the role of the main opposition party. The pressure of the Right outside this time will be far more on their sympathisers as well as on the

vacillators within the Congress.

And it has been pointed out by Nehru himself that the Right has given a heavy blow to the Congress precisely in those areas where the Congress has most heavily compromised with it. North Bombay, Balrampur, Delhi and Orissa show the possibilities of a political fight against the Right, while Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh show the perils of "going Right to contain the Right".

Thus, both from the angle of trying to live up to the pledges of the election manifesto of the Congress, even more the election propaganda of the Prime Minister, as well as from the angle of sheer self-preservation of the Congress, it was necessary to indicate through the new Cabinet that the elan and edge of the anti-Right campaign would be carried forward.

This has by no means taken place. Hence, the very audible sighs of relief, mixed with something akin to contempt, from the Right-wing quarters.

Moreover, it is certainly not lack of talent that held up the desired transformation. Without being uncharitable, it can be safely said that some of the Rightists who now grace the Cabinet chairs do not exactly sparkle with talent. At that level — and higher — any number of replacements could be found from among Congressmen who are serious about their socialism. In any event, talent alone can scarcely be the criterion where momentous social and political issues are involved.

Manubhai Episode

A case in point is the Manubhai Shah episode. He is certainly a man of talents. But he has been conspicuous in using those talents for pushing certain monopoly groups (the Gujarati magnates and the Jains) both against the public sector and even certain other monopolists.

It will be recalled that New Age on several occasions pointed out how this intelligent and influential person had been doing his best to sabotage the drugs agreement with the Soviet Union and to push the claims of the rapacious US pharmaceutical Czars.

It is widely rumoured that Manubhai had been his usual energetic self and given the private sector in the very first year of the Third Plan a lot more than what it had been allotted for the entire five year period. It seems that this had reached the proportions of a major combat between this Minister and certain important persons in the Planning Commission.



VOL. X. NO. 15

NEW DELHI, APRIL 15, 1962

25 nP.

DISARMAMENT CONGRESS

Never before in the history of the movement for peace in the country have so many of the topmost figures of the national democratic forces gathered together on so wide a platform as in the All India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, held in Delhi from April 6 to 8.

THERE were over one thousand delegates. They came from Punjab, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Delhi.

They came from all sections

Puffed up by previous get-aways he had wanted additional status — Cabinet rank — and additional powers — independent charge of the Industries portfolio. He was offered instead his old status and the International Trade Portfolio. He declined to serve.

Seeing that the Prime Minister meant business and would not yield, the Rightist strategist, Morarji, called his young follower to order. Acting the peace-maker he got, Manubhai to accept Nehru's offer and Nehru to accept Manubhai.

This illustrates that firmness can make the Rightists eat humble pie and equally that the slightest yielding on their part wins over the Prime Minister.

The contradiction, however, remains unsolved. We have a status quo Cabinet in a far from status quo situation. India in 1962 has polarised far more than India in 1957 and nothing, not even Prime Ministers and their Cabinets, can escape the impact of this polarisation.

A status quo Cabinet implies, to be charitable, a reluctance on the part of the Cabinet-maker to engage in the great confrontation visibly acquiring shape in our country. This reluctance cannot remain when reality itself enforces partisanship, as it were.

What that choice will be is, of course, not an individual's preference. The choice will be the choice of a powerful and growing trend in the ruling party. And the manner and the timing of that choice will depend, to a large extent, on the energy and the skill of the Left outside the Congress.

A status quo Cabinet is simply a summons to all those who wish India speedy advance to unite and to fight.

of society — workers and peasants, housewives, students, artists, doctors, writers, journalists, scientists, educationists, lawyers, musicians, organisers and leaders of peace committees, trade unions, kisan sabhas, the women's movement, youth and student bodies.

Distinguished foreign guests were Dr. Dadoo, Prof. Matkovsky, Boris Ivanov and L. Yaker.

As the Congress opened on April 6, the list of speakers for the inaugural session demonstrated, as it were, the new broad unity of our people in supporting disarmament — the most crucial issue before mankind today.

The enemies of disarmament and peace must have

By
**ROMESH
CHANDRA**

bitten off their tongues in anger, as they saw speaking together with one voice, such eminent and representative nationally renowned celebrities as:

● Sardar Hukam Singh, who inaugurated the Congress and who, in a few days, will be the new Speaker of our Parliament, having completed a long term as Deputy Speaker.

● Dr. P. N. Saprú, MP, the well-known jurist, who presided over the inaugural session.

● Dr. Tara Chand, MP educationist and historian, former Ambassador.

● Professor Satyen Bose, F.R.S. world-renowned scientist.

● S. A. Dange, leader of the Communist Party and General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress.

● Rameshwari Nehru, President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

● Diwan Chaman Lal, MP, President of the Com-

mittee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace.

● Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, MP, Gandhian scholar and writer.

● Sangit Samrat Pandit Onkar Nath Thakur, with whose songs the Congress opened.

Add to these the leaders who addressed the 10,000 strong public rally on the 7th and the concluding session on the 8th and those who presided over or took a leading part in the three commissions of the Congress on the section meetings and conventions of the Congress — and you have a glimpse of the representative character of the Congress.

At the head of all these were such popular leaders as Pandit Sunderlal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the All India Peace Council; Dr. B. N. Ganguli, Director of the Delhi School of Economics; Aruna Asaf Ali; Major General S. S. Sokhey; Dr. Mulk Raj Anand; Raksha Saran, who inaugurated the Women's Convention; Jai Narayan Vyas, MP, former Chief Minister of Rajasthan; Professor N. R. Malvani, MP; S. S. Mirajkar, President of the All India Trade Union Congress; Archbishop J. S. Williams; writers like Upendranath Ashk, Prabhoo Kumar Sanyal, Sajjad Zaheer, Shivdhan Singh Chauhan.

A separate lawyers' meeting for disarmament independent of the Congress but held at the same time had amongst its participants eminent legal luminaries like N. C. Chatterji, C. B. Agarwala, Diwan Chaman Lal and A. S. R. Chari.

The discussions in the sectional meetings of writers, artists, trade unionists, youth and students and women, as well as in the three commissions: (1) India and Disarmament; (2) Economic Aspects of Disarmament; and (3) Disarmament and National Independence, were valuable and full of interest. All resolutions (a summary of which are given on this page) were adopted unanimously, first in the commissions and then in the concluding plenary session.

Special tribute must be paid to the famous musicians from Bombay — popular music directors S. D. Burman, Iqbal Qureshi and Prem Dhavan and the singing star

Swatantra Charged With Buying Votes

Ahmedabad.

The controversy over the alleged attempts made by the Swatantra Party to purchase votes for the Rajya Sabha elections has assumed unusual importance in the political circles here.

Allegations, counter-allegations and the first walk-out staged by the Opposition in the newly-elected Gujarat Assembly, have gone to add spice to what otherwise might have been a routine affair.

The controversy descended on the political field in the State capital like a whirlwind. It all started with allegation made by the Home Minister, Rasiklal Parikh in the course of his reply to the three-day debate on Governor's address in the State Assembly. Home Minister's allegations came in the wake of certain criticism made by the Opposition about corruption in administration.

Concrete Instance

The Home Minister made the sweeping statement that in the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha held here recently attempts were made by Swatantra Party to purchase votes. He mentioned the name of one lady Congress member who according to him was offered Rupees one thousand for her vote. Parikh also said that one small group in the Assembly was also offered Rs. 15 thousand for the votes.

The Home Minister did not name the group which, according to him was offered money. But according to some reliable sources here the Home Minister had here the Socialist Party in mind. PSP group is known to have voted for the Congress in the Rajya Sabha elections.

The allegations of the Home Minister came like a bolt from the blue to the Swatantra Party. When Parikh made these sensational allegations on the floor of the House, Swatantra members kept silent and no protest or reply came from them.

The political storm let loose by the episode immediately became the subject of animated discussions in the lobbies and group discussions. It continued for several days. Again when the House re-assembled on Monday last after the week-end recess the issue came to the fore, when Home Minister made another general statement on the subject and Swatantra Party leader, Bhallaibhai Patel also chose to reply to it. The exchanges culminated in the Opposition walk-out the same day.

The Home Minister read out a prepared statement saying he had no intention of making allegations against any individual or party as such when he referred to attempts to buy votes of the Vidhan Sabha members in the recent biennial Rajya Sabha elections.

Parikh said his intention was only to draw the attention of the House to the lowering of moral standards in public life in the country. He said he had no objection if the name of the lady Congress member whom he had mentioned earlier was expunged from the official record. It is stated that the Home Minister made the second

statement after an informal understanding was arrived at between Congress and Swatantra leaders. But the statement as it was worded did not satisfy the Swatantra leaders. Shortly thereafter, Swatantra Party leader Bhallaibhai Patel made an unsuccessful bid to read a statement in the House in spite of Deputy Speaker's refusal to allow him to do so without prior permission.

Patel in his statement, which was later given to the pressmen, said that allegations made by Home Minister were designed to mislead the House as well as the people in the State. He even hit back at the Congress, saying his party had received complaints of attempts to buy votes by the ruling party in the Rajya Sabha elections. He demanded a public inquiry into what he described as malpractices and corruption in the Rajya Sabha elections as well as in the General Elections.

Behind the heat generated over this interesting episode is the failure of the Swatantra Party to secure one seat in the Rajya Sabha from this State. The Swatantra Party had put up Pashabhai Patel, a prominent business magnate of the State, for whom Rajaji had personally campaigned, for the seat. He, however, could win only if all the Opposition members had voted in his favour. But at the last moment some of the Opposition votes, at least six, went over to the Congress.

SATYAGRAHA THREATENED

The grievance of some districts about representation in the State Cabinet has taken an interesting turn. Some of the Congress workers who claim to represent peasantry have come out with the demand for representation and have threatened to launch 'satyagraha' over the issue from May 10, if their demand is not conceded.

Those conducting the campaign have addressed identical letters to the Congress President, Central Parliamentary Board, President of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee and Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta in this connection, it is understood.

The movement is in the name of 'cultivators and backward districts of Gujarat State'. These champions of 'give us representation in the Ministry' maintain that a vast majority — 85 per cent of the population in Gujarat is that of the peasantry, but none from among them has been selected as a Minister. Further, none has been taken from the seven backward districts either, they point out.

They contend: surprisingly enough, a non-cultivator adorns the Ministry of the agriculture department of the State. This is a gross miscarriage of justice to land-cultivating people and backward districts of Guja-

rat and they will never bear this affront.

It is stated in the letter sent out by the leaders of the agitation: Banaskantha will be sending first batch of fighters for truth to the residence of Chief Minister Dr. Jivraj Mehta at Ahmedabad on May 10. A foot march will start from Palanpur to Ahmedabad reaching the State capital on the scheduled date.

Though this 'satyagraha' threat or the demand for giving representation to any backward districts, much less Banaskantha itself, is not taken seriously either by the administrative or the organisational wing of the Congress in the State, it speaks of the discontent prevalent in the districts over this issue.

YOUTH REBELS

The crisis that is being precipitated in the ranks of the Rajkot District Congress Committee by the Youth Congress wing is deepening

further and a show-down could be expected now at any time. Early this week, new office-bearers of the District Congress were elected. Chimanlal Shah, right-hand man of the former Congress President, U. N. Dhebar, was elected President of the DCC. The Youth Congress wing maintains that the new Vice-President of the DCC, namely Dr. Devshibhai Patel and Secretary Sri Jaisukhlal Shah are only associate members and hence could not be selected as office-bearers. Their protest has gone unheeded.

At the meeting of the Rajkot DCC, a letter from Sri Dhebar was read out by Jethalal Joshi, MP, urging the members to unanimously elect Chimanlal Shah, who was described as the 'strong man', needed at the moment. Curiously enough, a letter stated to have been addressed by Youth Congress workers to the DCC Chief, was not read at this meeting.

The Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee, which heard the representation of the Youth Congress leaders from Rajkot, is understood to have taken serious note of the developments in Rajkot district. Meanwhile, Youth Congress leaders are moving fast in the matter and preparing for a trial of strength. A conference of the Youth Congress workers is to be held in the second week of this month to chalk out the line of action to be adopted against the high-handed and undemocratic attitude of the elders.

Political circles here are attaching considerable significance to this move because this is for the first time that leadership of Dhebar is being challenged in his home district and that too by younger elements.

It would be a double onslaught on the Congress — from within and without. Congress is already facing stiff opposition of other parties and independents in this area. (IPA)

In Madhya Pradesh

APPEASING COMMUNALISTS

The first session of the new Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha left an outstanding impression that the Congress as well as some of the main opposition groups, like the PSP and SP, have adopted a policy of appeasement of the communal forces. The ruling party has refused to learn any lesson from its debacle. It has completely forgotten that it was the communal parties which gave them a jolt at the polls.

Instead of fighting these forces it seems to have decided to flirt with them.

The failure of the Government in his address to refer to the ghastly riots at Jabalpur and the law and order situation arising out of it, the absence of any remark on the subject in the Chief Minister's reply, the complacency shown by the PSP and SP leaders, all help substantiate this conclusion.

It was left to the Communist members, Shakeri All Khan and Bhairava Bharti to spotlight this danger. Bhairava Bharti, participating in the debate on Governor's address said it "made no mention of the riots that took place in Jabalpur and Sagar last year. The problem arising out of a situation of intense communal tension in the State should be discussed and a solution devised."

Shakeri All Khan also referred to the efforts of the communal elements to create trouble in Bhopal on Rang-panchmi day. He asked the Government to take similar precautionary steps elsewhere also in Bhopal to avert trouble.

Making A Farce Of Democracy

Another example of the gulf between the professions of the Congress and so-called socialist members and their practice was the stand taken by them during the debate on the amendment to the Pan-

chayat Bill. The PSP and SP leaders performed their duty by raising certain constitutional objections.

They did not protest against some of the "undemocratic clauses" of the Bill.

When the Government announced its decision to hold elections to the Jana Pada Panchayats first and then to the Gram Panchayats, Shakeri All Khan and Bhairava Bharti staged a walk-out protesting against the "undemocratic clauses of the Bill which were opposed by the Communist Party in the last session of the Vidhan Sabha when the original bill was introduced."

By its decision the Government had adopted a very reactionary and undemocratic procedure, because it would be the old Panchayats which would elect the Janapada Sabhas. Many of the Panchayats were not elected at all and in the case of many others the elections took place about seven years ago.

The Bill whose enactment is supposed to usher in Panchayat Raj provides that the newly elected panchayats will elect the Janapadas and other higher bodies. In their bid to capture the Janapadas and other higher bodies the ruling party has adopted this method.

It was the sacred duty of all who claim to be democratic and socialist to oppose this dirty and undemocratic move. But it was surprising that when the two Communist members walked out of the house, no one joined them.

It proves beyond doubt that the main opposition's role in the very first session of the Assembly was reactionary and opportunistic. They, equally with the Congress, do not bother about democracy, socialism and many other things which were mentioned in their respective manifestos.

Another burning issue, which was taken up in the

Vidhan Sabha related to police excesses, during the strike in the Heavy Electricals plant. Shakeri All Khan, backed by others, demanded a probe into the police firing and other atrocities committed by the police on the strikers.

Speaking on the issue he said, "It was an unfortunate thing that strike was forced upon the employees of a national project like Heavy Electricals. But what was most condemnable was the behaviour of the police, which resorted to indiscriminate beating and looting. All the opposition parties demanded a judicial enquiry into the police excesses which has not yet been granted.

Enquire Into Police Excesses

"To say that the strikers provoked the police was a cent per cent lie. The Government should admit its own mistake courageously and order a judicial enquiry. All those who are found guilty as a result of the probe should be punished, whether they be policemen or the employees."

He again repeated this demand during the debate on the Governor's address and also pressed for it when the Chief Minister was replying to the debate. The Chief Minister in refusing to accept the demand advanced a very peculiar argument. He said that since the employees have resumed work and peaceful conditions prevailed (which, of course, is not true) ordering of the enquiry would disturb the good atmosphere at the project.

Besides these burning issues the House was dominated by the differences in the Cabinet over the allocation of the portfolios. Almost daily opposition members used to seek information on this point from the Chief Minister.

This embarrassing situation

* SEE FACING PAGE

From H. K. VYAS

The Budget session of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, which commenced on the 11th of the last month, is still on. The actual proceedings in connection with the Budget however commenced only when Finance Minister Kaul presented the Budget proposals for 1962-63 on March 26, 1962.

The Budget sets out an estimate of income on Revenue Account of a little more than 64 crores and plans an expenditure on Revenue Account of a little over 62 crores. The Capital Account including special loans shows a small surplus and in the overall position there is a deficit of about 1.22 crores. To cover this deficit, the Finance Minister proposed additional taxes to the extent of about 1.28 crores.

The taxes proposed are increase of Sales Tax on some items, levy of Sales Tax on sale of animals, gram and pulses, levy of Extra Excise Duty on country liquors, a levy of 3 nP. per unit on consumers of electricity; 5% increase in the Entertainment Tax and 5% increase in the Special Tax on road transport passengers.

It is no wonder that these proposals evoked the most vehement criticism from the Opposition. Significant was the fact that even senior Congress members like Jwala Prasad, Secretary of the Congress Legislature Party, Brij-sunder Sharma, ex-Finance Minister, and N. Acharya, ex-Deputy Speaker, attacked the policies of levying such taxes and suggested other measures to increase revenues.

ABOLISH PRIVY PURSES

One of the issues to be warmly supported by a majority of speakers, including Congressmen, was the issue of reduction and abolition of the Privy Purses, and various concessions like free electricity and water at present granted to ex-Rulers.

Congress members sharply demanded that steps should be taken to review and revise this position. Naturally the Swatantra and Jana Sangha members supported the ex-Rulers on these issues. So strong was the opposi-

M.P. MINISTERIAL WRANGLE

* FROM FACING PAGE

for the Congress, it should be remembered, was created by one of its most senior leaders in the State and an ex-General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. It gave another blow to the prestige of the Congress which is already at its lowest ebb.

Among other highlights of the session were the charges of corruption, inefficiency, maladministration, red-tapism levelled against the Congress by all sections of the House, including many Congressmen. A senior Congress member of the House, Pataudi, said that it was essential that the Government mend and improve its ways to achieve the ends which it has set before itself. He complained that the administrative machinery had become hopelessly sluggish,

APRIL 15, 1962

ject at Deodwana. For full eight years much is being said about it, but nothing seems to have been done; the foreign exchange requirements of this Project were sanctioned four years back, even the machinery was ordered and it arrived more than one year back and yet even today the erection of building and platforms, etc., is lagging far behind.

"This mineral costs much needed foreign exchange to the country which loses almost every year about 8 to 10 lacs in foreign exchange; and the State Government loses revenue because as against the imported price of about Rs. 285 per ton, the estimated cost of production in this plant will be only Rs. 68 per ton."

Ramanand then explained the position in regard to the

Turning to the need for economy he sharply criticised the heavy expenditure on administration and the Ministers themselves. He pointed out that huge expenditure was being incurred on account of undue concessions to the Princes.

He put his finger on the specific budget provision of more than three lacs meant to grant free supply of electricity to ex-Rulers. "It is a funny Socialism of which our friends in the Congress talk where the Rulers enjoy concessions worth lacs on free electricity while the poor consumer is asked to pay an extra levy of 3 nP. per unit as is now being proposed".

Ramanand's speech raised issues which remained unanswered till the end.

poor show. Speeches of many of the Swatantra leaders were tame.

But that was not all. When some of the concrete issues came to be discussed, the Party exposed its true character. During the discussion on the Tenancy Amendment Act, Communist MLA had moved an amendment stipulating that the compensation to a Khatedar from his sub-tenant creates the possibility of the Jagirdars receiving double compensation and therefore those who have received compensation under the Resumption of the Jagirs Act should not be entitled to receive any compensation on account of Khatedari. This amendment was eminently reasonable.

SWATANTRA FLOP

The Swatantra Party, which during the election posed itself as the well-wisher of the kisans and gave the slogan that even Land Revenue should be abolished, when it came to a concrete amendment affecting their interests — because a majority of the legislators of the Swatantra Party are jagirdars — showed themselves in their true colours and remained neutral on this amendment. They thus demonstrated that as far as this Party is concerned their slogans and their actual practice radically diverge.

The Budget discussions are still on. Cut motions will be moved from April 9 and the Finance Bill will come up at the end of April. In the meantime protest meetings are already being held on the proposed taxation measures. If public opinion asserts itself and soon, there is a possibility of making the Government retreat on some more taxation measures too.

The Budget session of the Assembly — the first session of the newly elected house — is thus an event replete with political lessons for the people of this State.

WEST BENGAL COMMUNIQUE

A communique issued on April 7 under the signature of Promode Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Council of CPI says:

The West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India met from April 2 to 6 to review the result of the third general elections in this State. Eighty-six out of the 101 members of the Council were present. Bhupesh Gupta, MP and P. C. Joshi, members of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, also attended.

At the outset, the Council adopted resolutions condemning the deaths of Ajoy Ghose, Bankim Mukherjee, Ambica Chakravarty and Aftab Ali. The Council also gave a call for raising funds with a view to perpetuating the memory of Aftab Ali and maintaining his family.

The State Secretariat's draft Report, reviewing the results of the elections and outlining the immediate task before the Party, was the main agenda before the Council. Fifty-seven mem-

bers participated in the discussions. The Report was amended and enlarged in the light of the discussions, and was finally adopted by the Council.

It formulated a sixteen-point programme for immediate implementation by the Party.

The Council also adopted a resolution on disarmament which would be the main issue before the World Peace Council session in Moscow in July next. It called upon all Party units to hold, wherever possible, balhak meetings, rallies and conventions with a view to mobilising public opinion behind the demand for general and universal disarmament.

By another resolution the Council called upon all Party units to render all possible help and cooperation to the sponsors of the West Bengal Youth Festival, which is scheduled to be held in Calcutta next month.

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

ROURKELA'S MALADY AND BOKARO'S PITFALLS

THE loss of about Rupees four lakhs a day, which the nation has to suffer on account of the current labour dispute at the Rourkela steel plant (since settled), is symptomatic of a malady which has plagued this public sector project since its very inception.

And this malady is nothing else but the association of West German combine, Krupp Demag, with its installation and initial working.

As it has now been borne out it was certainly not a rational decision on the Government's part, to entrust this important job to this Combine, for, it could not, by its very nature, be really interested in setting up a successful Indian plant. The nemesis of that decision is now coming home in the form of the recurrent breakdowns at Rourkela, so much so that its very name has now become a byword for inefficiency and incompetence.

Here, however, we are not concerned with retelling the sordid story of these breakdowns, and the loss resulting therefrom, for these are known to our readers. What we wish to point out here is the blow these have given to our prospects of achieving even the modest steel targets set in the Plan.

Thus, while the Bhilai Steel plant, whose first blast furnace was inaugurated a day later than Rourkela's first furnace, attained its rated capa-

city of one million tons per annum in the last months of the financial year 1961-62, the shortfall at Rourkela was as high as 65 per cent. At Durgapur too the production was only about 53 per cent of the target.

The production of crude steel at Bhilai during the year was 101 per cent of the previous year's while the increase at Rourkela was only 67 per cent.

The failure at Rourkela would have been reprehensible at any time. It is all the more so when it enables the private sector to show itself in a better light than the public sector. According to the latest available figures while the output of the two private sector steel plants—the IISCO and the TISCO—aggregated 2.57 million tons during 1960-61, that is 14 per cent short of their target, the total for the three public sector plants at a mere 1.6 million tons, against their combined three million ton target, showed a shortfall of 46 per cent. And the worst defaulter was naturally the Rourkela plant, where it was the highest.

Blaming Indians

The malady at Rourkela has very often been investigated, but the agency of investigation have invariably been the West German engineers themselves. The latest in a series of such investigations was conducted by a group under the leadership of W. Solveen of the Ministry of Economics at Bonn.

This gentleman put the entire blame for the plant's faulty working on the Hindustan Steel Ltd., and on the poor quality of coal supplied to it, although, as the facts stand, basically the same quality of coal did not stand in the way of Bhilai attaining its rated capacity practically at the appointed time. The fault, therefore, is not that of the coal supplied, but of the West German engineers, who have not cared to give their best to the plant and its Indian personnel.

The Steel Ministry now has a new man at its helm of affairs. It is to be hoped that he will clean the Augean stables at Rourkela, and not let Solveen and his men run away with the type of explanations they have given.

Minister Subramaniam will have to be on guard against repeating Rourkela as well. Bokaro plant is now on the list, and the Americans, interested in it, want to take it completely under their wings. The Government has so far resisted their demand to hand over its management to them, but now it seems that it is willing under their pressure.

Ambassador Galbraith, who wants Bokaro to be a 'show-piece' of American metallurgical skill, has been frequently visiting Washington to persuade the administration and Wall Street to be 'practical'. In New Delhi he has been busy in some high-level diplomacy to make

ECONOMIC NOTES

The Government see 'reason'.

The latest of his baits is said to be an offer to train Indian engineers in return for letting the Americans run practically the entire show. This, according to the Financial Express, which has published the news, has cleared the 'decks' for an early announcement of the finalisation of the deal.

Galbraith's Bait

And yet, can any rational Government, with Rourkela weighing heavy on its conscience, fall a prey to this bait? Even if it were not pledged to building a socialist pattern, which is certainly not compatible with foreigners running a national plant, it cannot conceivably agree to these blandishments even on the basis of pragmatism.

If there is any way to build a successful steel plant, it is the way shown by Bhilai. Surely, the Government can stick to this way and make the Americans conform to it. If they do not, it is they who will falsify their claim of helping us reach the much-talked about 'take-off' stage.

As for steel, we would certainly not be wanting in offers which would be really conducive to our national interests.

The Government's apparent willingness to give a

ready ear to counsels like Galbraith's in respect of the Bokaro plant has also encouraged the private sector at home to boldly demand a share in future steel programme. This demand is now no longer limited to merely passing resolutions urging a revision of the industrial policy in this behalf, but even takes the shape of concrete proposals for setting up steel plants in the private sector.

The President of the Punjab unit of the All-India Engineering Association has reportedly made one such proposal (Times of India, April 9). The project, for which the preliminary report is already under preparation, envisages setting up of a steel plant in the private sector somewhere in Mohinder-garh District. The iron-ore, found in the area, he is reported to have said, has been tested, and obviously found suitable for the purpose.

One can never be too sure about the veracity of a report like this, for very often it might only be in the nature of a feeler to test the receptivity of the authorities concerned. However, in the interests of country's future development it is imperative that the new Steel and Heavy Industries Ministry scrupulously abides by the industrial policy resolution, which lays down that all future steel making will be strictly in the public sector.

—ESSEN

AT the time of the recent National Executive meeting of the PSP held in Patna, the Bihar Council of CPI addressed the following open letter to the PSP.

We on behalf of the Communist Party in Bihar are addressing these few lines to you on the occasion of the meeting of your National Executive at Patna. This being the first meeting of your National Executive after the Third General Elections, a review of these elections and the results thereof must naturally form the main subject of your deliberations.

What is the new feature of the Third General Elections? It is the phenomenal rise of communal and Right Reaction—in the form of the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. While the Communist Party of India has not only maintained, but registered some improvements in its position both in votes as well as seats, and retains its primacy among the parties of opposition, the Swatantra Party has shot up to a close second pushing back the PSP to a distant fourth position.

Only twelve members of the PSP have been returned to the Lok Sabha as against 19 in 1957. The percentage of your votes in the Lok Sabha has fallen from 10.4 in 1957 to 7.08 in 1962. In West Bengal Legislative Assembly your strength has been reduced to 5 as against 21 in 1957. In Kerala none of your candidates was returned to the Lok Sabha. In Uttar Pradesh your strength has been reduced from 44 to 38, in Bihar from 31 to 28. In the latter there is a corresponding fall in the votes, polled by the PSP—6.6 lakhs in absolute figures and 3.4 per cent in comparison to 1957. The decline

stands out in greater relief in the figures for the Lok Sabha election in which in Bihar the loss of votes is 11.2 per cent.

It is peculiar feature of the situation that the rise of the reaction and the decline of the PSP go hand in hand. It is the PSP which by its own decline paved the way for the growth of reactionary forces. Excepting Mysore all other four States where in 1957 the PSP had emerged as the main opposition, it has yielded place to reactionary parties—to the Swatantra Party in Bihar and Rajasthan and to the Jana Sangh in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

DANGER SIGNAL

At the same time wherever you broke away from the existing united fronts with the left including the CPI as in West Bengal and Maharashtra, you helped the Congress to increase its strength.

This rising wave of reaction is a danger signal and a matter of concern to every Indian democrat and since the embankment has collapsed first and foremost where it was manned by the PSP, your sad plight becomes the concern of all democrats.

You constitute the leadership of the PSP and are the authors of its policies. It is from your that greater imagination and boldness of spirit will be required to unearth the real reason for the monstrous growth of Right reaction and to take steps to reverse the tide.

Left Must Unite To Fight Right Reaction

What was the chief characteristics of your policies in the period since 1957?

You made anti-communism the sheet anchor of all your policies and actions. In Kerala you, together with the Congress, joined hands with the Muslim League and the Catholic Church in the anti-communist crusade. In Bombay even while opposing Congressman Krishna Menon you raised the banner of anti-Communism to form a front with the Swatantra Party, the Jana Sangh and the Muslim League. The same story was repeated elsewhere.

Your blind and rabid anti-Communism forced you, as was inevitable, to take positions against the common mass of people, against their demands, movements and struggles.

In Bengal you betrayed the mighty food satyagraha of the people which claimed many lives. In Bihar you opposed the state-wide satyagraha against high prices and tax increment. In Uttar Pradesh the PSP gave up the satyagraha before other parties had had time to consider the issue jointly. In Maharashtra you did your utmost to disrupt the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

But this is not all. Acharya Kripalani has advised you to become a permanent part of a front with communal and other reaction in his crusade against

communism. On the other hand Jai Prakash Narayan, has called upon you to merge in the Congress to stem the tide of Communism. Both are counsels of despair. Merger in the Congress is sure suicide. United front with the parties of reaction as was amply proved in the recent elections, only leads to the growth of reaction at the cost of the PSP. That is the path of slow death.

FALSE PROPHETS

On the other hand, an objective analysis of the lessons of whatever joint actions you carried on and even the limited joint fronts that you formed with us, Communists, should be enough to convince anybody that the PSP has always gained by them. In unity with the Communists you did better in Kerala, in Bengal and in Maharashtra. Those who warned you of Dhriti Rastra Aaligan in joining united fronts with the Communist Party have proved to be false prophets. In fact it is your unholy alliance with the reactionary forces that has proved to be false prophets. In fact it is your unholy alliance with the reactionary forces that has proved to be false prophets. In fact it is your unholy alliance with the reactionary forces that has proved to be false prophets.

May we hope that you will draw the correct lessons from all this and particularly the elections, throw away boldly the mantle of anti-Communism, and take to the tried

old policy of serving the people in unity with all the democratic and left forces, including the Communist Party. That is the only way of stemming the tide of reaction, defeating the anti-popular policies of the Congress and building the National Democratic Front of all patriotic, democratic and socialist forces for national regeneration and democratic and socialist advance.

Dear Friends, twenty-eight years ago, Patna was the venue where the call for the unity of all socialist forces in the ranks of the Congress was given by the Congress Socialist Party. To-day you are again meeting in this historic city of ours. In face of the rising danger of communal and Right Reaction, the whole country is looking towards the parties of the left, especially the CPI, the PSP and SFI to come forward to help build democratic and socialist unity. In all earnestness we appeal to you, lay the basis for joint democratic action inside the legislature as well as outside. We hope you will give serious consideration to this appeal and extend your hand of co-operation in this historic task.

Yours sincerely,
Sd- Yogindra Sharma
Secretary,
Bihar State Council,
Communist Party of India.

WILL PHIZO TURN UP IN NAGALAND?

★ From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

The reported sudden disappearance of the rebel Naga leader, A. Z. Phizo from London has led to various speculations here. Though it has been stated that this is of no concern to India, seasoned observers here do not share this view.

They feel that the administration of Nagaland and the Government of India for that matter must redouble vigilance in the border so that this rebel leader might not re-enter India secretly and carry out his masters' plan in that trouble-torn border land of this country.

Links With Imperialists

That in spite of "strict security measures" claimed to have been maintained in Nagaland, Phizo could escape, secure a forged passport of the Philippines and eventually land in England without the knowledge of the Government of India is not considered a good commentary on our administration and its security measures.

It is also pointed out that imperialist agencies, operating from behind the scene, utilising Phizo and his rebel

colleagues, outwitted our security machinery and spirited this rebel leader to England where generous hospitality was extended to him so that he might carry on his anti-India activities.

It is now admitted on all hands that for all our army operations in Nagaland, the very close link between the rebels and some imperialist powers have remained almost uninterrupted to this day.

It is said by informed sources that the link between the imperialists and the rebels operate through a number of countries; extending from England via the Philippines, Formosa and Burma. The unstable political situation in Burma, it is said, provides the Naga rebels and their imperialist guides with a favourable opportunity. The rump of the KMT bandits roaming in certain parts of Burma are suspected to be in league with the Naga rebels, backed by

some of the imperialist agencies. Our Government's over-truthful attitude towards the Western powers and their various missions, it is said, facilitates the sinister activities of these elements in Nagaland. It is pointed out that without the active backing of these elements it would not have been possible for the rebels to hold out till now.

Rebels Losing Support

It is also said that initially the rebels observed their supply of arms and ammunitions from the dumps left behind during the Second War by the Japanese and the Allies in Nagaland. But subsequently they have replenished their stock with supplies received from some foreign sources.

The KMT stragglers also are suspected to have been a good source of supply of arms to the rebels. Moreover, in the past a number of cases were detected of our army stores being secretly sold to the rebels. Arms and even uniforms of our army were sometimes found in the possession of the rebels. Besides, not very long ago

it was alleged that some of the officials of Naga administration could move in rebel infested areas with impunity, which led to the suspicion that these officials had rather dubious relations with the rebels.

Even those who do not question the need of an army operation against the rebels, seem to doubt if the methods adopted by the army are not alienating the common people, who have no sympathy for the rebels. Some very grave allegations have been heard about the army's behaviour with the common people, particularly with the womenfolk.

While it is admitted that the mass support behind the rebels has been waning, it is felt here that the strength of the hostiles could not be underestimated. That they still retain considerable striking power has been highlighted by the recent incidents, the worst of which was the burning of six villages of North-Cachar Hills.

If the hostile raids inside the Nagaland proper have decreased recently, it is said, that is due to the presence of our superior armed forces there. Should there be any raid inside Nagaland, there will be retaliation causing

great sufferings to the local people and the little support the hostiles still enjoy among the local people may be lost. It is because of this that they conduct more raids in areas bordering Nagaland-Assam than inside Nagaland proper. Considering all these aspects, it is maintained by observers that the policy in Nagaland requires greater scrutiny and re-examination in certain respects. It is maintained that stricter vigilance against surreptitious foreign interference is called for. In this connection it is pointed out that recently it had been observed that every move of Phizo in England had its immediate reaction among the hostiles in Nagaland.

Black sheep in the administrative machinery should be weeded out, it is said, for effective execution of policy. While the rebel leaders should be dealt with firmly it is said, the main direction should be in mobilising the people behind the new set-up which should be strengthened in every possible way. Democratisation of the administration is considered a vital step in this direction, though slackening of security measures is not suggested by any quarter.

NEW AGE

APRIL 15, 1962

NEW TRENDS IN CAPITALISM

From S. BENSASOON

Rome:

THE present trends of capitalist development in Italy (which, on the whole, correspond, to those of other European capitalist countries and the United States), were discussed at a meeting held in Rome recently, on the initiative of the Antonio Gramsci Institute.

The three main reports were: "The present trends of Italian capitalism" (by A. Pesenti and V. Vitello); "The neo-capitalist doctrines and the ideology of the ruling forces in Italian economic policy" (by B. Trentin); and "Class war and economic development since Liberation" (by G. Amendola). These reports threw light on all aspects of the "new course" of Italian capitalism, which, on the political plane, has given rise to the "Left-centre" Government.

An obvious point, on which all participants could not help agreeing, was the big expansion which characterises the present development of Italian capitalism and the fact that this expansion has taken place under the control and leadership of the monopolies.

One of the principal stimulants of such expansion, it was pointed out, was the peaceful competition with

the Socialist system, which "obliges capitalism, in order to survive, to better its competitive positions" (Amendola). Moreover, specially in Italy, the struggle of the working class has obliged capitalism to give up its static balance based on low wages and to find new ways of dynamic development.

The struggle of the Italian working class for higher wages, agrarian reform, full employment, for the revival of the South, the defence and development of State industry—as Pesenti and Vitello pointed out in their report—have contributed to the widening of the home market and to giving a new rhythm and a more modern outlook to the Italian economy.

Capitalist expansion has, on the other hand, been made possible by the enormous amount of capital accumulation, particularly of the giant monopolies, by the progress of science and technique and by the expansion of markets.

In other words, capitalism tries to moderate its cyclical pace, which it can by no means eliminate, and to evade its general crisis, through a new dynamism, through a "policy of welfare", using the profits of the monopolies for new investments, and accepting the intervention of the State, aimed at correcting cer-

tain faults of the system.

In other words, it is the line supported for a long time by Keynes and by the American economists and technicians and their "neo-capitalist" doctrines, which have spread in Italy since 1955-56, with the help of Catholic social thought (and this is a specific element of neo-capitalism in Italy).

Despite this, Italian capitalism has not been able to avoid an aggravation of the traditional disequilibria (between industry and agriculture, between north and south, etc.) and the creation of new disequilibria and new problems. At the same time, the trend to monopolistic concentration has strengthened, thanks also to European integration.

The more strictly political part of this analysis was made by Giorgio Amendola in his opening report and his summing-up. The fact that economic expansion has taken place under the control of monopolies in every sector, implies that the struggle of the working class cannot only be carried out inside the enterprises but also outside, wherever the pressure and the exploitation of monopolies is exercised, through broad alliances which are made possible by "the explosive inter-

twining of old and new contradictions".

But at the same time, Amendola stressed, the fact that economic expansion has taken place under the leadership of the monopolies, does not mean that only capitalism has been strengthened. As noted above, one of the factors behind this expansion has been the pressure and the struggle of the working class, even if this struggle has not won a renewal of structures.

This struggle has taken place in accordance with the strategy of the "Italian way to Socialism", which seeks to bring about deep democratic transformations in the country, enabling the working class to reach the leadership of the nation democratically, fixing from time to time, temporary objectives corresponding to the objective necessities of the nation.

This is, therefore, a positive policy and not a sterile demagogic one of "so much the worse, so much the better"—i.e., if things go badly in the country so much the better for us Communists!

The struggle must continue following the same strategy. In face of capitalist programming, as agreed on and supported by the new Government, the working class cannot be content only with denouncing its capitalist cha-

acter. It must impose its own programme, which is opposed to the monopolies and is democratic because of its objectives and due to the mobilisation of the masses which it presupposes.

For this reason one of the weaknesses of the struggle of the Italian working class since the liberation must be eliminated, i.e., the difficulty in linking the struggle for immediate demands to those aiming at the transformation of structures (which have, too often, been placed on a purely propagandistic or a purely parliamentary and electoral plane.)

For this programme to be democratic, Amendola said, it must have the following aims: (i) An increase in wages, a reduction of working hours and full recognition of trade-union rights in the enterprises; (ii) a general agrarian reform; (iii) a solution of those problems which capitalist expansion has aggravated; (iv) a reform of the state structure on the basis of the Constitution, e.g., creation of autonomous regions, safeguarding and development of all local autonomies, safeguarding of all the prerogatives of Parliament and of the other elected Assemblies and democratic control of planning.

NEW AGE

PAGE FIVE

PAGE FOUR

APRIL 15, 1962

CPSU PROGRAMME

The new CPSU Programme is primarily a programme for the building of communist society in the Soviet Union. This alone is sufficient for the Programme to become an historic document of world-wide importance. The most eloquent proof of this is the panic the Programme has evoked among the imperialist and reactionary quarters and the universal approval with which it has been greeted by hundreds of millions of people all over the globe.

ONE of the momentous questions considered by the Programme is that of the national-liberation movement in its present stage. It examines this question not in isolation from the international situation as a whole but in the light of the profound changes that have transpired in the world since the world socialist system has developed into a determining factor of humanity's progress, while imperialism lost its undivided domination.

Many of the problems of the national-liberation movement have now assumed a new form and new content. The "official" or "juridical" national independence won by the former colonies is no longer a simple, meaningless formality. Experience has already shown (as, for instance, in Egypt, Iraq, Cuba, etc.) this "official" independence may, in conditions of the existence of the socialist camp with the Soviet Union in the van, become the basis relying upon which the national forces may administer a decisive blow to imperialism.

At the same time experience has shown that, as the Programme points out, the winning of real political independence in itself does not yet solve the problem, nor spell out the victory and consummation of the national-liberation revolution.

The heritage of colonialism remains in the countries that have won political independence and they continue to be an object of plunder by world imperialism. This is the main reason for their slow economic development.

Main Enemy

Hence imperialism remains the main enemy and the main obstacle of the newly emerging countries, inasmuch as it does everything possible, overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly, to impede the solution of economic and social problems facing these countries at a time when the struggle to solve these problems becomes the gist of the national-liberation movement at present.

The newly independent countries are not aligned either with the imperialist or the socialist system of states. Although most of these countries have not withdrawn from the sphere of the world-capitalist economy, the contradictions between them and imperialism are not fortuitous or transient, nor can they be eliminated or resolved. They are an objective factor, a deep internal contradiction.

Any policy ignoring this factor must inevitably clash with objective development and sooner or later rebound against those pursuing this policy.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp support the liberation movements in their fight for national independence and render them aid after independence is achieved in combating imperialist aggression. The socialist countries also give these countries, as is clearly and plainly stated in the Programme, economic assistance without any strings attached, to help them build up their own national economies.

the countries that have recently liberated themselves from colonialism will follow in the immediate future is a question of most vital importance not only for the national-liberation movement but is one of the paramount issues of our epoch. That is why the CPSU Programme devotes so much space to it.

The capitalist line of development has no attraction for the broad masses of the people, while the slogan of socialism has become widespread in the liberated countries.

If some sections of the big and small bourgeoisie utilise this widespread sympathy to adopt measures which they call socialist although they have nothing in common with socialism and do not contain a grain of socialism, this fact alone testifies to the mounting sympathy with which these peoples regard the socialist countries.

The attractive power of socialism is a reflection of

the fundamental condition of successful struggle for the implementation of deep democratic reforms, of economic and social progress."

The national bourgeoisie is by its very nature of a dual character. In the new conditions of the changed relationship of forces in the international arena this duality of character of the bourgeoisie is gaining a new meaning in the liberated countries.

Formerly the national bourgeoisie felt weak and incapable of holding its own against world imperialism. Now, in the new international situation, it feels the weakness of imperialism and is objectively interested in the completion of the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

At the same time, with the sharpening of the contradictions within the country between the workers, peasants and the working people in general, on the one hand, and the propertied classes, on the

the setting up of strong states in the newly independent countries. Granting of democratic freedoms and reliance on popular support is the only way to put an end to the plots of imperialism and reaction, the only way to solve the economic and social problems facing the country.

The anti-communism slogan, as experience shows, has no attraction for the broad masses in the liberated countries. Hence, for anti-communism to become the principal banner of the ruling national bourgeoisie and the policy of the state, it must inevitably be based on an alliance between the Right Wing of the national bourgeoisie and the elements associated with imperialist capital and the survivals of feudalism.

Anti-communism therefore inevitably leads to the strengthening of the elements connected with imperialism and reaction, creates a menace to the national independence and national sovereignty, and ultimately makes the national bourgeoisie a captive of imperialism and reaction.

A truly farsighted and honest national-liberation policy rejects the anti-communism slogan and directs its efforts towards uniting all democratic national forces with a view to preserving political independence, building up a national economy, effecting an agrarian reform, setting up a democratic system, lifting the material and cultural standards of the people, and tightening the bonds of friendship and economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp.

National Democracy

A state of national democracy is by no means a state ruled by communists, as the reactionary propaganda would have us believe. It is neither a socialist nor a popular-democratic state. But neither is it a bourgeois-democratic state in the classic meaning of the word, modelled on the European states.

Nor is a state of national democracy merely a national-democratic power whose rise or fall depends upon attendant circumstances or an unstable situation in the country.

It is a new type of state corresponding to the new stage of development upon which the newly independent states have embarked. From this it follows that, depending on the conditions existing in this or that of the newly independent countries, a state of national democracy may develop into a stage of peaceful transition to socialism.

The CPSU Programme, which treats the problems of national liberation and other vital questions of interest to all humanity on the basis of a thorough scientific analysis, is a majestic historical document embodying the grandeur of Marxist-Leninist thought.

(Pravda, March 23).

The first session of the new Assembly after elections, which commenced on March 19, adjourned on April 1. Following it, led one to the inescapable conclusion that what all the Congress leaders promised to the people during the election campaign was only to fool them.

After oath-taking by all the members, the session started with the usual address of the Governor, followed by Speaker's election, debate on motion of thanks to Governor, debate on interim budget, supplementary demands for grants appropriation bills, a bill to extend the life of the Tenancy Act in Andhra area for another year, a bill to extend the term of the present panchayats until mid-1964, a bill to postpone the reconstitution of Vijayawada Municipal Council until September this year and also a bill to extend the life of the Motor Vehicles Act.

More Taxes On People

The Finance Minister in this session served notice on the people that they had to shoulder a tax burden of 45 crores during this year and the next three years of the Third Plan. It may be recalled that the same Finance Minister, introducing the pre-election budget, had said that the paying capacity of the common man had reached its limit, and he could pay no more taxes.

But, once the elections are over and they have been returned to power for another five-year term, Congress leaders think they are now free to ride roughshod over the people.

To the determined opposition voiced by Communists and many Congress legislators themselves during the debate, the reply from the treasury becomes was: It is alright to say that we should tax only the rich and leave the poor. Where are the rich? After all, there are not more than 200 rich families in this State. Can we get all the money needed for our developmental activities, by taxing these two hundred families alone? It is not possible. So, people in general have to sacrifice now for the future generation.

This is the stock answer the Opposition has heard repeated ad nauseam for years.

There were however a good number of suggestions from all sides of the house as to how additional revenues could be found without taxing the poor.

How To Raise Resources

Scrapping of prohibition in Andhra area, which alone would bring 45 crores of revenue during the plan period; demanding a better share from Centre from tobacco, income-tax and other duties paid from Andhra, constitution of Secondary Education and Primary Education Grants Commissions at the Centre which would finance some of our educational schemes, thus reducing the state's share of expenditure on education, establishment of more and more industries in the public sector profits of which would go to the exchequer, constitution of committees for Government-run factories and concerns like the RTC to consider the possibility of getting more revenues, reduction of wastage in expenditure, abolition of revenue board, ra-

tional amalgamation of the work of Zilla parishads and collectorates at district level, handing over collection of revenue in villages to panchayats, thus reducing administration costs, postponement of payment of compensation to zamindars and jagirdars, eradication of corruption, reduction in wages of Ministers and officers, increased taxation on luxury goods.

If the party in Government had any respect for the wishes of the Assembly, then, it would have had each one of these suggestions thoroughly examined to find whether more revenues could be got from these

Some amusing contrasts were made by members. While an allotment of just over three lakhs was made during the year for mining, as much as 27 lakhs have been allotted for poultry development! The amount allotted for irrigation, which is three crores, is just the same as the amount proposed to be spent under the head "miscellaneous"!

What is to be noted is not merely the inadequate allocations, but certain pronouncements made by those in authority. To quote for instance, the statement by the Chief Minister that the prospect of more electricity for the state seems to be bleak for the next ten years!

Similar was the statement made by the Chief Minister regarding the river waters dis-

The picture of the state of affairs in the country-side that emerged from the speeches of members from all sides of the house was the same as before. Complaints are still heard that there is no drinking water available after 15 years of independence—in a large number of villages, that fertilisers issued for distribution went only to the rich and landlord sections, that famine in Rayalaseema continued unabated with all its consequential effects on the people, that forcible collections of arrears are being effected despite failure of crop consecutively for the third or fourth year, that banjarland distribution still continued despite promises that it would be over two years ago, that there were no replies to memoranda sent to government and ministers even after

take it over, but the Government, instead of taking over the school building, questioned the panchayat as to who gave them permission to construct a building on that site! All village poramboke lands are under the control of panchayats, but it is the revenue authorities that enjoy the real power.

If such is the situation obtaining in panchayats, which form the foundation for the grand scheme of decentralisation, it can be easily imagined how panchayat samithis and zilla parishads would be like.

The frequent cut in power supply—as many as nearly 70 times in just one week—was also brought up in the Assembly and Council. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Leader of Opposition in the Legislative Council drew the attention of the Government to this sorry state of affairs in the city and wondered how this Government, which could not supply power to domestic consumers, could feed the new industries coming up.

He made the suggestion for establishment of a separate thermal station to meet the needs of the City. It is unfortunate that three days after the suggestion was made, the Chief Minister had not had the proposal submitted even to a preliminary examination. Casually he stated that it will have to be looked into.

Makhdoom regretted that his repeated suggestions made from time to time for industrialisation of the city to mitigate unemployment did not find echo in the Government and the outgoing Chief Minister had not a word to say about it in reply.

He repeated that industrialisation would not only help advancement of the state, putting it on the industrial map of India, but would immediately help solving unemployment problem in the city, which is particularly acute among the Muslims.

He also referred to the working of the Muslim Waqf Board and asked that a note be circulated on the working of this institution which has vast resources at its disposal, so that the house can have an idea about its working.

He also commented on the constitution of the Board which was composed of members of only one party and pleaded for all-party representation.

He also referred to the acute housing problem in the city and suggested that provision should also be made for housing non-Government employees.

But, these problems did not seem to sink into the consciousness of the ministers, for there was no response or reply from them.

The emergence of a stronger Opposition—both in quality and numbers—was felt at every moment and the Government had to keep itself alert. With such stalwarts as P. Sundarayya, T. Nagireddy, Tenneti Viswanatham, Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah, G. Lachanna the level of debates has gone up; the parliamentary talent was found in abundance and the Government had to retrace its steps during the last three days on two bills, yielding to the Opposition.

This interim budget session has cast its shadow on the forthcoming session and one can certainly look forward to a stormy budget session later.

going back on all promises

ANDHRA ASSEMBLY SESSION REVIEWED

By V. Hanumantha Rao

sources so that, to that extent at least, tax burden on the common man would be reduced.

Legislators belonging to the Communists and Independents Democratic Front (CIDLF) both in the Assembly and Council, as well as members of other opposition parties, independents and a good number of Congress members themselves, assailed the budget as one which was merely an "accounting budget" with no drive or purpose in it. A mere revenue and expenditure budget could not be an instrument to enthuse people, they said.

A more detailed scrutiny of the allotments made for the year on very important items like agriculture, irrigation, electricity, and industrialisation, makes a dismal reading.

It was pointed out, first of all, that allotments made last year for irrigation and electricity were not fully spent. Secondly, allotments made this year were less than allotments made last year. Why was it so, when there was crying need for more irrigation projects in the rural areas, for more power both in rural and urban areas, members asked.

Except for generally saying that the problem would be solved, without detriment to our interests, the Chief Minister carefully avoided even a mention of the 1951 Agreement, to which, the dissolved Assembly directed the Government to stick.

A clean omission of the mention of the second phase of Nagarjunsagar project, an unsolicited observation, that the problem should be solved in a "give and take" spirit, an unwanted advice to the opposition not to talk about it any more, but wait for his pronouncements—all these have raised doubts in the minds of the people whether the Government is not sacrificing the interests of the state and whether it is exhibiting sufficient alertness in the matter.

State's Interests Disregarded

While it is understandable that a Ministry which has come into the saddle only three weeks ago cannot be expected to exhibit a grip on the problems of the state and enunciate policies, the Ministry cannot be given a margin for so much of incapacity and unawareness.

months and years, that projects had been completed but water was not available, that corruption and nepotism was prevalent and so on.

Panchayats: Hollow Claims

The discussion on the bill to extend the term of present panchayats exposed the hollowness behind the tall claims of success of panchayat raj and the scheme of decentralisation. It was unanimously stated that there were vast powers in the hands of panchayats, but no resources were made available to them.

It sounded ridiculous to hear that panchayats had a right over the tanks in the villages, but not on the water or the fish in it! Panchayats cannot even appoint a sweeper and orders have to be issued only by the officials. Nyaya panchayats can impose fines, but adequate powers were not bestowed on them to collect the fine!

For every small thing to be done in the villages, panchayats have to look to the administration or Government. In a village, people constructed a school building on an abandoned burial ground and requested the Government to

By KHALED BAGDASH
General Secretary, CP Of Syria

CUBAN UNITY STRONGER THAN EVER

This revolutionary country, spurred by Prime Minister Fidel Castro, continued its probings to root out error in the national development. Castro this week highlighted serious mistakes that were being committed in the political organisation of the land. The result of the examination, he indicated, would be that the country, more united than ever will continue building socialism, all the more effectively.

“THERE are no errors that cannot be overcome, and with this certainty, comrades,” he said, “there is no force in the world that can ever defeat our socialist revolution.”

The National Committee of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations — (ORI) just completed an analysis of three years of triumphs and shortcomings since January 1, 1959. It found grave mistakes primarily of a “sectarian nature” that jeopardized the successful functioning and composition of the ORI — as the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations is known.

The mistakes have “stubbornly persisted,” Castro indicated. Full examination of them led to the conclusion that Anibal Escalante, acting as Secretary of ORI, was primarily responsible. He was unanimously removed from his post and as a member of the ORI leading body.

Typical of the response was the headline in the newspaper Hoy, the following day, quoting from the Prime Minister’s speech, which said: “There is no breach, but greater unity among us all. The revolution is, and will continue to be, Marxist-Leninist.”

The speech was delivered over TV and radio. Leading members of ORI and the Government were present.

Essentially what happened, Castro said, was this: The nation had responded with enthusiasm to his speech on the eve of last April’s invasion which said that the revolution had entered the Socialist phase.

The people in their adult majority — “some three million” — embraced the ideas of socialism’s philosophy, Marxism-Leninism. They abundantly showed their eagerness to work along these lines.

One of the consequences was the formation of the ORI. This united into one body

until December 31, 1958 — the eve of victory. And now he had somehow gotten himself into a leading post in the Government sports set-up.

Others did not behave in a comradely fashion. The majority of workers selected monthly for prizes because of their records in production did not belong to the nuclei.

Still others displayed condescending attitudes toward veterans of the Sierra Maestra depriving them of military leadership because of supposed inferiority of political grasp and development.

Youngsters, “high school graduates” who could quote “parrot-like” from Marxist classics were placed above such veterans, in certain instances.

Under these circumstances, Castro said, even the martyred commandante Camillo Cienfuegos, one of the nation’s most revered heroes, would today have been removed from his rightful place won by his selfless bravery.

Escalante chose from veteran members of the Partido Socialista Popular, bypassing the vast majority of new recruits to socialism, to the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism.

Castro paid tribute to “old Communists,” the veterans of many sacrificing efforts, and cited the many instances of heroic selfless labors that they undertook and were undertaking. But he emphasized the imperative need to draw upon the new people, the new forces, to place them in leading and responsible positions for their present merit in achievement. This trust must be shown by all in leading capacities in the nation’s productive machinery of factory and farm.

The newspaper Hoy wrote editorially the day following the speech that Castro exhibited the profound thinking of Lenin, who said the seriousness of a revolutionary party is found, fundamentally, in its attitude toward its own errors.

ORI displayed its seriousness by openly placing before the people the errors committed and those who made them, analyzing them fully and proposing corrections. It was a “difficult and complicated” task, but Castro did it masterfully.

He said whatever had to be said “about the errors of sectarianism and mechanical work” about the ugly and negative tendencies of individuals who had become “swell-headed, jealous of power, lacking the true revolutionary fibre and genuine Marxist spirit” about those who were opportunists.

What Cuba’s enemies are trying to put over is clear; Hallelujah, the revolution has failed; its economy is cracking at the seams; there is widespread dissatisfaction, etc.

For one thing, there is satisfaction that rationing will equalize distribution. For one of the primary questions is getting what is in the country to the city.

The first thing I have observed is this: the people were not going hungry. On the contrary, the standard of living is increasingly up since the revolution.

One factor in revolution it

But Hoy noted that the two discourses “had in common their revolutionary spirit, passion for justice, love for the people, their faith in the revolution, their confidence in history and the future.”

“History will absolve me”, Castro said, just as Dimitrov told his judges that they can condemn him but will not halt the march of history toward Communism.

The example was plain. The editorial said the document should be studied by everyone wishing to be a true Marxist, in order to be “inspired by it and to learn from its extraordinary example of valour, passion, faith, certainty and revolutionary firmness.”

It referred to the significance of the assault on the Moncada Barracks “as the triumph of a line; the line

that armed struggle against the tyranny was the way to the triumph of the Cuban Revolution.”

It was Fidel’s historic merit that he saw this “with utmost clarity and dedicated himself to it with passion, persistence and indomitable will” and led it to victory.

The editorial continued to say that the first secretary of ORI — Castro — expos-

ed the case of Escalante. The latter was not only the principal individual responsible and the fountainhead of the mistake caused by sectarianism “but he also fell into intrigue, into calculated action to strengthen himself”, his personal political power, through the apparatus of the revolution, “imposing his personal viewpoints, and deforming the ORI and its functions at various levels”.

Hoy said Escalante, driven by desire for power, began to issue orders — and interfere in the responsibilities of the government ministries and other state functions at the same time that he concentrated in his own hands all the controls of the municipal and provincial committees, the nuclei and the entire organization of ORI.

“The Party should orient, at all levels, but not govern,” Castro had said.

The newspaper said Escalante’s actions “had roots in the past”. For years before, despite whatever he did positive in his work, he displayed rough and brutal methods in his behaviour toward his comrades, a compulsion toward power, giving orders and acquiring personal power.

The editorial quoted Castro as saying that naturally enemies — imperialist and counter-revolutionary — would seek to “take advantage of these open criticisms” to step up their “counter-revolution-

nary, anti-Communist, and anti-Marxist propaganda”. Opportunists would try to move in on the picture.

But Fidel, the paper said, “put the nation on guard against that.”

“A tireless struggle against sectarianism, against wrong methods of work, cleansing the ranks of the yes-men, bringing exemplary workers into the nuclei — those who are in the fore in meeting production goals, those outstanding for their comradeliness, who show the sincerest and most elevated form of revolutionary spirit, the modest, the honest, those who have the admiration of the masses who work with them — all this will shatter the campaign of the imperialist opponents and the opportunists”.

The struggle will not retreat “a single inch” from a Marxist-Leninist position. On the contrary, “we shall advance on the correct road in building a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the revolution, that the Fatherland and the people need to realize their high ideals, their beautiful dreams of a new society without exploitation misery injustice or privilege”.

Now, thanks to the criticism of these errors, “we are more united, more intimately linked than ever, all the revolutionaries, new and old, of the Sierra and of the plain, of the factory and of the farm”, the paper concludes.



Raul Castro, Fidel and Osvaldo Dorticos.

People Are Living Better Today

I HAVE seen some UP and AP cables about the rationing system beginning here. If these news services want to delude themselves and their readers about the Cuban economy today, there is little to stop them from doing so, I can, however, tell you what I see, and what I have learned looking into the question on the Spot here.

Scarcities have arisen in a number of staples. These include rice, beans, milk, meat, potatoes, soap. The shortages were dominantly in the cities. In fact rationing will apply solely to the twenty-six primary urban centres. There is no need to apply it to the countryside which has no similar problem. Cuba is mainly rural — eighty per cent.

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One factor in revolution it

seems to me, is the rapidity with which the people become accustomed to a better life. They take to it like a duck to water. Demand increases steadily and outpaces increases in production. After all, with all the improvement there is still a long way to go to reach the all-around prosperity the government and the people want.

There is more money around. That is evident even in the year I’ve been here. The people are working in far greater numbers than ever before. Unemployment has fallen from over 650,000 three years ago to less than two hundred thousand today.

Basic living costs have been cut; in some instances drastically like rents which were slashed in half. And now most rents are ten per cent of income.

Farmers on their own land have been freed from the exorbitant rents and interest rates of former times.

Schooling comes free. It was a considerable item for any family that wanted their children to be literate — and I am not talking of getting a college education. Just public schooling — books, pencils, notebooks were paid for. And an extra pair of hands that might be bringing some kind of money into the harassed, poverty-stricken families was in a schoolhouse.

Then that big item in poor families — medical care, medi-

cines — has vanished. All that, including hospitalization, comes free. Electricity rates, for example, were cut below half, like the telephone tolls.

The extra money went to better diets. People were eating meat for the first time and liking it a lot. Children are getting milk, fruits, vegetables.

Production of foodstuffs has gone up in most items, but far from enough to keep in step with demand. New crops were introduced like cotton, peanuts, larger areas were put to corn, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, rice.

Production of foodstuffs has gone up in most items, but far from enough to keep in step with demand. New crops were introduced like cotton, peanuts, larger areas were put to corn, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, rice.

Simultaneously with these trends opposite tendencies operated. The embargo for one. Not merely the recent one Kennedy clamped on Cuba but from way back, well over a year and half ago when oil was cut off.

There was the parts-for-machinery embargo. Lard — a big, basic staple — was halted. Cuba solved many of these problems by swiftly expanding its nationalized export and import trade, primarily with the socialist countries.

But naturally not all needs could be taken care of in this manner. In addition to selling the sugar crop abroad, mainly to the socialist lands, popular items were also exported in

large quantities — tropical fruits, like the pineapple, guava jelly, etc. Much of the cash return went for machinery and parts for the industrialisation programme.

In addition to the problems of transport, of distribution there is a long, severe drought which cut into the totals of some staples, and into this sugar crop.

The lags in a perfected distribution system created shortages in the cities. Black marketeers took advantage of this. Hoarding by them and counter-revolutionary elements began. Street vendors bought stuff cheaply and sold at much higher rates than the scale allowed.

Certain farmers, as a group in Pinar Del Rio and elsewhere, slaughtered cows secretly, and sold their products on the black market. The killing of cows was forbidden for the government wanted to build up a big backlog of calves for the needs of the immediate future. It is the same with pigs, which are being fattened up in this period to heighten the lard supply in the immediate future.

But the black market operated. Furthermore, restaurants were able to get the stuff the house-wife couldn’t. People with bigger salaries were able to avoid the shortages by eating more frequently in restaurants.

Agriculture, he said, continued to be the primary eco-

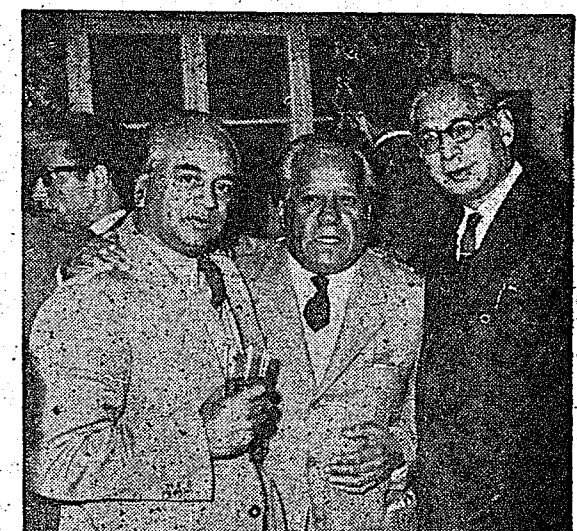
nomic question of the country. The leadership in this area was strengthened, he reported with the appointment to head the INRA — Institute of Agrarian Reform — of Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, editor of Hoy, and a foremost leader of the prior Partido Socialista Popular, now one of the components of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisations.

Rodriguez was chosen, Castro said, because his record was one of successes, his qualities were those of a far-sighted able hard-working leader who could go into this question day and night until it was solved.

Other government officials have been appointed to the

parapets in this particular area, including President Dorticos, for example. The new leadership of ORI — the twenty-five outstanding figures of all revolutionary parties that defeated Batista — will, in various ways and degrees, pitch in. There she stands. Now if the AP or UPI report “riots” or “outbreaks”, their cup would be filled to overflowing. But there is nothing of the sort. I have talked to many since the Castro speech.

Dominantly they feel rationing is necessary. It will equalize distribution, overcome disparities, inequities, everyone will get an equal share of the nation’s main eatables.



At the recent Afro-Asian Writers’ meet in Cairo: Mulk Raj Anand & Sajjad Zaheer with Nicolas Guillen, Cuba’s foremost poet.

GOOD MORNING, FIDEL

NICOLAS GUILLEN

Passenger in transit, change planes to dream now!
Oui, monsieur... Si, senior.
Born in Cuba, far away,
beside a palm grove.
Yes, in transit, I'm on my way.
Sugar? Si, Senior.
Sugar right in the middle of the sea.
In the sea? A sea of sugar, then?
A sea.
Tobacco?
Si, senior.
Smoke right in the middle of the sea.
And heat.
Can you dance the rumba?
No, senior.
I cannot.
Don't you speak English?
No, senior.
I never could.
Passenger in transit, change planes to dream now!
Then tears. Suffering.
Then life and its passing.
Then blood and its glory.
And here I am.
Today is already tomorrow.
Mr. Wood, Mr. Taft, Good-by.
Mr. Magoon, good-by.
Mr. Lynch, good-by.
Mr. Crowder, good-by.
Mr. Nixon, good-by.
Mr. Herter, good-by.
Mr. Night and Mr. Shadow, good-by!
You can go, animal Crowd, I never want to see you!
It's early, so I have work to do.
It's late now, so dawn appears.
The river flows amid stones...
Good morning, Fidel.
Good morning, flag, good morning, shield.
Palm tree, buried arrow, good morning.

Good morning, medallion profile, violent bearded one
Of bronze, vindictive machete in the right hand.
Good morning, sturdy rock, fixed wave of Sierra Maestra.
Good morning, my hand, my spoon, my soup,
Moy shop, my home, and my dream.
Good morning, my rice, my corn, my shoes, and my clothes.
Good morning, my field and my book, my sun and my blood with no owner.
Good morning, my country in Sunday dress.
Good morning, Mr. and Mrs. Good morning, farmer in the mountain being born to life.
Good morning, boy in the street, singing and resplendent at dawn.
Armed worker, good morning.
Good morning, rifle.
Good morning, tractor.
Sugar, good morning.
Poets, good morning.
Parades, good morning.
Slogans, good morning.
Good morning, tall girls like chaste sugar cane.
Songs, banners, good morning.
Good morning, oh land of my veins,
Corn clasped in my fists, bell Of victory, my fist,
The land smells of recent Rain. A Negro head and a blond head
Go down the same road together,
Crowned by one fraternal laurel wreath.
The air is green. A mocking bird sings on Turquino.*
Good morning, Fidel.
Translated by John W. Stanford.

* Turquino: the highest mountain in the Sierra Maestra.

APRIL 1961—NEVER AGAIN



It is a year now since the U.S. organised mercenaries' invasion of Cuba. These nests of intervention are even more active today.

The Military Junta in Pakistan has, at last, imposed its long awaited Constitution. This Constitution has finally emerged in a form which was all too evident two years ago. It seeks to consolidate the power of the Generals and the Bureaucrats and to perpetuate authoritarian government.

On the other hand, by restricting the franchise to electoral colleges it ensures that Parliament will be filled by nominees of the "rural gentry" and others who rely on the support of a new class of "vote speculators" who will carry political corruption to new heights.

By this means the Constitution lays the basis of an alignment between the ruling Generals and Bureaucrats and the most backward and corrupt elements in our society. It is a Constitution which denies all the essentials of democracy.

The bitter opposition of our entire people has not deflected the regime from its original intentions nor has the advice of its own Constitution Commission persuaded it to see the path of wisdom.

In a way, Ayub paid a tribute to the strength of democratic opinion in the country when he declared, in his first broadcast after the coup d'etat, that "our ultimate aim is to restore democracy." But the unexpected strength of popular support for the military regime that was evoked in the initial months, especi-

structure viz the system of "Basic Democracies", before it even appointed the Constitution Commission.

ally in West Pakistan by its radical promises seems to have proved intoxicating.

Hardly three weeks had gone by since his broadcast when Ayub was already saying "Pakistan needs a Presidential form of Government... You have to make your President really powerful... It would be a tighter system than that in the U.S. and rather like the present French system—but the Pakistan President would be stronger still."

But as the pressure for a return to a constitutional government grew, Ayub found it necessary to repeat from time to time his promise for the return to a constitutional system.

Commission's Report Set Aside

At last, after much procrastination, he appointed a Constitution Commission in February, 1960.

However, the regime had taken care to work out and promulgate the main basis of the new constitutional

Meanwhile, Ayub and his ministers had made a series of statements in which they made their intentions about the new Constitution quite clear. Evidently they expected the Commission to do no more than to ratify their proposals and to invest them with the stamp of independent judgment. On one occasion Ayub said in a public speech at Multan that "Even if the Constitutional Commission recommends the method of direct elections to the Parliament the Cabinet would never accept."

To everyone's surprise, the Constitution Commission issued a questionnaire in which they invited views from the people of the country. This had an electrifying effect on a people who had been silenced under Martial Law. Popular enthusiasm, to discuss the question and to put forward the views before the Commission, was unbounded. The Military Junta was quick to issue orders gagging the discussion.

This brief interlude and the near unanimity of the views expressed to the Commission was, however, enough to

AYUB'S

weigh heavily with the Commission and this was reflected, it is reported, in their recommendations which were given to the Government in May, 1961. Although the report was not made public its contents were reported in some foreign newspapers.

It appears from these reports that the Commission recommended a Federal Constitution with autonomy for East and West Pakistan. Also, and most important, Parliament as well as the President were to be directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. Alternatively it was recommended that the President might be elected by a joint session of the two Provincial Assemblies and the Federal Parliament.

All this was clearly quite unpalatable for the regime and the Constitution Commission was promptly dissolved and evidently its report was thrown into the waste paper basket. The whole matter was referred to a special Committee of the Cabinet which was now charged with the drafting of the new Constitution.

Even here, it appears, all was not smooth sailing and the final date of the announcement of the Constitution was put off several times. Now, at last, we have been the result of all this procrastination. In the face of overwhelming opposition in the country the Military Junta has decided to go ahead with its original intentions without any material change.

Fight Has Never Stopped

The students' strike at Dacca on March 15 and on subsequent days against the Constitution, promulgated by President Ayub Khan on March 2, amply demonstrated the depth of the public feeling of East Pakistan vis-a-vis the Constitution.

The people of East Pakistan have from the very birth of Pakistan been demanding two basic rights:

- fullest form of democracy, including Parliamentary form of government, civil liberties, adult franchise, etc. and
- full autonomous right for East Pakistan.

These demands had been voiced in the movement against Liaquat Ali's Basic Principles of Constitution in 1950, in the Language Battle of 1952 and in the glorious election fight against Muslim League in 1954 and subsequently from many platforms and writings in the press.

The people of West Pakistan, specially in the previous North-West Frontier province, and of Sind had also repeatedly demanded their autonomy and democratic rights.

The then reactionary government manned by the Muslim League leaders had tried its best to suppress these de-

mands by violence as well as by diversionist tactics, such as by anti-India tirades. But these demands could not be suppressed.

Under these conditions, the Constitution which was enacted in 1956, had to recognise some democratic rights of the people, including Parliamentary government and adult franchise and also conceded some amount of autonomy to East Pakistan.

But this Constitution of 1956 also could not fully satisfy the people of East Pakistan and demands for more democratic rights, especially for fullest autonomous rights of East Pakistan were being pressed from democratic press and platform.

It was just at this time that Martial Law was imposed in October 1958. All parties were banned and all democratic forces and all democratic rights of the people were totally suppressed.

But the sentiment of the East Pakistan people for their democratic rights, especially for autonomy could not be put down by violence. This was clearly proved where the Awami Leaguers, the people belonging to National Awami Party, the lawyers, the traders, the students, the women and even some Muslim League leaders of East Pakistan deposed unequivocally before the Constitution Commission (in June, 1960) that Parliamentary form of government, adult and universal franchise, fundamental rights of the people, including freedom of speech and press and freedom of organisation, full autonomy for East Pakistan and federal form of government at the Centre should be guaranteed in the new Constitution.

Again, in more than one seminar organised by the military regime for discussions on "National Integration", well-known intellectuals and professors from East Pakistan clearly stated that there could be no national cohesion until and unless East Pakistan was granted regional autonomy.

To crown all, the huge

CONSTITUTION

From A Special Correspondent

students' demonstrations staged recently throughout East Pakistan as a protest against the arrest of Mr. Suhrawardy did not confine their demand only to release of the latter, but openly raised demands for a democratic Constitution, for democratic rights and for autonomy of East Pakistan. The voicing of such demands from these demonstrations which were held in face of the stringent martial law regulations, showed how deep were the popular sentiments for democratic rights and autonomy.

The demand for democratic rights and autonomy was not confined to East Pakistan alone. In March-April 1961, students' demonstrations at

the Central Cabinet and he will also nominate the Provincial Governors and, through them, the Provincial Governments. The President will thus have an absolute command over the Administration both at the Centre and the Provinces—virtually the same as the situation which obtains now under Martial Law.

Well Insulated

He is well insulated from any possible attack that may emerge from even the unrepresentative parliamentary structure that he is setting up. First of all, he has the power of veto over Parliament. Parliament cannot over-ride his

Imagine therefore the fate of any attempt to bring about a Constitutional amendment which seeks to put an end to the system of indirect franchise and to restore direct elections on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The absence of political parties and of civil liberties, moreover, would ensure that only the view of the President's opponents, thus, would have very little chance to achieve any further progress through the Constitutional machinery. This is a firm basis for a personal dictatorship.

The most significant aspect of the new Constitution is the electoral system which has been prescribed. This will en-

actually votes, and possibly far fewer if the number of candidates is more than two. The value of the marginal vote is thus very high, and many "Basic Democrats" are aware of the high cash value of their votes.

Indeed, the Union Councils, especially in the towns have failed to attract persons with integrity and a serious interest in political work or public service (in view of the nominal character of functions allotted to Town Committees). The elections to these bodies have attracted mainly those who were conscious of the potential cash value of their votes for the Parliamentary elections. This has introduced the most reprehensible and anti-social element into our political scene.

Honest elements who have participated in the elections on the basis of illusions about what they could do under extremely restricted system of the "Basic Democracies" are few and far between.

Autonomy Denied

The new Constitution is described as a Federal Constitution—but this is a bogus description. True, the Constitution does provide for two Provincial Parliaments in addition to the "Federal Parliament". But all these bodies are both unrepresentative and impotent. Moreover, the Provincial cabinets will be nominated by the President himself.

sure that the most backward sections of the "rural gentry" together with a new class of "vote speculators" will have a predominant influence in determining the composition of Parliament.

The franchise is restricted to 80,000 so-called "Basic Democrats" who will decide the fate of 94 million of our people. The "Basic Democrats" are elected members of local councils. Because of the peculiarity of our social structure, which precludes any peasant from standing for election in defiance of the local landowner (unless he happens to be the nominee of a rival land-

veto except by a two-thirds majority.

This means, in effect, that with as few as one-third of the members under his control, the President can block any efforts by a Parliamentary majority to undertake legislation which does not meet with the approval of the President.

The President would need an even smaller measure of support to block attempts to amend the Constitution—he needs only the support of as few as one-quarter of the members of Parliament to prevent an amendment.

In the previous North-West Frontier Province, the National Awami Party workers launched a peaceful satyagraha movement in April-May 1961 for democracy and autonomy of the Pushtu-speaking people. This movement continued for two months in spite of severe repressive measures by the Government. Four thousand NAP workers are still in jail for participation in that movement.

In Sind also, the popular sentiment in favour of the democratic and autonomous rights of the Sindhis was widespread. It was clearly expressed in so many addresses of welcome presented by a cross-section of the people of Sind to Mr. Bhutto, a Minister of Ayub's cabinet, who happens to be a Sindhi. It is worth mentioning that Mr. Bhutto dared not reject the sentiment of the Sindhi people and in more than one reply to those addresses of welcome he assured that in the coming Constitution the rights of the Sindhi people would be safeguarded.

This would mean that by scaring away those who do not feel very confident about the opposition's ability to secure enough votes (even though they may be strongly opposed to the President) the ability of the opposition to successfully mobilise a sufficient number of votes is made very much more difficult, and this would greatly reduce the chances of bringing about a successful impeachment.

Such was the background of the public opinion when President Ayub Khan had announced his new Constitution.

The All-Powerful President

The most outstanding feature of the new Constitution is the unprecedented degree of power that it places into the hands of the President. This makes a mockery of the Parliamentary paraphernalia which goes with the new set-up—and the basis of Parliament itself is such that it would certainly have no real popular basis.

The President will nominate

POOR FACADE

Karachi, which were first held as a mark of indignation against the brutal murder of Lumumba and which later formed into an anti-repression movement following police attack on it, raised full-throated demand for restoration of democracy and end of the military regime.

The same applies to any attempt to impeach the President—but here we have a further proviso that if the total number of those who vote for the President or abstain, together number at least half of the total number of the members of the Parliament, then those who vote against the President shall lose their seats.

FOR MILITARY

owner), the membership of the village councils consists overwhelmingly of landowners or the nominees of the landowners and the upper crust of the rural society.

New Species

In a country in which the demand for an effective land reform remains one of the most pressing needs, this class constitutes the most backward element in our society which is holding back progress. They will be

Power will remain effectively centralised. The people of East Pakistan as well as Sind and the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab, will still be all ruled from Rawalpindi, where the effective power will reside in the hands of a small coterie. This makes a mockery of the popular demand for regional autonomy.

Civil liberties continue to be denied to the people and political parties remain under ban. One can imagine the fear amongst the members of the present oligarchy of our genuine political activity. It may be that ultimately some

the administration of justice and the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign countries... etc.—precisely the grounds under which civil liberties have so far been denied under Martial Law.

East Pakistan

People realise that the choice between the so-called Basic Democracies and Parliamentary Government has posed a most vital issue before them which has a great bearing on the future prospects of the democratic movement.

Both in East Pakistan as well as in West Pakistan, our rural society is dominated by the so-called "landed gentry". The bogus land reform of the present regime affected no more than 1.6 per cent of the cultivated area of West Pakistan and essentially the social structure of the villages stands intact—all that has happened is that a few of the biggest landowners have lost some land.

In East Pakistan also, the Jotedars and Taluqdars wield undiminished influence in the rural areas along with the retired civil servants and police officers who are the lords of the country-side. Indeed, the present regime has sought to reverse the Awami League land reform measures by raising the ceiling on ownership.

The peasantry in our villages is so completely dominated by the "landed gentry" both economically and socially that no one from the ranks of the peasantry can dare to offer himself for elections for the village Panchayat in open opposition to persons of this class—the only circumstance in which this can happen is when a peasant is put up by a rival landowner.

Fight For Democracy

The working of Parliamentary democracy based on direct elections through universal adult franchise and operated by political parties, makes a fundamental difference in this respect. Political parties are forced in this situation to seek the votes of

Dictatorship

the arbiters of our future policies. They are also precisely those who have most to fear from the advance of the democratic movement.

Along with these, there has also emerged a new species of political operators—the "vote speculators". Because each Parliamentary constituency will have not many more than 500 voters, a person would require at the most half that number of votes to get elected if everyone who is qualified

kind of political parties will be permitted under license which may help the ruling Junta to keep them under close supervision and control. But without full freedom of association and the freedom of expression it would be only a sham.

In the present Constitution these freedoms are qualified by the words: "subject to considerations of State Security, public order, morality and decency,

the peasantry. The issues before us are quite clear: We reject this Constitution which is a fraud on our people and which perpetuate authoritarian rule. We demand the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. We demand the release of all political prisoners and the formation of a representative popular government which can undertake the task of the restoration of democratic institutions.

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BIGGEST CONCERN OF PURE AYURVEDIC MEDICINE

Delhi Branch: 224, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6, 1855, Chandni Chowk, Delhi-6.

THE system of police verification of character and antecedents of persons chosen for employment by the Public Service Commission, the indiscriminate use of Section 151 of the Hated Criminal Procedure Code by the police in dealing with the Kisan agitation and the torture inside police lockup of persons arrested in connection with the stone-throwing incident at Trichur on the Chief Minister came in for sharp criticism from opposition Benches during the debate on voting the Demand on Police Administration.

While V. R. Krishna Iyer, T. K. Ramakrishnan, Gopala Kurup, C. G. Janardhanan from opposition benches criticised the police administration two members from the Congress benches, P. Gopalan and M. K. Nambiar from Cannanore District, came out openly against the Home Minister's handling of the portfolio.

P. Gopalan who is the president of the District Congress Committee of Cannanore alleged that the Minister had shown favouritism in the enforcement of law relating to instalment system introduced by Jewellers. He also demanded an enquiry into the alleged police assaults on undertrials within lockup in Trichur.

M. K. Nambiar was more sarcastic and said that the Government instead of going in for more houses for strengthening mounted police could buy more donkeys to carry the dirty linen to be washed.

and the spade for the service of the people.

The magnificent and inspiring example of M. S. P. men S. A. P. men and the ordinary constabulary working shoulder to shoulder with the people of the land in shramdan, has certainly left an indelible impression on my mind. I have always tried to discover the man behind the Khaki.

Role Of Police

It is a matter for the present Government and the people to consider how the police force which should be a people's service in a welfare state is shaping today. In particular there have been complaints about illtreatment in police lockup and the use of third degree methods on undertrial prisoners. It is unfortunate that this complaint is associated with the stone-throwers at the Chief Minister at Trichur.

It was an evil thing to have thrown stones but then an evil cannot be countered by another evil. Perhaps, a wrong method to bring the people to justice cannot be commended.

It is reprehensible if there has been illtreatment inside the lockup or torture of undertrial prisoners. I request the Home Minister to show

departure from the previous tradition could start without sanction from above.

A new notoriety for section 151 Cr. P.C. has been acquired by the Kerala Police all of a sudden. The British of course misused section 144 Cr. P.C. and they have left a black reputation and black record for Section 144 and this Government will certainly have the credit, in the pages of history, for having been a companion of the British in the use of Section 151 Cr. P.C.

I suggest that it is essential to see that the Police did not seek shelter under Section 151 and say "I am subjectively satisfied" and go against people left and right. Let not any one imagine that because the Karshaka Sangham is an allied organisation of the Communist Party this Section 151 may be used. It may, in future be used against others.

In fact, in the labour agitation in which the Muslim organisation was very much connected in Calicut — the Headlock Workers agitation — Section 151 was used. Tomorrow it may be used against others. Tomorrow it can be used against the precarious companions of the present Coalition if the fifth Act of the drama draws near.

So let the PSP, the Muslim League, Independents and the Communist Party and all friends of democracy beware that section 151 is a menace if allowed to be misused in this manner and the court cannot give anyone protection as they cannot probe into the

newspapers that the Deputy Inspector General of Police interfered and announced the results.

It is historic and we are creating unique records. Again at the Manathala Mosque for the first time in the history of Kerala, boot-ed policemen walked into the mosque and caressed the backs of the worshipping Muslims!

But there is one more thing I wish to emphasise more than anything else and that is the system and practice of police verification of character and antecedents of persons chosen. The other day I mischance a word and called it McCarthyism.

Unwholesome Ideology

I would use an indigenous word and call it Kripalanism because it would be far more appropriate.

According to Kripalanism, Nehru is a Communist, Krishna Menon is a Communist and all people with leftist ideology are Communists, any man who has got a relation among communists is a communist. They see 'Red' everywhere. That is the quintessence of McCarthyism known in India and flourishing as an indigenous plant called Kripalanism.

Today it is flourishing in the soil of Kerala. If Kripalanism is not wholesome for Bombay it is not wholesome for Kerala.

What has been happening in the recent past here? Gov-

From SHARMA

This is the anatomy of the thought processes of this Government. There is a lurking suspicion in our minds that this change is brought about with an ulterior purpose. The Public Service Commission is a relatively independent body and may not dance to the tunes of a political party or parties in power. Therefore it is better, it was thought, to take away that power and entrust the task of verification and decision on the report to Government itself.

But what is the verification? It is interesting indeed. A man may have been convicted for criminal offence or misconduct. He should be debarred. But this definition of character and antecedents is vague and interesting.

The Government order states "Care should be taken not to employ any person who is likely to be disloyal and to abuse the confidence placed in him by virtue of this appointment". I am asking a simple question—Disloyal to whom? To the Government? or to the Party in power? or to the Home Minister and his political kith?

At this juncture Congress member Kuroor Neelakantan Namboodiripad, interjected—"Yes, loyalty to the country and to our Constitution is what is required".

Krishna Iyer answering the interjection replied: "Yes Sir, what is required is loyalty to the country and the constitution. Yes. But there was an upsurge here and an overthrow of a government which had been installed by the path

taken before the Governor and as per our constitution and which was continuing in office by a majority in this House. But then, the Constitution was torn to tatters by a violent movement, a paramilitary movement. I ask, Sir, who are loyal to the Constitution, Sir?"

Wrong Approach

But that apart what does the verification of loyalty to the Government amount to? If a person is suspected to have leaning towards any party other than the party in power, he is not fit to become a munsiff, for instance. It is obvious here that because a person happened to be the brother of the candidate supported by the Communist Party in election or he happened to be at one time associated with the Student Federation he is not fit to be a Munsiff. But when after a judge of the High Court in association with the Public Service Commission has chosen a person to become a member of the judiciary to declare him as unfit for that post on the basis of a verification report by a petty police officer is atrocious. The Bar Association of Kottayam and Trivandrum which are not the limbs of the Communist Party has protested against this gross injustice.

I desire to point out another case of a lady teacher who was selected by the PSC and

ment services are public property. Article 16 of the Constitution says that opportunity for employment in the State is every citizen's right.

But here is a case of apartheid, political apartheid. Persons who are distantly associated with or have some sort of kinship with Communists somewhere are segregated and struck down by this doctrine of the apartheid.

There are, of course subtle forms in which this directive masquerades around. One is the method of verification of character and antecedents. A government order has been issued on this which is confidential but which has been produced in the High Court. It states that wherever a person is selected by the Public Service Commission, the Commission need not be entrusted with the rather difficult job of verifying the character and antecedents of the person and that the executive could do it and take decision on it. This was a departure from the earlier wholesome practice where the PSC itself satisfied itself about the character and antecedents of persons and selected and gave the final advice.

The Public Service Commission according to the present system, is competent to find out whether a man is fit to be a musician in a Music Academy, whether one is fit to be an engineer or a doctor. But it is incompetent to find out whether a man's character and antecedents are suitable to Government service.

* See Facing Page

India & Disarmament Declaration Of Delhi Congress

Following are extracts from the important resolutions adopted by the All-India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace.

TODAY, the most vital task which India is called upon to perform is at the Conference of the 18-nation Committee on disarmament, appointed by the United Nations, and now meeting at Geneva. For many years now, disarmament negotiations have been faced with one deadlock after another, while the armaments race has proceeded with ever-increasing speed.

Now for the first time in history, non-aligned nations have been associated with the disarmament negotiations at the highest level. The peoples of the world are weary of suspicions and prejudices which have prevented any progress towards disarmament thus far.

They look to the non-aligned participants in the Geneva Conference to use their influence and impartiality to bring about an agreement at the earliest possible moment for total universal disarmament.

India is the largest of the non-aligned countries. Its traditions of peace, its high prestige among the peoples place it in a unique position, from which to persuade the powers concerned to arrive at a settlement. The world expects India to fulfil the hopes and confidence of hundreds of millions, and throw its weight in favour of an immediate treaty for general and complete disarmament based on the principle "No disarmament without control; no

control without disarmament".

The Congress declares its wholehearted support for all proposals which the Government of India and its representatives may make to bring about a disarmament agreement in 1962 itself, ensuring the destruction of all weapons of war within a definite and shortest possible period.

The Congress in particular declares its support for the Indian proposals for a nuclear test ban; for the prohibition of the transfer of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear countries; the creation of atom-free zones in Africa, central Europe and the Balkans; peaceful uses of outer space; prohibition of war propaganda; stopping the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons; and measures for the prevention of war through accident, miscalculation or surprise attack.

This Congress equally supports all proposals of other powers for a relaxation of tension such as the proposals for non-aggression pacts, for the removal of military bases on foreign soil, and for the destruction of carriers of nuclear weapons.

The Congress welcomes the intended participation of Prime Minister Nehru, together with other heads of Governments, in the Geneva disarmament negotiations. An issue of such paramount significance for the world needs the personal attention of men with the highest res-

ponsibility and authority in the world.

II. Resolution On Nuclear Test Ban

THE All India Congress for Peace earnestly calls for an immediate ban on all nuclear weapon tests. The Congress extends its full support to the appeal made by Prime Minister Nehru to all powers to refrain from carrying out any further nuclear tests during the current negotiations at Geneva.

This Congress believes that the banning of nuclear weapon tests, linked with real progress towards general and complete disarmament can be of considerable help in easing international tensions.

The Congress further supports the proposal made by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, on behalf of India, at the Geneva Conference, for the location of stations on the soil of non-aligned countries, which could ensure that any ban on nuclear weapon tests is carried out by all powers, making it unnecessary to have international inspection posts on the territory of a nuclear power.

III. Resolution On Disarmament And National Economies

THE Congress warmly welcomes and supports the unanimous report of the United Nations' Committee on "Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament", and congratulates all the experts from the 10 countries which participated in the committee on their excellent work. The Congress in particular sends its congratulations to Dr. B. N. Ganguli, who represented India on this important committee.

The United Nations Committee has given the lie forcibly and effectively, to the false propaganda of interested parties, that disarmament would lead to falling production, unemployment and eventual economic crisis. The Committee has established, with facts, that far from this result, disarmament could, given the necessary planning and social direction, result in the improvement of living conditions everywhere.

This Congress draws the urgent attention of the Indian people and extends its full support to the proposals which have been made for the diversion of a definite percentage of the sums saved as a result of disarmament, at each stage, to the development of underdeveloped countries.

Those proposals which could place comparatively huge resources at the disposal of underdeveloped countries for their independent development, can go a long way towards helping to eliminate more rapidly the poverty and hunger of the millions of Asia, Africa and Latin America given the necessary social conditions.

GREETINGS TO PRIME MINISTER

In course of a message of greetings the Congress for Disarmament and Peace addressed to Prime Minister Nehru it says:

India's policy of peace, based on non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, the ending of colonialism and world disarmament — has won for our Motherland the respect and affection of millions in all lands. This Congress extends its wholehearted support to this policy and to your tireless efforts to strengthen it still further to the greater glory of the Indian people.

This Congress deeply regrets and condemns the efforts of interested forces abroad and inside our country itself, to attack this policy of peace, to misrepresent it and to seek its reversal. These efforts are bound to fail. A vast majority of the Indian people, irrespective of party or other affiliations, stands for the continuation and strengthening of the peace policy of non-alignment pursued by the Government of India.

In the present days of international tension, a world, weary of the cold war, looks towards India and towards you, dear Panditji, for proposals and solutions which could take mankind towards real peace and international cooperation.

At Geneva above all, where the eyes of hundreds of millions are focussed today, your lead can help to bridge the chasm of suspicions which divide the powers, and being about within this year an agreement for general and complete disarmament, with adequate measures for inspection and control.

This Congress wishes you the best of health and many, many more years to work for peace and disarmament, for a world without arms, for a world in which all peoples are free.

IV. Resolution On Independence And Disarmament

THE All India Congress for General Disarmament and Peace extends its wholehearted support to all peoples struggling for their national independence against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This Congress believes that the struggle for general and complete disarmament is of vital importance for all peoples engaged in the battle for national independence. It will further help the political and economic consolidation of newly independent states and safeguard their sovereignty from military and other intervention.

Proud of India's recent action in liberating Goa, Daman and Diu, this Congress pledges itself to work untiringly for the ending of colonialism from all parts of the world in 1962 itself, for the ending of all forms of interference in the affairs of other countries, for the abolition of military pacts and military bases on foreign soil. The complete economic and political independence of all peoples is the goal of the Indian Government and people.

This Congress extends its warm congratulations to all peoples who have won victories in their struggle for national independence in recent times and particularly to the Algerian people, who after years of self-sacrificing and heroic battle, are at last on the road to the achievement of their most cherished wishes.

This Congress warns against the aggressive interference of imperialist powers in different parts of the world, which is creating grave dangers to peace and independence as in the cases of Cuba, of the Congo, of Laos, South Vietnam, West Irian and Angola.

In its last days, imperialism

is lashing out viciously in a desperate but vain efforts to continue its domination. But the final victory of all peoples in their struggle for national independence is fast approaching. It cannot be delayed any longer.

This Congress salutes the memory of the martyrs of all lands who have died for liberty. Through their sacrifice, the flowers of national independence will bloom in all the continents.

*** From Front Page**

Mukesh, who by their songs helped so much to make the Congress such a success.

Apart from the business in the Congress and the mass public rally on Gandhi Grounds, what really thrilled the delegates was the special session devoted to the organisation of the campaign for disarmament in the coming three months, leading up to the great World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace to be held in Moscow in July.

A vast amount of work has been entrusted to the Preparatory Committee. Efforts are to be made to see that the schools, universities include courses on the facts regarding peace and war, regarding the armaments race, the urgency of disarmament. Similarly moves will be made to ensure a ban on all forms of war propaganda, as a concrete contribution by Indian for peace.

The glorious vision of our Motherland, India, being able to contribute towards a disarmament agreement in 1962 itself, was always kept before the delegates by all the speakers.

The Congress ended with a deeper realisation than ever of the duties and responsibilities of India today to help to impose disarmament on those forces which are even today threatening to wreck the Geneva talks.

McCarthyism Flayed Alive

The Home Minister concentrated his fire of his own partymen who were stabbing him in the back. The other disease according to him was different and needed treatment elsewhere. He was obviously referring to the dissensions inside the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Congress Legislature Party.

Aim— Correction

Nevertheless P. T. Chacko defended the police verification system and repeated that the power to act on police verification should be vested with the Executive and not the Public Service Commission. He reiterated that this system was in vogue in all other states in India and by introducing certain changes, he had brought it on a par.

V. R. Krishna Iyer who spoke for more than half an hour began by saying that he was rising in a sense to criticise but his object was not to cavil but to correct. He continued:

I may straightway mention that there is a flood of emotion so far as I am concerned when I rise to make any submission on grants for the Police Department. I have myself belonged in a sense to a fraternity taking interest in the Police Service. I have seen inspiring examples of policemen doing welfare work in this state, functioning not merely with the lathi and baton but also with the plough

some good sense and have the courage to order an open enquiry into this matter because these days we have been hearing complaints of illtreatment and torture of undertrial prisoners. It is time that we cry halt to the progress of such vicious trends.

I am referring to the large-scale misuse of the police powers under Section 151 Cr. P.C. during the recent Kisan agitation. The manner in which the agitation was met by the Government has elicited compliments a little while ago. But one should see whether these powers have been used wisely and discreetly.

It is true that under Section 151 a police officer has certain discretion and that discretion cannot be gone into or canvassed in a court. The satisfaction is "subjective". It is the subjective satisfaction of the executive and it is not open to the judiciary to lift the veil and see whether the Court could agree with it or not.

All the more reason why we should ensure that the police officers when they use these discretionary powers, use it properly, wisely and prudently and not viciously and with the political vindictiveness and for the purpose of serving the powers that be for the time being.

It is here I say that there has been indiscriminate use of Section 151 Cr. P.C. probably under the particular direction from the executive head because it cannot be that this wide

subjective satisfaction of executive officials. Answering an interruption from C. M. Stephen whether Krishna Iyer's view was that section 151 was misused in the case of A. K. Gopalan proceeding out on a Jatha with an open declaration that his purpose was to commit the offence of picketing the Secretariat at Trivandrum, Krishna Iyer stated, "The answer is found in the suggestion."

Liberty Threatened

As a matter of fact the case was that one week later there was going to be a "Satyagraha" in Trivandrum by A. K. Gopalan. One week earlier a police man prophesied that there would be an unlawful assembly at Trivandrum led by Gopalan.

So that person was arrested at Trippunthura. This is not in conformity with Section 151 which requires immediacy and urgency. Here the police Officer swears to an affidavit like that and thus even the Court is disarmed.

We are thus surrendering liberties, our civil liberties, fundamental liberties to the subjective satisfaction of Tom, Dick and Harry of the Police force.

I may mention certain other matters in passing. SNDP is a social organisation and the election of office bearers of this organisation in the Annual Conference was held under the aegis of Police Officers and we are told by some

government services are public property. Article 16 of the Constitution says that opportunity for employment in the State is every citizen's right.

But here is a case of apartheid, political apartheid. Persons who are distantly associated with or have some sort of kinship with Communists somewhere are segregated and struck down by this doctrine of the apartheid.

There are, of course subtle forms in which this directive masquerades around. One is the method of verification of character and antecedents. A government order has been issued on this which is confidential but which has been produced in the High Court.

It states that wherever a person is selected by the Public Service Commission, the Commission need not be entrusted with the rather difficult job of verifying the character and antecedents of the person and that the executive could do it and take decision on it. This was a departure from the earlier wholesome practice where the PSC itself satisfied itself about the character and antecedents of persons and selected and gave the final advice.

The Public Service Commission according to the present system, is competent to find out whether a man is fit to be a musician in a Music Academy, whether one is fit to be an engineer or a doctor. But it is incompetent to find out whether a man's character and antecedents are suitable to Government service.

dehler gives jolt to bonn

★ From Our Correspondent

On the evening of March 12, the West German TV on-lookers heard words that, to their ears, were rather unusual. These words came from the lips of Dr. Thomas Dehler, 65, Vice President of the West German Bundestag (Parliament).

Dr. Dehler, who is a member of the executive of the Free Democratic Party — participant in the present coalition Government — subjected Bonn's policy to harsh criticism. He accused the present West German Government of pursuing a sterile primitively anti-communist policy, of having prevented re-unification and of continuing the policy of Hitler towards the Soviet Union. Dehler demanded that West Germany adopt an independent policy, agree to negotiate with the Soviet Union and to create a peace zone in the centre of Europe.

Asked by journalists whether Adenauer had permitted him to say all these things, Dr. Dehler retorted: "Adenauer is my boss in the coalition, not the boss of my views."

Here are some details of what the prominent politician said:

PRIMITIVE ANTI-COMMUNISM

"We have pursued no policy, no East policy, we have not been effective, but we have — let it be clearly understood — been content with a primitive anti-communism. And that was too little. We have not overcome Hitler so that the same tirades are..."

Here he was interrupted by a question as to who in his opinion had continued the tirades, to which he replied: "The official policy of the entire West, unfortunately. That is the bad thing. Instead of saying: There is a realistic power with whom one must simply negotiate!"

"Herr Reich Chancellor von Papen started to steer an anti-bolshevik course in June 1932. He already took over these Nazi tirades of the bolshevisation of our country and the hard line we had to pursue. For 30 years Germany has been waging war — the hot and the cold war — against Russia. Isn't that a fact?"

"Herr Papen had begun with it, then in 1933 Hitler's usurpation of power... The war — also the ideological war — was waged from Germany in the worst and most evil manner against the 'bolshevist inferior race' etc. And then in 1941 the hot war."

"I have the bitter feeling, that we are again waging this cold war, this ideological war, even after 1945. Not only we, but also the West in the widest sense of the word."

"I think negotiations on the German question with a German government or negotiations of a German government with the Soviet Union are necessary. I think, the thesis, which is again and again presented by the Federal Republic, that reunification was an affair of the four victor powers implying complete passivity of a German government, is a political default."

To believe, he added, that the Western Powers regarded reunification "as a burn-

ing task, is an absolute illusion". There were plenty of possibilities for negotiations, Dr. Dehler stated. "The Notes of the Soviet Union of February 17 last year as well as of August 3 and the peace treaty proposal of January 10, 1959 have again and again stated: Please, this is our idea; now make your proposals."

"This is my reproach to German foreign policy: never a concretized German idea. Why are we not putting our peace proposal on the table?"

He continued: "What we do is completely sterile, for we do nothing. During his visit to Washington in November last year, Adenauer torpedoed the beginnings showing around Kennedy regarding the questions of security."

The FDP politician repeatedly dwelt on the necessity to solve the problems of security in Europe.

"I should like to say here: I wish very much it could come about. There will be no solution of all the urgent problems, if there is no agreement on security in central Europe... We live here almost in a magic area, in the heart of Europe, in that area in which the great decisions of world history have repeatedly been made; to create a peaceable area here, would that be a success, an achievement?"

"There will be no German reunification, no solution of the German question as long as — to say it graphically — Russian troops and allied troops are stationed on German soil, as long as parts of Germany belong to the pact of the West, the Nato, and to the Warsaw pact."

"The first thing must be the negotiation of another security agreement connected with the renunciation of atomic weapons, of ABC weapons as a whole."

SAVINGS OF BRENTANO

Following this straight talk, according to western news agencies, Brentano — Chairman of the Adenauer party in the West German Parliament — stated that it would be "difficult to participate in a plenary session under Dehler as the acting president" (speaker).

DPA (West German news agency) wrote: "The CDU/CSU Fraction wants to leave the hall in case Dehler takes the chair in the Bundestag."

Adenauer had stated at a fraction meeting: "After these utterances" Dehler was "no longer acceptable as vice-president of the Bundestag". The West German Chancellor also stated that Bundestag President Gerstenmeier should think it over whether in future he could let a man "with such feeble-mindedness" act for him in parliament.

West German and, to a certain extent, foreign newspapers have entered into the discussion of what Dr. Dehler has said. The Basle Nationalzeitung wrote on March 14

that Dehler "has only expressed an opinion that is widespread in the Federal Republic. The discontent with the eastern policy of Adenauer, rigidly staying negative, reaches into the circles of diplomacy as the affair of the hitherto ambassador in Moscow, Kroll, has amply proved".

The Nuernberger Nachrichten wrote: "Since 1917 bolshevist Russia has been regarded as the social arch-enemy and since 1941 also as the national arch-enemy."

"To weaken and push back this arch-enemy and, by doing so, to be able to restore the German Reich again and to extend its sphere of influence up to the borders of 1937 — that has been the secret hope for all these years..."

"In the long run of course one could not deny that the realities look different, but one has stubbornly refused to draw any lessons for the attitude towards the east-east big power."

YOUTH THANKS DEHLER

The Jungdemokraten, the youth organisation of the FDP, of Frankfurt on Main have thanked Dr. Dehler for his courageous statements. It had been high time that once again in the Federal Republic somebody had "represented frankly and honestly the conviction of the liberals".

The chief minister of Baden Wuerttemberg, Kiesinger, who

is a staunch supporter of Adenauer, described Dehler's accusations as a "national disaster" for Bonn. According to UPI reports from Bonn, Dr. Dehler sent the following telegram to Kiesinger:

"I reject your unjust and unchivalrous reproaches. For a lifetime I have served our people and German liberal democracy to the best of my will and energy, even at a time when you had crossed over to the side of the arch enemies of freedom and our nation. History will decide which of us two has brought happiness or disaster to our nation."

In the Muenchner Abendzeitung Dr. Dehler described the Bonn politicians as "die-hard, incorrigible cold warriors who try to get rid of the critical political spirit and their own responsibility by stamping bolshevism as the source of all evil and exhaust their activity in a kind of crusade against it."

It was understandable, Dr. Dehler wrote further, "that my colleague Dr. Richard Jaeger (Vice-Chairman of the West German Parliament) feels hit. He is one of those I accuse and who, in my firm conviction, will once be found guilty by German history. He and his like have fallen victim to thinking — in terms of friend-enemy. They need an adversary whom they fight, degrade, slander and demonize in an arrogant and unjust manner."

Whoever persisted in this

thinking "sharpens the contradictions and tensions and thus by-passes the possibility of political effectiveness".

Dr. Dehler also stated: "Richard Jaeger stamped this word: 'One part of the world is governed by gentlemen, the other by gangsters'. By that he proves the same hopeless ideological stubbornness as the chairman of his fraction von Brentano, who felt himself attacked in his fundamental foreign policy attitude — and that with every right — by my statement over television and has shot in a hard way at me from all barrels."

"During the millennium celebrations of the battle on the Lachfeld he spoke of the new 'Huns' that had to be defeated... It is quite the same when the Chancellor describes the Soviet Russians as our deadly enemies or declares to Pope John XXIII: 'I believe that God has assigned a special task to the German people in these dangerous times. We are the guardians of the West against any power which might rise beyond the borders to the East'."

"I turn and have turned in my television programme, against this attitude, because it excludes an effective foreign policy, because it has prevented for years already constructive, political action towards finding a solution because, in my opinion, it must lead to a disaster that would surpass manifold the catastrophe of 1945."

By Cable

From P. K. Kunhanandan

Scare Over Berlin Prospects

DR's new Berlin peace move with access guarantee, non-nuclear zone and German disarmament proposals have put, Western powers in dolrums. When the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko handed over last week a working plan on Berlin to State

Secretary Dean Rusk in Geneva, he was to rush back to Washington to consult President Kennedy, because faced with the new Berlin access plan (which meets more than half way the Western demand), State Secretary could not downright reject it though his West German satellite has rejected it as unacceptable.

Most influential American paper New York Times now reports that talks on Berlin on the basis of the new proposals would be held in Washington between State Secretary Rusk and the new Soviet Ambassador in Washington Anatol F. Dobrynin.

All neutral states and even some of the minor partners in the imperialist camp in Geneva talks have found Ulbricht's proposals and Soviet working plan "realistic" and have put some pressure on America and Britain to resume talks on Berlin that were called off in Moscow between U.S. Ambassador, Thompson and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in February.

It may be recalled that US State Department wrecked these talks while Macmillan and Lord Home arrogantly

sat back and let it happen. Pressurised by West German Chancellor Adenauer, Ambassador Thompson put a straight US tough line without regard for British views.

American diplomat's talk in Moscow produced nothing more sensible than two proposals which he knew in advance it was meaningless to discuss. The impossible proposals were:

1) The reunification of Berlin, or in other words, the separation of the capital of GDR from the Republic. This idea was immediately rejected by Soviet and GDR Governments as "an idea which in present circumstances is as wild as that of foreign control over Washington."

2) The second proposal was for the creation of an "international corridor" from Bonn to West Berlin across territory of GDR and Western control of GDR's air and water communications.

Any independent state would consider the simple enumeration of such conditions an insult to its sovereignty. Our people will recall Mohammad Ali Jinnah's arrogant demand immediately after partition that a corridor from Karachi to Dacca across the Indo-Gangetic plain to Pakistan which was rejected by Nehru and other leaders.

Chancellor Adenauer during the Moscow talks recalled his Moscow Ambassador Hans Kroll because, it was reported, he had recommended a realistic posi-

tion — to cut off political ties between West Germany and West Berlin, recognition of Oder-Neisse Line as German frontier until a peace treaty is signed and admission of both German States into the UN.

The imperialists who sabotaged the Moscow talks are now looking for new arguments to block progress of further talks on Berlin crisis on the basis of Ulbricht's proposals and Soviet working plan. For example, see what New York Times writes editorially on April 3:

"As to Berlin talks" both President Kennedy and the State Department appear more hopeful because of a Soviet compromise offer to accept an international control authority for the access route. But this proposal still requires Western acceptance of the Soviet terms for a Berlin settlement that would drive Western troops out of the City... Thus the prospect for agreement... remains dim."

According to Washington correspondent of this paper, "The Soviet proposal is unacceptable to US though Mr. Gromyko embraced the proposal of President Kennedy made last fall that the access to Berlin be supervised by an international control authority. The United States objects that Soviet counter-proposal links the creation of the international authority with the Allied evacuation of Berlin through a change in the City status."

★ SEE FACING PAGE

COLLECTIVISATION IN RUMANIA

The collectivisation of agriculture in Rumania's Brasova and Succava regions too was announced on March 17. Now all the 16 regions of the Rumanian People's Republic have concluded the process of the collectivisation of agriculture started in 1949.

THUS, the tasks traced by the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party concerning the completion of collectivisation of agriculture by 1965 were implemented ahead of schedule.

This event illustrates once again the confidence of the peasantry in the policy of the RWP whose aim in its whole activity is the welfare and happiness of the entire people.

The Conference of collective farmers held last December on the initiative of the CC of the RWP had a powerful mobilising echo among the peasantry, conference which made a comprehensive review of the successes of collective farms, and was at the same time an occasion for an exchange of advanced experience.

Scores of thousands of peasants enthusiastically answered the Call of the Conference by taking the path of collectivisation. The great majority of the new collective farmers come from among the peasant associations.

The ever more convincing results obtained year after year by the socialist agricultural units helped in the political work of explaining to the peasants to join, on the basis of free consent, the collective farms. The superiority of socialist agriculture was proved by the successes of the collective farms throughout the country which have consid-

rably increased the agricultural, vegetables and animal output and have changed the face of the villages, the life of the working peasantry.

Last year, in spite of unfavourable weather, the collective farms have reaped on an average for every hectare 550 kg. wheat and 850 kg. maize more than the individual farms. The collective farms have considerably increased the number of commonly-owned animals. In 1961, the number of horned cattle was four times bigger than in 1959, of pigs three times, and of sheep twice.

All these made the common property of collective farms rise from 3,370 million lei in 1959 to 7,000 million lei in 1961. This also brought about a great rise in the collective farmers' incomes.

Rising Standards

Last year, the village population of Rumania has bought through the consumer co-operatives 11.5 per cent more industrial and food products than in the preceding year. In the last ten years over 700,000 new houses were built in the villages, mostly by the collective farmers.

The delegates to the conference estimated that this year by using more rationally the production capacity of the furnaces, by shortening the term of commissioning the new blast furnace at Hunedoara, the furnacemen will be able to turn out at least 60,000 tons of pig-iron over and above plan.

In order to ensure an output of two million tons of pig-iron in 1963 (the quantity envisaged for 1965), the conference participants also discussed the necessary measures for increasing the productivity of the furnaces, so that the utilisation indices envisaged for 1965 should be attained in 1963.

As a result of the considerable development of the iron and steel industry under people's power, already in the first year of the Six-Year Plan (1960) the output of pig-iron was eight times the pre-war figure.

The attainment, much ahead of schedule, of an output of two million tons of pig iron will mean the doubling of production in only four years.

At present, the Rumanian People's Republic is well-known on the world market for the high technical level and the quality of the drilling outfits and the oil-field equipment, the tractors, machine-tools, road building outfits, cement-lines, railway cars, and electro-technical equipment. In 1961 the volume of exports of machines was 4.9 times bigger than in 1955.

Last year, the Rumanian People's Republic exported machines and equipment to over 30 countries.



Academician Stefan Nicolau, leader of the Rumanian parliamentary delegation which visited India recently, seen with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

collective farms. As already announced, the Political Bureau of the CC of the RWP has convened in the first ten days of April, a Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RWP which will review the collectivisation of agriculture and will study measures concerning the reorganisation of agricultural management, in conformity with the requirements of the new stage of its development, as well as measures to ensure socialist agriculture with specialised cadres.

Steel Forging Ahead

RECENTLY, the furnacemen from all over the country met at Hunedoara, one of the big iron and steel centres of Rumania, to discuss the main problems with regard to the quantitative and qualitative increase of the pig-iron output. The conference established further measures to be taken for the earlier attainment of the target envisaged for 1965—a two million-ton pig-iron output.

Last year, the Rumanian pig-iron output amounted to 1,099,000 tons (8 per cent more than in the previous year). For the current year the plan envisages an output of about 1.6 million tons of pig-iron.

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Ten Times More Machines

THE Rumanian machine-building industry, the output of which is now ten times what it was in 1938, ensures at present 80 per cent of the amount of machines and equipment needed by the national

economy. Twenty-five years ago, bourgeois-landlord Rumania had to import 95 per cent of the volume of machinery needed.

The tempestuous development of the machine-building industry in the years of socialist construction has also ensured great availabilities for export.

At present, the Rumanian People's Republic is well-known on the world market for the high technical level and the quality of the drilling outfits and the oil-field equipment, the tractors, machine-tools, road building outfits, cement-lines, railway cars, and electro-technical equipment. In 1961 the volume of exports of machines was 4.9 times bigger than in 1955.

Last year, the Rumanian People's Republic exported machines and equipment to over 30 countries.

REFUGEES HIT IN ASSAM

UNION Rehabilitation Minister's recent announcement that the Union Rehabilitation Ministry would be soon abolished has caused great shock and resentment among the displaced persons in Assam, according to Arabindo Ghose, General Secretary, All Assam Refugee Association.

According to him nearly 50 per cent of the ten lakh refugees residing in Assam could not be rehabilitated till now. The problem, he said, was made all the more complicated by the eviction of about three thousand refugees who had settled themselves of their own in Mikir Hills. Ghose maintained that the state government did not till now honour its commitment to provide alternate land for these evicted refugees.

Many of these refugees, Ghose said, had been reduced to begging from door to door. Only a few had been given land unsuitable for cultivation.

It may be recalled that about three years back nearly three thousand refugees were evicted with the help of police and inflicting a section of the

Mikirs against the refugees, from Mikir Hills where they settled themselves without any Government help, after reclaiming land fighting against wild animals.

Though the figure of refugee population given by the General Secretary of the Refugee Association is held in question by the authorities, it is not denied that the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees has not yet been fully solved.

But the State Government maintain that only a "residual problem" remains and it can be tackled by the normal administrative machinery. Accordingly, disregarding the protest of the refugee organisations and others, the State Government is winding up the State Rehabilitation department from this month.

The General Secretary of the Refugee Association did not demand that the Union Rehabilitation Ministry should function eternally. His demand was that it should function as long as the problem was not solved substantially. He felt that if the Union Ministry functioned, in spite of the closure of the State Rehabilitation department, considerable relief might be secured by the dis-

placed persons who are yet to be resettled.

According to Arabindo Ghose refugees have been evicted not only from Mikir Hills, but also from other areas of the State. This hindered the solution of the problem, he maintained.

According to him, the problem was further complicated by the language disturbances of 1960 which rendered some already rehabilitated refugees displaced for the second time. Many of those affected by 1960 disturbances were not yet rehabilitated fully, he said. He was afraid that after the Rehabilitation department was abolished both at the State and the Centre the problem of the refugees would go by default and the normal departments would not be able to give due attention to this problem.

The Refugee Association was contemplating a movement against the closure of the Ministry, he said.

The winding up of the Rehabilitation Ministry, it is apprehended, will throw out of number of employees who employment quite a large have been working in this department, some of them putting in nearly 12 years of services in this department.

CALL TO GOVT. TO SHED COMPLACENCY

Appeal For United Efforts

Speaking on the Governor's address in the UP State Assembly on March 30 Dr. Z. A. Ahmad first of all expressed his keen disappointment over the fact that the address failed to indicate any new thinking or to give any perspective. It was merely a jumble of items from various departmental reports.

ALTHOUGH it was supposed to be a statement of policies yet it was said that the Chief Minister had not had the time to formulate those policies. Dr. Ahmad then explained that his criticism was not merely for criticism's sake. "I want that Opposition and Government should together work out a new path to carry the State and the country forward.

"I honestly feel that this Government has not done what should be done and there are very serious shortcomings which should be pondered over and removed. One does not know who amongst us will survive if the reactionary forces continue to grow at this rate. We are both confronted with the same problems and both of us want our country to go forward.

NOT SOCIALISM

"I can never accept that we have a socialist economy here or a socialist society is being built. I think many of our friends who talk of socialism do not even understand the ABC of it. Establishment of a few cooperatives does not mean socialism. Taking some steps to relieve the people's distress does not constitute socialism. Even under capitalism there are measures which help the people. Things which have been enumerated in the Governor's address are such as are done much more in a capitalist society.

"You have done something for the workers. You

have opened a few cooperative societies, you have sent 50 doctors to Allahabad and so on and so forth. All these have nothing to do with socialism. Therefore, I will not judge this government on the basis of the criteria that are set for a socialist government, but rather on the lines of criteria for a democratic government.

"The Governor in his address says that he is satisfied with the work that is being done by his Government. If he is satisfied then I should think that it is a great misfortune for all of us. I cannot understand for the life of me how he could come to this conclusion. If he is satisfied then it really means that our Governor does not know what is actually happening in our State. It is a fact that our State is backward as compared to other States economically as well as politically. It is far behind other States. This Government does not realise this.

"Furthermore the Government has not drawn any lessons from the results of the elections. They might well be satisfied but I will surely ask one question as to how much votes did the ruling party get in 1957 and where does it stand today?

"Today the ruling party's base has come down to only 36 per cent. Does this give their minds any jolt or not? Have they thought how it happened after all? Hon'ble Hukum Singh says that the peasants are well off. They have better food, clothes and houses.

"May I most respectfully ask how did it then happen that your votes got reduced from 46 per cent to 36 per cent? Where did the other 10 per cent go?"

Dr. Ahmad said that he would not want the Chief Minister to remain satisfied and complacent. He should keep worrying about why the influence of the Congress was declining and who was taking its place. "Are not the forces of reaction and anarchy coming forward? If this does not worry you and give you a jolt then I honestly cannot say what will happen to this State and the country in the next five years.

"I would appeal to the Chief Minister to find ways and means that the 65 per cent people who have gone against the Congress, trust should be created in their minds that this government

duction has grown, it has not been due to increase in productivity but because the cultivated area has grown. Our average production per acre has not gone up but has come down. In 1939-40 average production of wheat per acre was 10.65 maunds. In 1957-58 it came down to 7.80 maunds only. Similarly the average production of rice per acre came down from 8.41 to 6.19.

"Take the case of industries now. Although the U.P. in the largest State of India, from the point of view of industries it is the most backward. During the last two Five-Year Plans whatever the Government has spent on industrialisation in the state sector works out for Punjab at Rs. 91 per capita, for Madhya Pradesh Rs. 70 per capita, for Mysore Rs. 98, for Rajasthan Rs. 59, and for Uttar Pradesh it is only Rs. 37.

"And even in the public sector we have got only two

side who is wrong and who is right.

"In the last Two Plans 29 big projects have been erected. Out of these how many did the U.P. get? Only one. And that is the Rihand and we all know how it is working."

FEUDALS BECOME BOLD

Dr. Ahmad said that he did not want to raise a scare "but we must all think which is the direction in which we are going. There is a big danger. I say that if feudal elements become bold in Jawaharlal Nehru's State and if communalism runs riot then surely it is a matter of concern and we both should ponder over it. If in Jawaharlal's State people like Jaipuria arise and start playing with money then it is certainly a matter of great concern.

"Why does this play with money go on among the peo-

Z. A. AHMAD SPOTLIGHTS DANGERS OF U.P.'S BACKWARDNESS

is really a progressive government, is a government which looks after the poor and wishes well for them.

"Considering the situation as it exists today, during the last 12 years U.P. has become the most backward State in India from the economic point of view and hence it, has been drifting in the wrong direction from the political point of view also.

"This same U.P. was once leading the country. Its economy, culture and social life had for centuries spread a beneficial effect all round. The same U.P. where big Avatars have taken their birth, which has been the centre of culture and civilisation — today that U.P. has become a laughing stock for everybody and everyone makes fun of it.

"I have gone round the country. In the South when they talk of U.P.'s projects they laugh and say that this is the same U.P. where projects are formulated without locations. It is because of this that no big project has been located here.

"Four years I was in the Rajya Sabha and used to hear all these stories about U.P.'s projects.

"The Governor in his address has emphasised that agriculture should develop. What has been done so far? The figures for the last 10 years are revealing. From 1948-49 to 1959-60 foodgrains production in our State has increased by 18.4 per cent. But in the meanwhile our population has been growing by 1.5 to 2 per cent every year. That means the increase in production is left behind by the increase in population and in that proportion the deficit in agriculture keeps growing. And if this remains the situation, it will continue to grow.

"Moreover whatever pro-

jects. One is the Churk Cement Factory and the other is the Precision Instruments Factory which manufactures water metres. This is while other States have forged far ahead. We feel ashamed to say that the optical factory which was to have been set up at Naini has been taken away by Dr. B. C. Roy to West Bengal. Similarly the Sindri Fertiliser Factory which was originally to have been set up at Harduaganj has been shifted to Bihar.

"How development is taking place in the private sector can be realised from the figures of income-tax payers. The number of people paying income tax on incomes above Rs. 10,000 in U.P. is 10,000. In Maharashtra it is 77,000, in West Bengal it is 34,000 and in Delhi City it is 13,000.

"Companies operating in 1959 were 11,582 in West Bengal, 5,629 in Maharashtra, 2,396 in Madras while in U.P. there were only 1,163. Even here U.P. is the most backward.

"New Companies that were registered in 1959-60 in India as a whole were 1,00,452. Of these only 5,500 were registered in U.P. During the Second Plan period State Corporations registered were 87. Of these only one was in U.P. and that too the Small-Scale Industrial Corporation.

"The Industrial Finance Corporation distributed in 1960 Rs. 84,60,74,000. Out of this U.P. got only Rs. 7 crores.

"There is nobody to demand and there is nobody to accept and there are none to submit plans. There is tall talk in the Assembly that we are doing this and we are doing that. The Kisan is doing well and drinking well. After all there should be some criteria. I suggest humbly to the Chief Minister that he bring out his own figures and contradict these which I have given and let us de-

ple? Because you have not controlled the private sector."

Replying to those who had asked how socialism could be built Dr. Ahmad said that the first thing was to strengthen the productive base. Secondly, it was necessary to see that whatever was produced was distributed equitably.

"It is impermissible that wealth after it is produced is allowed to flow into the coffers of big industrialists. Today it is a fact that distribution is not equitable at all. Somebody is grabbing it and running away with it. We all know about it.

"Let those forces arise and grow which would push the society in the direction of socialism, whose have faith in socialism. The poor should feel that something is being built for them. It is only then that cooperation between Government and people will come about."

In conclusion Dr. Ahmad said that it was imperative that a new way is adopted "and if that way is adopted then I can assure, on behalf of my Party, that if correct steps are taken then we are with you, shoulder to shoulder. But if wrong steps are taken then, excuse me, you are bound to be criticised. There is criticism even in a family when a brother goes wrong."

"Therefore holding fast to the principles of socialism and giving them practical shape, let us go forward so that the backwardness of U.P. is liquidated, the feudal remnants are abolished, the grip of the private sector is broken, the public sector is strengthened and U.P. is industrialised. Taking advantage of discontent reaction is growing fast and communalism is growing. It is only thus that we can politically combat and defeat reaction and build a new life in our State and in our country."

U. P. VOTING FIGURES, 1962

(Lok Sabha)

	Total No. of seats, Electorate		86@	
	Valid votes polled-		3,53,50,578	
			1,77,69,322	
	No. of contesting candidates	Candidates elected	Votes polled	Percentage
Congress	85*	62*	69,49,915	39.11
Communist Party	(86)	(70)	(1,05,99,639)	(46.29)
PSP	18	2	6,50,192	3.65
Jan Sangh	(7)	(1)	(3,83,509)	(1.67)
Swatantra	48	2	18,51,857	10.42
Others and Independents	(52)	(4)	(35,11,157)	(15.34)
	73	7	31,11,878	17.51
	(61)	(2)	(33,85,247)	(14.79)
	32	3	8,82,390	4.90
	176	10**	43,23,09	24.33
	(88)	(9)	(50,16,551)	(21.91)
			1,77,69,322	

@ One uncontested return

* Excluding seat returned uncontested for Congress

** Three Republicans, one Socialist and one Hindu Maha Sabha