

FIGHT FOR SPOILS IS ON

MAY 10 1960

U. N. Dhebar, the Kerala expert of the All-India Congress Committee is annoyed with the intelligentsia in India. It, he says, has not the time nor the vision nor the patience to understand the real issue. He passed this verdict on the Indian intelligentsia because it looks upon the "utter defeat" of the Communists in the recent mid-term elections in Kerala as a victory.

But he himself warns his own colleagues not to look upon the Communists as people who have been utterly defeated. For, if the steps suggested by him are not immediately taken, "we may lose Kerala once again to Communism. The fault will then be ours. The people have pledged themselves to this task. Let not their enthusiasm and energy be dissipated because of our unpreparedness."

Dhebar's Anger And His Prescription

"If we lose Kerala to Communism, it will be the beginning of the end of democracy in India, the end of our cherished objectives and futility of all the sacrifices endured to fulfil those objectives."

It is in this spirit of an anti-Communist crusade that he makes certain suggestions to tackle the problems of Kerala, its present and future. The suggestions are three-fold:

First, the Government of India should pay special attention to the economic problems of Kerala and evolve practical programmes for the development of the State;

Secondly, the Congress Party at the organisational level should mobilise the services of its "countless workers" and do what is commonly known as mass contact work;

Thirdly, the Government of India should give an inspiring picture of the future socio-economic

pattern of the country and also give the people a reasonable idea about the stages by which the socio-economic reforms envisaged in the Constitution will be implemented.

The remarkable thing about all these suggestions is that they are addressed to the Central Government and the Congress High Command. There is no suggestion made to Dhebar's own colleagues in Kerala, either in the Government or in the Party organisation.

the anti-Communist triple alliance—that Kerala can be saved for the cause of anti-Communism not by the anti-Communist local parties in Kerala but only by the Congress High Command and Government of India?

Either the anti-Communists throughout the country pool all their resources, economic, administrative and organisational, to make the people of Kerala believe that their problems can be solved by the Congress and its Government or Kerala will be lost to Communism for ever—such is the prospect held out by Dhebar before his colleagues of the anti-Communist camp.

So far as we Communists are concerned, we would welcome any initiative on the part of the Central Government and the Congress leadership to evolve practical pro-



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IS THIS MINISTRY A FIT INSTRUMENT TO SOLVE KERALA'S PROBLEMS?

—Asks E. M. S. Namboodiripad

This is no accidental omission for, Dhebar states deliberately: "the future does not rest with any of the political parties so much as it rests with India. India as the custodian and trustee of all the weaker States, has to look closer and deeper to see what can be done for Kerala. I may repeat, no Government in Kerala is going to do it by itself."

Can there be a more severe indictment of the local leadership than this open admission made by the chief architect of

programmes for developing the State, even if it is taken with a view to strengthen the Congress Party and weaken us politically.

It has been always our complaint that Kerala, along with other backward States like Assam, Orissa, Rajasthan, etc., and certain particularly backward regions in other States, has been woefully neglected. We have always held that the development that has taken place and is now taking place in accordance with the Five Year Plans

Any amount of attention which is now promised by Dhebar will only be belated recognition of all that we have been telling the Government of India, under the Congress leadership, for the last several years.

But the question is: can the Government of India on its own and without the necessary prerequisites in the State itself undertake the responsibility of evolving practical programmes for the development of this State?

Is it not on the other hand, true that the Central Government, the State Government, the political parties and the people of the State—all have to play their respective roles if the economic (or for that matter any other) problem of the State is to be solved?

Is it not for this reason that the Planning Commission lays stress on the need for people's participation both in the formulation as well as in the implementation of the Plan? Can Kerala be an exception to the oft-emphasised need for planning from below, the basis on which the Commission set out to frame the Second Five Year Plan?

If the Government, the political parties and the people within the State have a role to play in formulating and implementing the plans of developing Kerala, the question arises: are the Government and the ruling political parties in the State, in a position to take advantage of whatever help the Central Government may give the State on Dhebar's advice and to develop the State in the various fields of its activities?

Is it because Dhebar is ashamed of the situation in this respect that he does not make any suggestion as to what should be done by the State Government and the political parties within the State?

Whether Dhebar would admit it or not, the fact remains that the Government and the ruling political parties are not in a condition in which they can undertake such a responsibility.

The fortnight that has passed since the formation of the present Ministry has seen intense activity in no other field than that of manoeuvres by

persons and groups within the ruling parties for their respective shares in power.

No sooner had the Ministry been sworn in than suggestions began to be made for its expansion or reorganisation. One group wanted the number of Ministers to be raised from 11 to 13 so that Latin Catholics and women may be given representation.

As soon as this suggestion was made, the demand came that it should be raised still further to 14 since that alone would restore the balance between the Congress and the PSP in the Ministry. An alternative suggestion was made that instead of raising the number from 11 to 13; two Ministers belonging to the over-represented communities may be made to make room for the Latin Christians and women.

The Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister openly came out as the advocates of these contending suggestions, the latter supporting expansion.

Statements and counter-statements have also appeared on behalf of a Muslim Congressman (who demands greater representation to the Muslim community, though not to the Muslim League), a Muslim Praja Socialist who is supposed to be an aspirant for the Minister's post and another Praja Socialist who is opposed to this move, etc.

Moves And Counter-Moves

These and other moves and counter-moves of individuals and groups within the Congress, as well as within the PSP have sharply raised the question: Is the present Ministry a fit instrument through which any programme of developing the State can be carried out?

Is it not, on the other hand, true that if the leaders of the Governmental parties resort to such quarrels among themselves with regard to their respective places in the Ministry, how much more will they not quarrel as each concrete issue of development comes?

Can Dhebar or his colleagues of the Congress High Command guarantee that what happened in the 10 years—1947 to 1957—will not be repeated in the next few months?

Even supposing that a satisfactory answer can be found to this question, it remains to be seen how far they will succeed if they are undertaken on the purely negative basis of anti-Communism. After all, Dhebar

* SEE BACK PAGE

FOR KERALA STATE COUNCIL RESOLUTION

—See page 4

DANGE ON STATE BANK DISPUTE

S. A. DANGE, M.P., General Secretary, AITUC, has issued the following statement to the press: "The All-India Trade Union Congress extends its solidarity to the striking employees of the State Bank of India and wishes them success in their struggle."

"As it appears from the statement made by the Finance Minister in Parliament, the Government broke off negotiations which had been going on with the State Bank of India Staff Federation on the ground that their demands were 'fantastic.' If the Government thought that the demands were 'fantastic,' the Federation of the employees had offered the alternative that the dispute could be submitted to arbitration. The Finance Minister has given no reason why this offer was rejected and the employees were forced to go on strike."

"Moreover, it would be against the interests of the trade union movement as a whole if the employer—in this case, the Government of India—were to seek the right to determine even the character, tone and pitch of the demands that the employees should formulate."

"The Government of India has all along been preaching

that disputes must be settled by direct negotiations between the employees and the employer and failing which, by arbitration. When both these forums were closed by the Government of India, what other alternative had the employees in this particular case?

"The bank employees in the private sector led by the All-India Bank Employees' Association (AIBEA) have also submitted their demands and the Government has been having consultations with them and the bankers on the question of appointment of a Commission to judge those demands and settle them. The Reserve Bank employees also have been having negotiations with the Government on their demands."

"Thus, all the three sectors are pressing forward their demands and are negotiating for quite a while. The bankers in the private sector have refused totally to sit with the AIBEA and negotiate either directly or in a tripartite conference."

"Thus, it seems, despite the great boom that the banking industry is enjoying, with the vast funds put at their disposal by Government's planning activities, they are unwilling to share the profits of this boom with the workers to any extent in order to

improve the working conditions of the employees."

"The State Bank strike is an indication that the employees are not prepared to permit the dilatory tactics of the employers, whether in the private or the public sector, to deny them their just dues in the rising prosperity."

"If the Government does not move quickly in this matter, all the bank workers in the country might have to take a sympathetic action with the striking State Bank employees and later on, for their own demands."

"Though as at present, the three wings of the bank employees working the three sectors, namely, the private banks, the State Bank and the Reserve Bank, are pursuing their demands through their own separate organisations, the AITUC hopes that they will in future act together on the basis of joint consultations and face the employers in the banking industry as a whole—both State and private—on a united basis, though with different demands according to their own working conditions."

"The AITUC requests the Government of India to change its unhelpful approach and open the way for settlement of the issues of the bank workers."

EISENHOWER'S TOUR

President Eisenhower returned to Washington on March 6 from his 11,560-mile fortnight tour of Latin America—to be more exact of Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. The tour is considered to be more important than the earlier ones he has undertaken so far. The importance lies not so much in the countries visited but in the country left out—Cuba.

Cuba is the new threat to U.S. domination of the Western hemisphere. The main purpose of the Latin American tour was to quarantine Cuba.

IN a nation-wide television hook-up before starting on the tour on February 22, Eisenhower spoke at length of the military strength of the U.S. He asserted that the several hundred U.S. bombers stationed throughout the world constituted a force far superior to any other in number, quality and strategic location of their bases. The U.S. had forged "a trustworthy shield of peace" an unbreakable force of incalculable power. It was in this tough tone Eisenhower continued to talk all along his tour. He particularly proclaimed once again the Monroe doctrine which enjoins on Latin Americans to subordinate their foreign relations to the U.S.

Everywhere he went Eisenhower was met by hostile demonstrations. In many places, people, particularly youths told him in unmistakable terms: "We like Fidel", i.e. Fidel Castro, the Cuban revolutionary Premier whom the U.S. seeks to overthrow.

"Far-Away Country"

He blamed for this "a far-away country" without naming it, saying "Very recently in a far-away country that has never known freedom—one which today holds millions of humans in subjugation—impas-

.... AND THE U. S. RECORD IN SOUTH AMERICA

Tough Talk

One of the primary aims of his South American tour, he said, was to demonstrate the United States desire to collaborate closely with countries of the region. Friendship among American Republics was taken for granted. "We must not give our neighbours of Latin America cause to believe this about us," said Eisenhower adding, "So I shall reaffirm to our sister Republics that we are steadfast in our purpose to work with them hand in hand in promoting security and well-being for all peoples of this hemisphere."

He spoke of "the democratic institutions of the Americas"—meaning thereby the hated dictatorships that the U.S. has tried its best to maintain all these years in the Central and South American countries against the

Over the past century and more on more than a hundred occasions the U.S. has committed armed aggression and intervention against its Southern neighbours.

FROM Mexico it wrested and annexed some 2.4 million square kilometres of territory—an area larger than the Mexico of today. At the turn of the century, nine Caribbean countries suffered armed U.S. incursions, including the dispatch of U.S. troops to Cuba on four occasions and the occupation of Haiti for 19 years.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has done much to oust British and other imperialist influences in Latin America. It has tightened its grip over the South American continent politically, militarily and economically. By means of multilateral and bilateral military treaties, the allocating of 44 military missions and the establishment of a chain of bases stretching from the Caribbean to Argentina, U.S. imperialism has tied the Latin

Following the Guatemala incident, the Eisenhower administration went on within the period of a year or so to engineer two coups in Brazil when

sioned language has been used to assert that the U.S. has held Latin America in a colonial relationship." This unnamed country was identified by the press as the USSR.

President Eisenhower characterised the assertion about the U.S. holding Latin America "in a colonial relationship" as "a blatant falsehood" and went on to show how glorious the U.S. record has been in history and how "after the two world wars and the Korean War the U.S. did not annex a single additional acre, and it has sought no advantage of any kind at the expense of another."

"And in all of Latin America," he added, "we adhere honourably and persistently to the policy of non-intervention."

These sentiments that the President expressed as he was starting on his South American tour were being expressed on his country's behalf not for the first time. In fact these sentiments had been expressed time and again by U.S. spokesmen in the past. But the Latin Americans somehow refused to be-

lieve them. Add, judging from the reception President Eisenhower got in various places, it seems they refuse to believe these declarations of U.S. intentions even after they have come from such a high and respected quarter.

Surely it cannot all be due to "coercion and subversion" organised by "a far-away country." Surely there must be some objective reasons for the persistent scepticism of the Latin Americans.

The New York Times Weekly Review issued on the eve of Eisenhower's departure said:

"Over the years, relations between the United States and Latin America have been far from smooth. The Good Neighbor policy initiated in the Thirties has been only partly successful in eradicating the image that many Latin Americans have held of the United States: that of an imperialist power that intervened in the affairs of its weaker sister republics to exploit their wealth and protect its own economic interests.

Two years ago, following hostile demonstrations against Vice-President Nixon during his Latin American tour, the United States began a thorough re-examination of its policies in the area."

Enumerating various measures the U.S. has taken since to meet the situation, the review laments the inadequacy of these, calling them, "only a small beginning."

"Per capita income in several Latin American nations," it says, "is below 300 dollars per year. Most of their economies are heavily dependent on one or two products (coffee in Brazil, beef in Argentina, copper in Chile); when the world price or demand for these products drops, they suffer severe hardship."

Behind Eisenhower's vehement denials and the grudging admissions of New York Times what is the reality of the U.S. record in Latin America? It is no different from that which has manifested itself, despite the tightest security arrangements everywhere, in demonstrations staged against Eisenhower asking him to Go Back and Get Out.

AND THE U. S. RECORD IN SOUTH AMERICA

the latter moved to prohibit exploitation of petroleum by foreign capital and planned measures to safeguard its national interests. The first coup forced the then Brazilian President Vargas to suicide, the second sought to prevent President Kubitschek and Vice-President Goulart from assuming office. The latter was frustrated only because the Brazilian people put up a fight against it and patriotic officers opposed it.

Remember Guatemala

When economic crisis developed in the United States in 1957, U.S. monopoly capital, shifting the burden on to the Latin American countries, clamped stringent restrictions on the import of Latin American raw materials and ganged up to slash their prices.

As a result, the prices coffee dropped by 8.7 per cent in one year alone; sugar by 35 per cent; and copper by 21 per cent. Since U.S. industrial goods sold to the Latin American countries retained their high prices, the Latin American countries in 1957 suffered an unfavourable balance of trade close to 800 million dollars!

Nixon then sent on a goodwill mission to eight countries; was greeted by Latin America with rotten eggs, tomatoes, stones and angry cries. Eisenhower thereafter ordered Dulles to apply diplomatic pressure to these countries and dispatched U.S. marines and paratroopers to Caribbean bases in an open show of force against Venezuela and other Latin American peoples.

In 1958 alone the Eisenhower administration engineered three successive coups in Venezuela in an effort to restore the Jimenez dictatorship.

The sinister purpose of U.S. military intervention and political subversion has been to intensify the exploitation of the Latin American people.

More than 7,000 million dollars in goods, about half of Latin America's annual

foreign trade transactions, are under U.S. control. By means of unequal exchanges, U.S. monopoly capital robs the Latin American countries of 2,000 million dollars every year (roughly equivalent to Cuba's total annual national income).

Deathgrip On Economy

For the United States, direct private investments constitute a means of ruthless plunder. In 1955, such investments in Latin America amounted to 730 million dollars. In 1956 profits derived from U.S. investments in Latin America increased to 1,050 million dollars.

Half of all private U.S. investment flowed to the petroleum and mineral areas, fleeing the Latin American people of the benefits of these rich resources. By 1958, direct private U.S. investments in Latin America amounted to 8,700 million dollars and the United States controlled the economic lifelines of the Latin American countries, including 95 per cent of copper production in Chile, 80 per cent of the mining industries in Mexico and fruit production in practically the whole of Central America.

The "Inter-American system" or "Pan-Americanism" is a major device for U.S. imperialist domination over its southern neighbours.

Slogan Plagiarised

Once the colonies of Spain, Portugal and other European countries, the Latin American states required unity in a common effort to rid themselves of colonial rule. This has long been understood by the Latin American peoples. It was in the days of Bolivar that the slogan of Pan-American unity was first coined.

U.S. imperialism, however, has plagiarised this slogan and distorted it for its own purposes.

EXTEND ANTI-EVICTION LAW

KERALA KARSHAKA SANGHAM DEMAND

The Working Committee of the Kerala Krashaka Sangham held its meeting in Trichur on February 24 to discuss the present situation prevailing in the State and to plan an agitation to force the Government to extend the anti-eviction law which will expire on April 10, 1960.

Pandalam P. R. Madhavan Pillai presided. The Committee viewed with anxiety repressive measure adopted by the vested interest against the peasants and agricultural workers in various parts of the State. The Committee considered reports on physical violence, repression forcible eviction of tenants, etc. that had taken place in the State during the last two or three weeks after the conclusion of the m'd-term elections in the State.

The Committee appealed to the Government of Kerala to take immediate and strong measures in order to stop these attacks against the tenants and agricultural labourers.

The meeting discussed the serious consequences that would follow after the expiry of the anti-Eviction Law on April 10. The following resolution was passed at the meeting:

"The anti-eviction law, passed by the Communist-led Ministry and implemented in the State will expire on the April 10. This was the first agrarian law which saved hundreds of peasants, agricultural workers and tenants from the threat of eviction from their landholdings.

"Though it was not a comprehensive law to bring about basic changes in the agrarian set-up, this law provided protection for hundred of tenants against threat of eviction from their homestead and landholdings. It also had provi-

sions in it to collect arrears of rent and accumulated wages up to 1957. This also gave the peasants and tenants considerable relief. The purpose of this anti-eviction law was to prevent the jennies from evicting their tenants indiscriminately before the comprehensive agrarian legislation was implemented—as for example, the Agrarian Relations Bill passed by the previous Kerala Assembly. But the Bill has not so far received the President's assent for its implementation.

"Under such circumstances it is absolutely necessary that the period of the anti-eviction law should be extended until the Agrarian Relations Bill becomes law and implemented. In the interest of lakhs of tenants in Kerala an extension of this anti-eviction law is imperative.

"The landlords and other landed interests in the State have objected to this law because they were not in a position under it to evict tenants according to their sweet will. The landlords have even tried to evict the tenants by violating the provisions of the law.

"In the existing political situation in the State where Congress-PSP coalition Ministry has been formed after the election, the landlords and the landed interests are exerting immense pressure on the Government to see that the anti-eviction law is not given a fresh life.

Shocking Terror

"The terror unleashed against the agricultural labourers of Central Travancore by the local gentry and landed interests during the last three weeks would shock anyone who loves humanity. It will rouse the indignation of every patriot. Those who claim that they have given freedom to exercise franchise according to a person's free-will have murdered an agricultural labourer named Kunju Kunju in Kaviyur, Thiruvalla, while he was going to cast his vote according to his own conviction.

"This will be a shocking news to all lovers of democracy throughout the world. These butchers of democracy not only had murdered a poor agricultural labourer who would not yield to the pressure of politicians against his conviction, but they also stabbed and wounded his family members.

"In another place, an old man who voted according to his conviction without caring to listen to the local gentry, was also brutally murdered while he was asleep in his hut after he had exercised his franchise.

"In their mad jubilation after their victory in the election, workers of the triple alliance have started their political vendetta against their opponents who had worked against them. What takes place today in various villages of Kerala, especially in Central Travancore, is an organised effort to beat down the agricultural labourers to submit to the vested interests.

"The huts of agricultural labourers have been burnt down and razed to the ground and then the occupants are thrown off their landholdings. In certain places a social boycott has started where drinking water is denied to those people who have voted against the Congress. In some places the wages of agricultural labourers are cut and other rights denied if they

Another Political Murder

THE sixth political murder of Communist sympathisers in Kerala State after the polling on February 1, took place on February 21 in Manakkadu, near Thodupuzha in Ernakulam District. A Communist worker and an agricultural labourer Padinjareattathu Narayanan Nair was stabbed to death by a "liberation" struggle goonda, Kuryan.

Narayanan Nair was a friend of the Party and actively worked for the Communist candidate during the last election. He leaves behind his wife and six children. He was the only support to his family and his murder has left that family in a state of starvation and destitution.

On last Sunday evening after work Narayanan Nair was going for a bath and on the way he entered into conversation with some of his friends who were discussing in a tea shop.

The murderer Kuryan was at that time going that way with a big knife in his hand. Kuryan then butted into the conversation and suddenly

stabbed Narayanan Nair on the neck with his knife. Narayanan Nair died immediately on the spot. The assailant left the place threatening that he would kill two more Communists, before he falls into the hands of the police.

During the elections Kuryan was an active worker of the Congress and was a well-known goonda of the "liberation" struggle. During the struggle it was his daily job to terrorise and assault Communists and supporters in that locality.

He had tried during the elections to create trouble and tension in his place. Recently he had beaten up two Communist workers and threatened them that he would kill them.

After this cold-blooded murder Kuryan went to the house of a prominent Congressman and it is common talk in the village that he is still hiding there. He had not been arrested till the time of writing. It seems the police is taking a very indifferent attitude to the whole affair. (February 24)

refuse to join the INTUC and accept an identity card to show that they are not in any organisation other than the INTUC.

Those who refuse to join the INTUC are also involved in false cases, arrested and tortured in the police lock-ups. Those who do not accept the politics of the Congress are not permitted to walk in the public path way and are denied entry into the market place. The

Karshaka Sangham keeps on record its emphatic protest against such blatant denial of civil liberties and personal freedom to a section of the community."

The Committee demanded from the Government immediate necessary action to restore basic civil rights to the agricultural labourers, to protect their life, honour and property and move against

* SEE PAGE 13



Cuba is ready to meet U. S. threats.

Resignations From PSP

THE PSP does not lag behind the Congress in internal strife and rivalry for power and position. The crisis in the PSP has further sharpened after the formation of the Ministry two weeks ago. During the election campaign itself many honest PSP workers at the village and taluk level had resigned to register their protest against their leaders' alliance with the communal Muslim League and the Congress.

Now it is reported that some of the prominent PSP members of the Cochin area, including a member of the Assembly, C. G. Janardanan, whose name was widely mentioned as a likely choice for the Cabinet, till a few hours before the Ministry was sworn in, have submitted their resignation from the Executive Committee.

C. L. Sebastian, a member of the Executive Committee of the Trichur District Praja Socialist Party said that all the office bearers in that district had tendered their resignation from the posts in the party following the "arbitrary attitude of the Chief Minister Patom Thanu Pillai in selecting his cabinet col-

leagues"—who were all caste Hindus, it seems.

This decision was taken at an extraordinary meeting of the District Party held in Trichur on February 26. Sebastian has complained that the Chief Minister as the leader of the PSP did not take into confidence even his Party workers in selecting the PSP nominees to the cabinet.

The crisis is not confined to Trichur District alone. The Ernakulam unit of the party is likely to follow the same path of revolt against the PSP leadership.

What is leading to further such tremors is the utterly high-handed behaviour of the senior partners in the Kerala Cabinet. R. Sankar, when it came to discussing the State budget problems and other matters, flew off to Delhi to consult his High Command, without any previous consultation with the Chief Minister. He also announced that he thought the Cabinet could be expanded, shortly after Patom had expressed an exactly contrary opinion. PSPers wonder if all this humiliation is worth the game, only to satisfy an ootogerian's vanity!

RALLY ENTIRE PEOPLE FOR NATION-BUILDING

Kerala Communists Resolve

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India which met in Alwaye on March 1, 2 and 3 to review the mid-term elections and discuss the post-election situation in the State, has in a resolution called on the new Government and other parties to call a halt, in the interests of the State, to the cry of jihad against the Communists and exert united efforts for the State's industrial, agricultural and cultural progress.

The State Council has pointed out that the task today is to unitedly rally the thirty-five lakhs of people who voted for the Communist Party and the forty-three lakhs who voted for the Congress-PSP-League alliance to take forward nation-building activities.

The Council has reiterated that the Communist Party, as a responsible Opposition, would with greater energy defend the interests of the various sections of the people. Instancing the decision not to give toddy shops to the Toddy-Tappers' Cooperatives, the Council has warned against undoing all the good that the Communist Government had done during twenty-eight months of its rule.

Text of Resolution

The text of the resolution reads:

"The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party records its happiness at the ending of six months of President's rule and the establishment of an elected Assembly and a Ministry. The Council hopes that the new Assembly and Government will sincerely strive to find solutions to the burning problems of Kerala.

"Immediately after assuming office the Chief Minister had declared that his Government would evolve policies which would give relief to 'hungry stomachs and unemployed hands.' Some other Ministers also have declared that good administration would be ensured without any partisanship. While welcoming these declarations, the Council pledges that any efforts to build for prosperity of Kerala will have the fullest support of the Communist Party.

"But the Council wishes to point out that certain practices continue which are not in line with these declarations. Instead of uniting the thirty-five lakhs of people who rallied behind the Communist Party and the forty-three lakhs who rallied behind the Congress-PSP-League parties and rallying them for the industrial, agricultural and cultural progress of the State efforts are still being made to divide the people in the name of anti-Communism and narrow communalism.

"Steps are yet not being taken to prevent the attacks and reprisals on Communist Party workers and people who voted for the Party. The cry for jihad against Communism and the Communist Party continues to be made. The measures which the Communist Government brought into force in the interests of the toiling people are being given up.

"The unjust attack on thousands of toddy-tapper families and their cooperatives by the decision to take away toddy shops from the cooperatives and hand them over to contractors who work only for their profits is but one instance of this reversal of policies.

argued that the Muslim League in Kerala was different from the All-India Muslim League.

"When the Catholic Church hierarchy directly intervened in political affairs, when it did election work for the Congress and resorted to religious pressure and excommunications against those who opposed the Congress, the Congress had welcomed all this.

"When it found it could not fight the Communist Party single-handed, the Congress did not hesitate to sacrifice all national traditions and democratic principles to make an opportunistic alliance with the Muslim League. Responsible Congress leaders had proclaimed that after the election victory there would be a coalition Government of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League and thus they misled the people.

"And now when the Congress and PSP have been able to secure a majority of seats enabling them to form a Government, they are trying to raise the flag of nationalism. The reality is that the share of the Congress, in dirtying Kerala's political life with communalism is undeniable.

"Even today the Congress is not doing anything to combat the communal forces who are intervening in Kerala's politics and had intervened in the matter of Ministry formation itself. Instead, it is actually encouraging the reactionary communalists inside and outside the Congress.

"The Muslim League has been working not only against the progress of the nation, it has also been working against

the interests of the Muslim masses themselves.

"In the name of god and religion, the League did its all to overthrow the Communist Government—a Government which sincerely tried to end the religious inequalities and restrictions on the Muslims, and to better the lot of the majority of the Muslim masses through progressive legislations.

"Indeed the League's alliance with the Congress was not for the progress of the Muslim masses but for defending the vested interests of landlords and capitalists and at the same time for reorganising the Muslim League all over India with the blessings of the Congress High Command.

"It is for this that they are striving to rally poor Muslims under their flag in the name of religion and anti-Communism.

"The Communist Party wishes to remind all democrats and patriots that reactionary communalism which has again been raised to its head in our political life is an obstacle to the nation's progress.

"While reaffirming that the Communist Party will protect the freedom of religion and worship and the special interests of the minorities and backward communities, the Party calls on the masses in all communities to organise on a political and economic basis for advancing the nation.

"More important than the question of which parties or individuals should form the Government is the question of the programme of that Government. The anti-Communist parties had contested the elections on different and even contradictory

programmes. "Though the Congress and the PSP have together formed a Government they have not yet evolved a joint programme of administration. The Communist Party appeals to the ruling parties to ensure a good administration on the basis of a programme of finding solutions to the problem State of Kerala's unemployment, food deficit, etc., and of raising the living standards of the workers, peasants, middle classes, etc.

"The Party also appeals that the Bills passed and formulated by the Communist Government during the twenty-eight months of its rule should not be shelved but should be implemented in the interests of the majority of the people.

"The Government that has been formed here is more susceptible to the influence of communal reaction than the Government in any other State. When facing the real national interests of Kerala and the problems and needs of the people, the possibilities are of sharpening contradictions inside the ruling parties.

"Hence, if the problems of the State and its people are to be solved, the people will have to stand together irrespective of their religious and communal affiliations, and workers, peasants, the middle classes, etc., will have to more than ever strengthen their mass organisations.

"The Communist Party once again pledges that as a responsible Opposition it will ceaselessly strive to defend the interests of the various sections of the people."

IRRESPONSIBLE TALK OF ANDHRA CHIEF MINISTER

WHEN the Budget session of the Andhra Assembly opened P. Sundarayya moved an important adjournment motion: "that the house stand adjourned to discuss a matter of urgent public importance.

"Namely, that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh in his speech at the Mandal Congress political conference at Bonakal, Khammam district, incited his audience to beat, kill and destroy Communists wherever they were to be found, which means that the Chief Minister 'was asking his audience to take the law into their own hands and telling them that the killing of Communists was legitimate and was, thus, trying to bring a state of anarchy into the country and to violate our Constitution."

He then produced a cutting of the report of the Chief Minister's speech. It read, in part, as follows:

"Gandhiji's principle is to show the other cheek when one is slapped on one cheek. But, there is no meaning in applying the principle to Communists. They will learn a lesson only when these bloody fellows are beaten hollow wherever they are found.

"The policy Congress has to follow today is not non-violence, but eye-for-an-eye tactic. It is not wrong to tell a lie to get out of a danger. Similarly, it is not wrong to kill a Communist, who does injustice to others.

"There is no other alternative, if they have to be stopped from committing atrocities in future. Beware, Congress workers, and put an end to Communists wherever

they are found, as otherwise there is no salvation for our country.

(Translated from the Telugu original in Visaalandhra of February 17.)

Sundarayya went on to utter a warning in poignant tones to a hushed house:

"If killing the Communists is your programme you might succeed in killing a few Party leaders, you might shoot some, you may incarcerate hundreds of Communist workers in prisons. You might kill them there. You might even drive the Communists into hills and forests as you did in 1947-48.

"But let me warn you that you can never wipe out the Communist movement. The Communist Party will live as long as there are people, who are suffering from hunger and want," he declared.

Apart from the speech of the Chief Minister he also took up the speeches of the Congress leader Mandali Krishna Rao and of the Home Minister at Tanikeela (in Divi taluq) and questioned how far it was proper and legitimate for a Chief Minister to ask the people to retaliate with beating and violence.

He said that he could understand a person using violence in self-defence. But that applied to individual cases. But when a responsible person as the Chief Minister, whose responsibility is not confined to the Congress Party but to the whole of the State, makes such a wild statement how can it be conducive for law and order in the State.

He wanted the house to imagine the chaos if similar advice was given by the leaders of the other parties, again

in the name of self defence. He said because the Congress Party is in power and because they have the police and the army behind them the Government might feel that they could beat the Communists and abuse them—but the people would judge.

Sundarayya said that the issue posed by the Bonakal speech was not a simple matter. It could not be dismissed by saying that it was published only in the Visaalandhra, the daily of the Communist Party. The Government should remember that the Communist Party had polled one-third of the votes in the last general elections, as also in the previous election. The Communist Party today represented one-third of the people of Andhra.

The versions of the speech published in Andhra Patrika and other papers also demonstrated the general tenor of the speech as reported in Visaalandhra. The speech published in Visaalandhra was seriously considered by three responsible members of the Khammam district Communist Party who after verifying all the facts sent the report to the party.

That is why even though the Bonakal speech appeared in other papers on the February 13 and 14 it was published in Visaalandhra, only on February 17; there are allegations and counter allegations.

It would not be enough if the Chief Minister simply denied the facts or dismissed it as a story published in Communist Party daily. "Let there be an open enquiry and we will produce all the details, and it will be determined who is at fault"—such was Sundarayya's open challenge.

A. Kaleswara Rao, Speaker of the Assembly, soon after question hour announced Sundarayya's adjournment motion but stated that he was ruling it out, as he found that the alleged contents of the speech of the Chief Minister as reported in the Visaalandhra was not to be found in other papers, which had also reported the speech. The Speaker added that since the Visaalandhra is a party paper he could not take it into consideration.

Sundarayya then quoted from the Andhra Patrika and said that naturally that being a Congress paper, the speech was edited but even this report reflected the same spirit as the contents given in the Communist Party's daily.

The Speaker then turned towards the Chief Minister who denied that he had ever made such a speech.

Ravi Narayan Reddy, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said that it was wrong to dismiss the whole matter on the pretext that it appeared only in the Visaalandhra. He reminded the house that the Visaalandhra was a very responsible paper, inasmuch as it is the paper of the Communist Party, which represented one-third of the people of the State.

While the Congress party in the Andhra Assembly might be satisfied at having prevented the adjournment motion, the people in the State and throughout India are quite anxious. They see in this a dangerous trend towards subverting the Constitution and democratic procedures. They are determined to call the power-mad Congress bosses to book and force them to behave.

West Bengal Newsletter

SWADHINATA TO BECOME AN EIGHT-PAGER

Popular Celebration Marks Event

The dream of millions of exploited people in this State has come true. The Swadhinata, Communist Party's daily, is coming out as an eight-pager in the third week of this month.

THIS significant event in the life of the Party and of the people was celebrated on a grand scale at the big Park Circus Maidan on March 5 and 6.

The two-day celebrations, over which the veteran Communist leader, Abdul Halim, MLC, presided, turned out to be a real festival of the people—workers, office employees, bus-tote-dwellers, middleclass housewives, professors, teachers, doctors and lawyers. Leading artists lent their unstinted co-operation to make the cultural programme a grand success.

A sense of joy and triumph pervaded the atmosphere at the Maidan. One could not escape the feeling that a people, whose most precious treasure was the deep love of millions of such men and women as had come to the Maidan, was destined to grow from strength to strength.

On the first day, over 25,000 people attended the function despite inclement weather. The Exhibition on Communist Journalism and the history of the Communist Press in India was opened by the famous writer, Narayan Gangopadhyaya. He said that the Swadhinata appeared on the political horizon at a critical period in our history. Since then it had played a tremendous role. The Government suppressed it for some time. But a paper, which enjoyed the unstinted support of the masses of people, could not die; and it came back again in all its glory. To-day it was these downtrodden people who by contributing their mite, had made Swadhinata's transformation into a full-fledged daily possible.

The people who eagerly waited for the Swadhinata every morning, he observed, were not all members of the Communist Party; many of them did not even support the Party's political line; still, all of them loved Swadhinata because it fearlessly told the truth, because it powerfully echoed the hopes and aspirations of the people and unflinchingly championed their cause.

He further emphasised that the Swadhinata did not have the support of millionaires behind it, but it had the most precious asset, the goodwill of the people.

Abdul Halim spoke on the evolution of Communist journals in our country and gave a brief account of the stages through which the Swadhinata had passed to reach its present position.

Promode Dasgupta, member of the Secretariat of the State Council, announced that the Swadhinata would come out as an eight-pager between March 15 and 21.

Explaining the difficulties that had to be faced in expanding the size of the paper, he appealed to all sections of people to expend their co-operation, for increasing the circulation,

securing more advertisements and contributing to the two-lakh Party fund to enable the Swadhinata to carry on an unremitting struggle against bourgeois ideologies and to overcome the weaknesses of the democratic movement.

Surhid Mallik Chowdhury, MLA, Gopal Neogy, Editor of Basumati, and Khagendra Mitra, well-known writer of children's books, conveyed their greetings.

The cultural programme consisted of songs, dances and a drama staged under the direction of Bijon Bhattacharya of 'Navanna' fame. Two other plays had to be abandoned because of bad weather.

The Exhibition, which attracted thousands of people, was a brilliant exposition of Lenin's teachings on the importance and functioning of a Communist newspaper. Not only that, a series of imaginatively drawn posters and hundreds of photographs conveyed a clear picture of the beginning of proletarian journalism in India, the story of the phases through which the Swadhinata has passed and which it has served the people.

Weather conditions on the second day deteriorated. The sky was overcast with storm-clouds and a cold wind was blowing. There were also a few short showers. Yet over 40,000 people turned up at the Maidan in the afternoon.

Addressing the gathering, Jyoti Basu appealed to all sections of the people to help the Swadhinata to transform itself into a powerful weapon in their hands in its competition with bourgeois newspapers and in the struggle against the reactionary policies of the Congress Government.

Jyoti Basu Speaks

Urging upon the people to fulfil the two-lakh fund, for which the West Bengal State Council of the Party had given the call, he said that one portion of the money would be utilised to put the Swadhinata on a firm footing and the remaining amount to build up and strengthen the Party's organisation in every part of the State with a view to carry on a determined struggle against the anti-people policies of the Government.

Referring to the Kerala election, he said that though the seats secured by the Party were less than in 1957, it had increased its votes by 12 lakhs, and that was a matter of pride that 43 per cent of the people had voted for the Party and its allies. The Congress had joined hands with rank communalists and was now relying more and more on all that was backward and obscurantist in our social and political life.

Will the Congress ultimately hand over the country to a military dictatorship like the one in Pakistan, he asked.

The Congress was trying to confuse the people by raising the bogey of the border, but its desperate efforts were not yielding desired results. Its disastrous defeat in Chandranagore Municipal elections had abundantly demonstrated this, he emphasised.

Cultural performances, which included the staging of the famous drama Nil Darpana, dealing with the brutalities perpetuated by British indigo planters, went on till 12 a.m. At least 30,000 people stayed on till the end.

Well-Done Kotrang

COMING shortly after the route in Chandranagore municipal elections, the Congress suffered a more disastrous defeat at Kotrang (Hooghly district). It dared not set up more than two candidates; but even these nominees could not get through. The Communist-sponsored Nagrik Samiti (Citizen's Committee) swept the polls and captured all the eleven seats in the municipality.

In the last elections, the Congress had managed to secure only one seat. The landslide this time is all the more significant because the Congress had made a desperate bid to exploit the India-China border issue.

Against Black Bill

A WELL-ATTENDED convention of the representatives of various organisations, held in Calcutta on February 29, decided to organise a deputation to the State Assembly on March 23 to demand immediate withdrawal of the West Bengal Government's seeking to control meetings and processions throughout the State. The Government is not bringing forward the measure in the present session of the Assembly.

The convention was called by the workers' and employees' Committee against the Black Bill. It also decided to organise a Statewide mass protest movement against the proposed legislation.

The convention was attended by about 150 representatives from the BPTUC, UTUC, Dal-house square co-ordination committee, unions, All-Bengal Teachers' Association and All-Bengal primary Teachers' Association.

On February 22, another convention against the Bill was held at Krishnanagar (Nadia district). Over 100 delegates from 16 mass organisations participated in this district convention. Reports showed that 16,000 signatures and scores of resolutions adopted at meetings had been already sent to the State Government.

The convention decided to

step up the campaign and to observe March 15 as the "Anti-Black Bill Day" all over the district.

A resistance committee of 25 representatives was also set up.

Big Business Links

THE particulars furnished by some of the Calcutta dailies under the newspapers Registration Rules of 1956, make a revealing study of their links with big business.

These statements were published in different papers in their issues of March. Among the owners of the largely-circulated Yugantar, which often puts on the mask of progressivism, are the big Marwari business firms, Messrs. Surajmull Nagarmall and Messrs. Birla Brothers!

The statement about ownership was printed in the Advertisement page in the midst of Sunday notices and announcements. It hardly catches the eye of the ordinary reader.

Why was such a column selected? Was it because the owners wanted to hide their identity from the mass of readers?

Among those who have contributed more than one per cent of the share capital of Janasevak for serving "people's cause" are Ratan Lal Surak, Jagannath Bhowmali, Surjit Singh Atwal (Assansol), Mac John Lucas (Ningru colliery, Burdwan), Messrs. Balam Sugar Mills Ltd., and Messrs. Tulsiapur Sugar Co., Ltd.

The paper is edited by Atulya Ghose, the real boss of the Pradesh Congress Committee, and is virtually the mouthpiece of the ruling group controlled by him.

The Janasevak was a four-pager. Recently it came out as an eight-pager from a new building in which it has been housed.

The paper had a very low circulation. So it is not at all difficult to understand who financed the transformation in the size of the paper.

And these businessmen have invested their money, obviously because they hope to reap rich dividends from the Congress and its Government.

New Food Committee

A NEW Committee, known as the "Food Movement Committee", has been formed to conduct a Statewide food movement. It consists of the representatives of the Communist Party, Marxist Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre, R.C.P.I.,

Revolutionary Workers' Party and Saharantanti Dal.

The R.S.P. and F.B. have refused to join the Committee, and the PSP had treacherously withdrawn from the previous Committee in September 1958. The Democratic Vanguard has not yet conveyed its decision whether it will co-operate with the new committee or stay out of it.

In a statement the Committee has pointed out that the present serious food situation and the high prices of essential commodities are due to the policies being pursued by the State Government.

It further says that in a situation like this it is the bounden duty of all left parties to unite the masses behind their just and legitimate demand for food. But it is a matter of deep regret that despite the efforts of the parties constituting the new Committee, it has not been possible to bring all the left parties together. Hence a new Committee has been formed with the representatives of the parties which have agreed to co-operate.

The Committee has decided to hold, on a very broad basis, a food conference in Calcutta on March 26 and 27. Meanwhile the Committee will formulate its demands, on the basis of which an intensive campaign will be launched.

The Committee has expressed the hope that a situation will arise in the future when all the left parties will come together in the democratic struggle for food.

State Bank Employees On Strike

OVER 4,000 employees of the State Bank at its Head Office in Calcutta and in 50 branches all over West Bengal are on strike since March 4, demanding settlement through voluntary arbitration of their charter of demands, which has been submitted to the authorities by their All-India Federation.

About a hundred employees who are members of an INTUC union, reported for duty at the Head Office. Their zeal to serve the administration was so great that they trampled over their own colleagues, who were picketing peacefully at the office gate. One of the picketers was injured.

At a big meeting held in the afternoon of March 5, the employees reiterated their decision to continue the strike till their demands were met.

Big contingents of police have been posted at the gates of all branches although the employees are perfectly peaceful.

A.I.T.U.C. Publication.
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AND MEMORANDUM TO WAGE BOARD
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ESSENTIAL READING FOR EVERY MARXIST

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, February 1960: Price Rs. 1.

THE February issue of *World Marxist Review* has the usual wealth of theoretically substantiated articles on a wide range of topics written by Communist leaders from a number of countries. With each issue this magazine becomes ever more indispensable to all Communists, in the first place, and to all those interested in the world Communist movement — the mightiest international movement in contemporary history.

This issue carries two editorials. The first is on the significance of the latest unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces and the second on the meeting of the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe, held recently in Rome.

Then we have two articles from Socialist countries—Czechoslovakia and Poland—which give broad picture of internal economic development in the context of the present international situation.

Aidit On Recent Congress

D. N. Aidit, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, sums up his Party's recent National Congress while E. Beringuer gives an outline of the political thesis which was presented by the leadership to the Ninth

Congress of the Communist Party of Italy. V. Codovilla analyses the current situation in Argentina and the tasks of the Communist Party there while L. Felix writes on the stand and actions of the Communist Party of France around the predatory war in Algeria.

Ho Chi Minh Surveys Vietnam Party's History

Apart from articles there are special features such as "Pages from History"—Ho Chi Minh writes on 30 years of the Working People's Party in Viet Nam. Then the regular feature gives news of activi-

BOOK REVIEW

ties of Communist Parties in different countries.

In addition to book reviews and short comments another welcome section is entitled "Exchange of Views," which is devoted this time to the struggle for working class unity.

It is essential that *World Marxist Review* gets the maximum possible readership and that as a further step regular discussions are held around the important articles in each issue.

EDITORIAL BOARD

A Stimulus To Intellectual Life

ENQUIRY, No. 2. Published by Bipan Chandra. Price Rs. 2.00. Available with People's Publishing House Ltd.

THE promise of the first number has been sustained in *Enquiry*, 2. It is in a way tribute enough to say that the level of the articles remains extraordinary high and serious. If it is maintained—as it must—it could become a real contribution to intellectual life in the country.

The topics treated are varied—Bhagavad Gita, Agrarian Problem, Determinism, Community Projects and the rest. The book reviews this time show a marked improvement and Susobhan Sarkar's review of Koestler's *Sleepwalkers* is distinguished and analytical writing such as one rarely has the good luck to en-

counter. Baudhayan Chatterji's piece of scholarship on the problem of the nature of our agrarian set-up is intensely stimulating. With a wealth of statistical material he has attempted to substantiate his case of feudal survivals or semi-capitalism, to use an odd phrase. Still one remains unconvinced and it would have been better if the author had tried less to argue a case and more to reveal trends from data.

Agrarian Unrest Behind Mughal Decline

Irfan Habib has contributed an original article on the agrarian causes of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. It is rather shattering for the sedulously cultivated myths about the "super class" Akbar giving way to the rapacious Aurangzeb. There was a continuity in the feudal class policy of exploiting the peasantry, though its magnitude might have increased.

D. D. Kosambi, as usual, throws in an enormous amount of erudition in a condensed space—though this article on the Bhagavad Gita is not up to the usual standard of excellence.

The two articles which

had special appeal for this particular reader were Lukacs on Modern Irrationalism and Amartya Sen on "Determinism and Historical Predictions." Naturally the Budapest philosopher has demonstrated staggering learning—though the translation is poor. Sen has given more of scintillation, however, though the last section on morals tapers off badly.

Both articles ably demolish the latest attempts to derail philosophical progress—irrationalism and positivism have many points in common. Both, however, suffer from the same defect—failure to stress that the supreme criterion of any theory is social practice. As a result both tend to end up in something like a dead-end.

In spite of all the pleasure one gets by perusing *Enquiry* there are many points of criticism. Why the lack of uniformity in the editing which so hurts the eye? Why the step-motherly attitude to aesthetics? Why the general impression of ponderous pedantry? Can't one be high-brow without being heavy-weight? Let us hope the editors will find a way out.

F. T. RAO

DALAI LAMA'S TREASURE AND GOVT.'S ASTOUNDING CONDUCT

I should like to refer to Demand No. 18 of the External Affairs Ministry. You will find from the explanatory note that they are asking for an additional sum of about Rs. 40 lakhs—we had already sanctioned Rs. 10 lakhs—for the Tibetan refugees. That is to say, according to their demand for the current year we have to give them Rs. 50 lakhs.

In the *Hindustan Times*, a paper very friendly to the Dalai Lama, whose owners have given him a house to live in, we are told that the contents of the (Dalai Lama's) treasure-boxes weighed about 1,500 maunds and the reference is to the gold, bullion, jewellery and so on. So enormous wealth on all showing has been brought into India, some of it is lying in the strong rooms of banks and the rest is lying in other places. But what do we find? We find that they are trying to dispose of this.

He (the Dalai Lama's brother) also disclosed that the money realised from the sale of this treasure would be sent to the U. N. for pleading the case of Tibet. So this is what we find in the popularly read newspapers from their correspondents in Calcutta, Patna and New Delhi.

It is also suggested by the same sources that the recent China Aggression Resistance Conference which was held in Calcutta, where the leader of the FSP gave a thundering speech and then dismissed it here in Parliament—that conference is reported to have been financed from that treasure. This is what the newspapers say.

Disregard Of International Usage

Now, the Government is lightly treating this treasure, making a claim of Rs. 50 lakhs on the exchequer, but at the same time treating this treasure with unheard of lightness. And I am astounded by the conduct of the Government of India. First of all, I say that the Government of India is disregarding the international usages in this matter.

What I have read out (from the standard authority on international law) makes it obligatory on the part of the Government to acquaint itself with the assets of the Dalai Lama and his entourage, because they are liable to wealth tax, they are liable to expenditure tax, they are liable to gift tax and later on income-tax and all the laws operate. I ask the Hon. Minister to get up and state here, on behalf of the Government, that these laws do not operate.

What is more is that entire provision after provision of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1947, is being violated in the whole transaction.

It must be said that the property which the Dalai Lama has brought here does not enjoy the privilege and immunity of a property of a diplomat, because we afford no diplomatic status to the Dalai Lama. We may reverse him, some of you may reverse him. That is beside

the point. The Dalai Lama is not enjoying any diplomatic status here.

Besides, if such a suggestion were to be made that such immunities should be given to the property of the Dalai Lama or to the person of the Dalai Lama, which is accorded to the head of a State or

I submit that the entire property of the Dalai Lama, no matter who holds it, the one that is alleged to be the property of the Dalai Lama, whether it is personal or not, comes under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act.

We do not know of any other Act which governs it. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act is the law governing it. All the provisions of the Act, therefore, follow.

Now, Mr. Thondup has admitted that he was dealing in the properties of the Dalai

made in respect of such gold and treasure in violation and contravention of all the existing laws.

That is the question that I put before you, and here, therefore, Sir, the Government is guilty of a dereliction of duty.

Worship him, whatever you call him, the Dalai Lama, as much as you like. The Ministers can take offerings to him as much as they like and unburden themselves of the burden of sins. It is good; I do not mind that.

But I do not like the Finance Ministry to watch

course. The Government should immediately direct the Reserve Bank to freeze all transactions and operations in respect of the treasure imported by or on behalf of the Dalai Lama. The Government should declare ab initio void all transactions that have taken place in violation of foreign exchange regulations.

The Government should issue directives through the Reserve Bank mechanism and otherwise to all those who are interested or had been interested in these transactions that such transactions shall be considered illegal and will be liable to the penalty laid down in section 23 of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1947.

Government should, under section 19, ask for full particulars and information with regard to every item of the property that has been brought into this country, and place a statement on the table of the House with respect to such properties which have been imported.

Then, the Government should decide its course of action with regard to the transactions after freezing the properties.

I would appeal to the Prime Minister to ask for an explanation from the Ministry of Finance and, through it from the Reserve Bank as to how they behaved in this matter. I should say the Prime Minister has been deliberately misled in the whole matter, because I cannot believe that consciously the Prime Minister will permit the contravention of law.

Bhupesh Gupta's Speech In Rajya Sabha

Lama. Has he been authorised under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act to deal in such properties? Government ought to furnish an answer to it. They have not at all authorised him.

He is taking an unauthorised step which comes within the purview of section 23 of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act which empowers the Government, that is the Director of Enforcement, to impose a penalty.

From what I have told the House, at least there is a presumption of contravention of a certain law. If that is so, then nobody can make any transfer of such security or property without the express permission of the Reserve Bank of India.

Has this permission been applied for and given? These questions have to be answered here on the floor of this House. There should not be any hush-hush about it.

No settlement of the property can take place without the sanction of the Reserve Bank under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act. If any transaction had taken place, that transaction would be null and void, would be void ab initio; in law it would have no legal status.

You can set aside the transaction straightaway. If it has not taken place, then you should immediately call for the property papers and go in for proper action.

Can you tell me, Sir, of any civilised country in the world where gold passed from hand to hand across the frontiers without coming in touch with any municipal law? I should like to know it from you, Sir. You are a very well-read man, Sir,—may not be a lawyer that way, but as wise men following world events—can you give me an example like this?

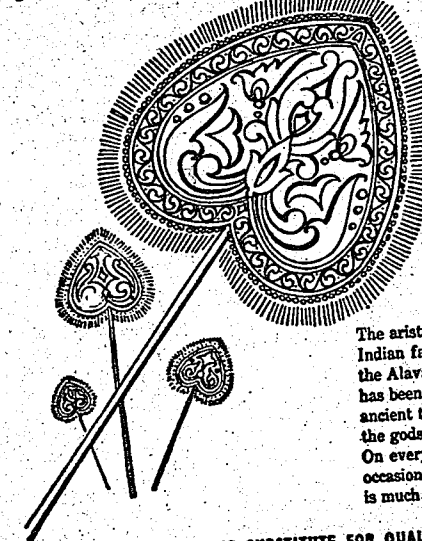
There are the United States of America, France, Switzerland, Italy, and other countries in the world, and can you cite one country, Sir, which allows gold to be brought in in complete disregard of the existing laws, in violation of the existing laws, and then allows transactions to be

and look on when, under their nose, in the Calcutta stock exchange, in the banks on Netaji Subhas Road in Calcutta, and at other places in defiance of the whole system of our law, provisions of our foreign exchange regulations are being openly violated and announcements of violations are being made in advance.

Freeze All Transactions

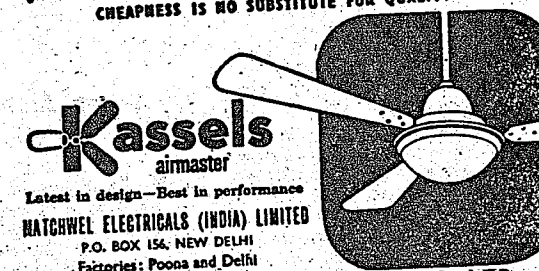
Therefore, I suggest to the Government the following

FACTS ABOUT FANS



The aristocrat of Indian fans is the Alavattam which has been used since ancient times to honour the gods and royalty. On every festive occasion the Alavattam is much in evidence.

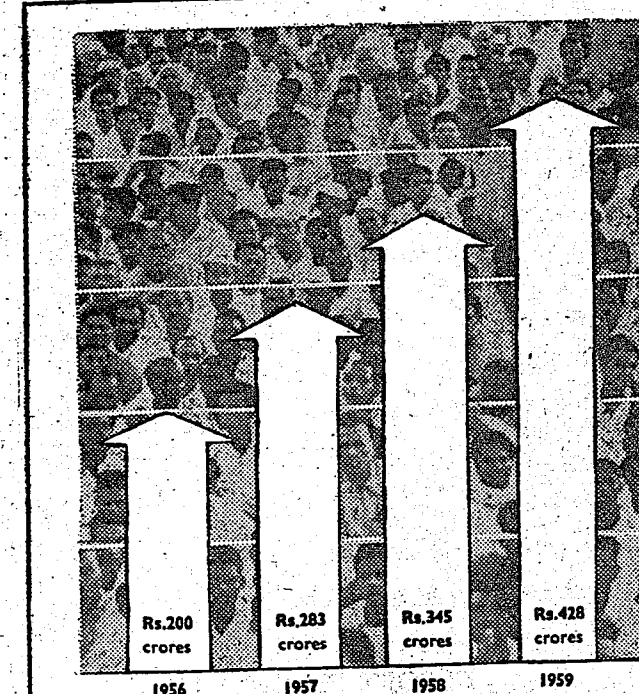
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PAGE SEVEN



In 1959, the first year of its First Five-Year Plan the Life Insurance Corporation of India has completed new business of over

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WHAT HAPPENS TO PLAN PHILOSOPHY NOW—ASKS DANGE

Budget Speech In Lok Sabha

To proceed first on the question of the background in which the Budget has been framed. The background is a background of buoyancy, not only of the stock market but also of other spheres of economy. The background of this Budget, unlike the background of the Budgets of 1953 and 1955 is that the recession under which we were functioning in the previous two years has been, more or less, overcome.

OUR recession was due not only to our economic functioning but was mainly a part of the world recession in the capitalist countries. As a result, as you might remember, a large part of our wealth was expropriated for the benefit of foreign capitalist monopolies through the method of falling prices of primary commodities which we exported to those countries. Those countries made a certain gain from the fall in price of those commodities of which we are the suppliers and which we are the buyers; and as big buyers they dictated their terms also sometimes.

Now, that condition had affected our economy also; had affected our exports and imports; it had affected our plans and we were also suffering certain recessions. That recession was not in the heavy industries sector. Even under these conditions our engineering industry was developed. It was a very good feature. But the other sectors of economy suffered and, on the whole, there was a picture of a sort of depression.

Last year, our production recovered almost in all branches. Even that branch which rarely shows very little of control or very little of buoyancy, I mean the agricultural sector, is also reported to have done very well so far as production is concerned.

So, we are getting this Budget in the background of the recession in world economy, that is capitalist economy, having been overcome. In fact, in England and America there is a sort of boom in the market, though these booms are not very permanent and you cannot rely on them very much. Even in England today, they are talking of controlling inflation even before they have hardly overcome recession of the past year.

Hopes Of More Aid

I am referring to this factor because the boom in the American and the English markets is also one of the factors on which this Budget has relied for the hope that we might get more foreign aid.

There is also the factor that in England and America and in those sectors of capitalist economy from which we can expect some foreign aid, discussions have been going on that under-developed countries like India and others should receive more aid because if they do not do so, these countries will get more aid from the socialist block like the highly industrialised economy of the Soviet Union.

And, in that case, the political balance may be disturbed in the world and a condition of imbalance might come into existence. Because of these reasons we are now told that we will get some more foreign aid in the development of our plans....

This sort of a condition is also helped by another fact of which, of course, the Budget is not expected to take note. The Budget is not supposed to dis-

count—at least in this the Finance Minister follows the line of strictly confining himself to Budgetary problems and figures—the international situation. At the same time, economy is very much affected by this factor.

The international situation, as you know, because of the exchange of visits between the Soviet Union and American Heads of Governments, the international tension has gone down. Therefore, more hope of economic aid to under-developed countries and doing something for the good of society and raising their standards is also a very beneficial factor for the development of our economy.

So, internationally we should be hopeful about not being, firstly, hampered in development, and, secondly, of being helped in our development, though I do not wish to discuss whose weightage will be greater in the contribution to the help, whether it will be socialist help more or whether the capitalist help will be more. I am not discussing that....

What are the claims in the Budget as a result of this? The claim is that production is rising, the rate has been restored—previously the rate had fallen now it has gone up and we have recovered all the fall that we were suffering from and the rate of production is up, the demand is up, markets are being cleared up, there is nowhere any hold-up of goods, there is no depression even in the classical industry of India, textiles, and that is also now in a very prosperous condition, and all accumulated stocks are being cleared up. Therefore, everything seems to be good.

What should follow from this? What is the line that has been put forward according to the Five-Year Plan philosophy in this House, according to the philosophy as enunciated by all the Ministers on the Congress Benches?

What is the philosophy that was told to us? It is that ever increasing production should lead to a rise in standards of living—how much, is a minor matter—some rise in standards of living.

The philosophy is that by ever increasing production, by putting volumes of goods in circulation it should reduce prices and people should get relief, while the country would go ahead with its development. That is, increase in production was made the prima facie condition to any further development, on the question of prices, standards of living, national income and so on....

Under such buoyant conditions the natural expectation should be an economy which is devoid of bickerings, irritation, conflicts, contradictions etc., on the question of prices, supplies, wages and so on.

Is that the picture that we are getting? The Budget is quite honest in its formulation. It is honest because it cannot escape that honesty.

Expectation And Reality

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They say: "Yes, production is rising but, unfortunately, we have to be vigilant." Vigilant about what? Vigilant in seeing that prices do not rise. But what about the present rise? They say: "Yes, it is so; we are sorry for that part."

Though production is good, markets are good, supplies are good, everything is good, prices are going up.

What happens? What happens to the philosophy? What happens to the economics of

about control but they are unable to do it or sometimes they are unwilling to do it. Therefore, Sir, this is a most dangerous trend, that in an economy which is developing so well we should be faced with a complete negation of all the principles which underline the Five Year Plan.

Another point is: has this reduced the disparity in income? The disparity in incomes could be easily reduced only by one mechanism, and that is by rais-

clusions as any valid agreement or any valid principle on the basis of which they should devote their attention to the question of wages.

That single factor demolished all the basis of the labour policy for the Five-Year Plan, of utilising the developing economy in order to give relief to the working people....

The capitalists and the greater employers, some of whom are in this House, said: "In-

else. Here you had a phenomenon; when the economy was recovering, when consumer goods were coming into the market, the textile prices were going up without any increase in wages.

The same phenomenon happened in sugar; the same phenomenon happened in other fields. Prices have been rising without any rise in wages, and yet, when we come forward to claim higher wages because of rising production, we are told,

of the Reserve Bank of India has admitted that the productivity of the Indian worker has risen and is rising fast. The technical skill is going up.

For example, take the achievement of Bhakra Nangal; that should certainly make every one proud of the Indian engineer, the Indian worker and the technicians despite the threats and boasts of the American specialists, their advice was set aside and the Bhakra tragedy

that is coming in the budget that will add to inflation and price rise and ultimately will lead to the lowering of the standard of living....

Government Commissions, Pay Commissions, composed of very amiable gentlemen, economists and theoreticians are going round in a surreptitious way to deny a rise in the standard of living to the working people, despite the fact that production is growing. We are certainly of the opinion that the economy must be helped to develop; it is developing, but the question is to whom are the gains going? What does the budget say in that matter?

The approach of the budget to the whole problem and the policy of the Government of India is, despite any rise in production, you should not expect anything real in the rise of real wages.

That is illustrated, I have to repeat again, by the Pay Commission, the State Bank, the Textile Wage Board, which has given an increase but the mill-owners do not want to act upon it and so on. It can be illustrated in many other spheres by many other happenings.

What Is The Cure?

What is the cure? The cure would be, of course, for the working class to act. The reply to this policy reflected in the budget as well as the other policies of the Government of India which reduce the standards of living of the people, would be a fight for higher standards of living.

That fight will be concern-

trated henceforward and should be concentrated on the question of D.A. (dearness allowance). You increase the prices; we fight for D.A. We are no longer bound to raise the question whether this is going to upset the budget or not, because, if the budget does not care for my living, why should I be bound by the policies of the budget as represented here? Therefore, any rise in prices would be met by a fight for more D.A.

I would appeal to the Congress benches and to the Government of India to follow a policy of controlling prices. How can it be done? A firm control over the market, against stocks, by means of taking over the big banks. Tremendous liquid money is floating in the banks and any amount of speculative activity is encouraged by the banks.

The Finance Minister himself admits it; everybody knows it. FL 480 funds converted into rupees are running riot in the banking system in India. There are many other funds also available; evasion of taxes, leading to black money and many other things are running riot in the system, which is leading to this disturbance of the price mechanism....

Referring to the question of taxes, I need not go into all the details. It is very plain that the whole trend always is, tax the poor and let the rich make more money. In the budget, that principle is there as usual. As usual, there is a shortfall in expenditure; as usual, there is this principle also of taxing the consumer goods, of the poor people.

I do not know if the Finance Minister considers that the electric bulb is not a very great necessity for the common people. I think with the growth of electricity, it is a necessity. Tax on diesel engines and motor cars is bound to lead to a rise in transport costs.

If rise in transport costs is met by a demand for a rise in D.A. what will be the reply of the Finance Minister: "No strike, no negotiations; nothing."

If that reply is to be given, the working class also has its own reply to give, which they are giving in the State Bank and which they will give in other sectors also. But we do not want such a state of conditions to arise. If you do not want that, then you must change the policy which is underwritten in the budget....

I do want, certainly that the budget should be so framed as to develop this country and lay down the foundations of a good Third Five Year Plan.

Though the development direction in industry is good, it is correct—though it suffers from drawbacks like contradiction in policy, in hitting the people with taxation, the general standard of industrialisation is good—in order to help that what is essential is: control the monopolists, take over the banks, increase the State sector, raise the real wages of the working and producing people, reduce the prices and rate of taxation.

If that is done by means of this budget when it goes over to voting, I think I shall be glad to say that the development grows more to the interests of our country and the budget can be supported fully if it takes this direction.

RISING PRODUCTION WAS SUPPOSED TO LEAD TO RISING LIVING STANDARDS, DESPITE RISING PRODUCTION LIVING STANDARDS CONTINUE TO FALL

the Planning Commission? What happens to the economics of the gentleman of the bourgeois economic school that given rise in production and buoyant economy there should be supply of more goods, lesser prices, rise in the standard of living? What happens to that theory? That theory is blown up.

There may be a lessening of international tension in other spheres. There may be an increase in tension on the boundary spheres. But this internal tension should have reduced, it should have come down, with the growth in economy. That tension is increasing and cannot be controlled by the Finance Minister.

The Budget shows that those who are guiding the economy are hopeless about controlling it, those who are guiding the economy are not hopeful of doing good to the people in the matter of these vital questions—prices, standard of living, real wages and so on.

No Relief, More Attacks

Therefore, Sir, the background of the Budget being so good so far as development is concerned, yet it gives us a picture in which the Budget attacks the people further. It does not give relief to the people.

Therefore, the conclusion would be that the leaders of economy as represented by the Finance Minister are unable to take advantage of the lessening of tension, of the growth in economy; they are unable to take advantage, of these factors in giving relief to the people in the matter of price, in the matter of supplies....

One would ask: "Why?" It is because our economy is in the hands of a few things like banks, essential goods and so on. The picture of banks, the picture of essential goods and so on, it being subject to monopoly control for private profit, increase in national production does not benefit the producer or the citizens of the country; it only benefits the controllers of monopoly economy or the private monopoly groups. Therefore, the price mechanism cannot be controlled by the Government of India despite their will or absence of will; I do not know which is which.

I do not know whether they wish to control, I am given the impression that they talk

ing the salaries and wages of the working people and giving returns to the peasantry from their own production. That is the only method of reducing disparity....

We had come to a general conclusion that at least in a developing economy the minimum wage should be need-based and raised on the basis of needs which were computed. The computation was done by the 15th Indian Labour Conference, a tripartite conference.

Accordingly, we had appointed a Pay Commission. In that Pay Commission, the Finance Ministry made a statement that they are not bound to consider the tripartite conference's con-

crease production and also remember the consumer". Just now they were pleased to note that there is a third party in the country, in the economy, and that is the consumer, and their interests are also to be considered. I agree. But what has happened in the textile industry?

In the textile industry, even before any wage increase was given, the prices had risen. The stocks had gone underground, and even the mill-owners at Bombay had come out and said: "We are very sorry, the prices have gone up, but we cannot help it."

They put the blame on the cotton market and somebody

"If you get higher wages, that will add to inflation and rise in prices"....

Productivity Has Risen

You will find that the productivity of the working class has risen. Take, for example, the Hindustan Machine Tools, the finest unit in India today for machine tools. Where formerly four Indian workers were producing a lathe, today 0.92 worker produces that same lathe.

After four years of productivity study, the Governor

was averted.

Many other schemes show our skill. In spite of these, what is the share that the workers get in the increasing wealth? What has the budget done in order to increase the share? What has the budget, as a policy, put forward before the country in order to increase the share of the toiling people in the growing wealth of the country?

The reply of the budget is, not only that prices may not be controlled but "we shall contribute to increase in prices".

It is not the wages or the inflation that is going to increase the price of consumer goods, but it is the taxation

BUDGET ANOTHER RETREAT FROM PROCLAIMED OBJECTIVES—DEBATE IN RAJYA SABHA INFLATION, HIGH PRICES, HEAVY TAXATION

The Budget debate in the Rajya Sabha was marked by a high level of seriousness and of concern at the direction sought to be imparted to our economy by the Government. There had, of course, to be a touch of comic relief—provided by Dr. Raghu Vir's bit of buffoonery about China's atom-bomb and its "meaning" for the Nehru-Chou meeting.

AS had been the case during the debate on the President's Address, it was the Communist MPs—Vallabh Rao and Bhupesh Gupta—who gave to the debate a national tone, projecting national issues and policies into what could have become an argument about mere finance.

Bhupesh Gupta's hour-long speech touched on all the salient topics, gave concrete solutions and made certain sensational disclosures about the swindling operations of British firms and ended with a passionate appeal for unity for rapid and healthy advance. It was a remarkable performance and its backing out in the press was itself a tribute paid by the vested interests, whom he had hit hard.

First, the characterisation of the Budget. Vallabh Rao made the telling observation that all those who attacked national policies, the public sector and even Panch Shila, poured praise on Morarji's effort.

Bhupesh Gupta called it an shift to the Right, a further retreat from the proclaimed aims of the Congress. He termed the method of "inflation, high prices and heavy taxation" as the economic counterpart of the re-

rectly criticising other items of indirect taxation, made the additional point of the adverse impact of the tax on pig iron, tin sheets and aluminium on the dispersed and small-scale engineering industry.

Bhupesh Gupta took up the problem of the price rise, linking it with deficit-financing, expansion of private credit by the big banks and the utter failure of Government's handling of the food problem. He pointed to the woeful backsliding on agrarian reforms, the incredibly low standards of life and the disastrous growth of unemployment.

Shift To Right

He went on to define precisely the trend of Government policy as revealed in the Budget: "It is to build up a capitalist economy at the cost of the people, by putting more economic burdens on the people, and, hence, by putting more political restrictions on democracy and the democratic movement."

Such a clear-cut understanding of the situation was, not unexpectedly, not demonstrated by the participants from other parties.

The second dominant trend in the debate, however, was the large area of agreement from almost all sides that the victim of the Budget was the common man and that the wealthy had been relieved and promised a good time.

Vallabh Rao, apart from cor-

irrefutable logic of facts, he proved his case that "the common man had borne the whole burden". In ten years, excise duties had increased eight times while direct taxes had remained almost stationary.

He also took up the frightening rise of prices and growth of profits. He asked that the Indian Statistical Institute give the country a class-wise break up of the national income so that we could know where we were going.

He called for the imposition of an excess profits tax and for subsidised foodgrains so that the common man did not need to go hungry.

Second Plan Objectives Unfulfilled

Khandubhai Desai was strongly supported by R. K. Malaviya who took up the problem of wages. He, of course, claimed that the IWTUC had done its best to persuade the worker to produce more and better. Productivity had gone up also, but the wages of the worker, he said, had not kept pace—not even a living wage had been provided, let alone a fair wage. The workers had not been given any incentives worth the name.

The woes of the middle-class, under Congress dispensation, were recounted by Surendra Mohan Ghose, Kunzru and most effectively by Setu

Paramanand. She also was correctly indignant about the way in which blackmarketers and tax-evaders were having an easy time.

Deogirikar joined in to declare that with the masses living a miserable existence it was a mockery to talk of a welfare state. There was hardly a speaker who did not express alarm about the harmful effects of the price-rise injected into the economy.

The third feature of the debate was the marked complacency towards the dangers of over-reliance on foreign aid and the growth of private foreign investment.

Both Vallabh Rao and Bhupesh Gupta took up this question—nobody else did. They made it clear that foreign assistance was certainly welcome. But it had to come as government loans and come into such fields as would aid the growth of the economy. But the Government seemed to be relying over-much on this foreign aid and to bring it in were wooing the big monopolies of the West and making all manner of concessions to them.

This was going back on the policies long adopted by the national movement and laid down in the numerous Government declarations, as also the Industrial Policy Resolution. The studied silence of the Congress benches on this growing menace bodes no good for the

country. It only means that a powerful campaign has to be built up on this issue so that its echoes would resound more powerfully in the Parliament.

Rather Damaging Exposures

Fourthly, two rather damaging exposures were made in the course of the debate under review. Dr. A. N. Bose caused quite a flutter in the dovescotes by raking up some scandals of the investment policy of the Life Insurance Corporation. He quoted a number of cases of misdirected—though not unconscious—investments made through purchases of shares of the Indian Copper Corporation at peak price and the shares of some Madras Mills. He pointed out how this had been done despite protests, specially by one man in the Investment Committee who had subsequently resigned in protest.

Bhupesh Gupta produced photostat copies of confidential telegrams sent out by a British firm, Messrs Jardine Henderson of Calcutta, to set up a dummy firm so that the German Democratic Republic's offer to purchase tea from an Indian company could be utilised for British profit!

The proof was conclusive and disastrous for those who pleaded that the British capitalists are now all mustard-keen on aiding

us—also for those who are its most ardent supporters. The final aspect of the debate to which attention needs to be drawn are certain disquieting indications, mostly contained in Morarji Desai's reply.

There was the characteristic but Congress-uncontradicted statement of J. S. Bisht that "we are not interested in whether the whole thing should be run by the State or private enterprise." Another Congressman, S. M. Ghose, followed up with the suggestion that the shares of public sector projects should be put up for sale—hints of the notorious reprivatization a la Japan?

Babubhai Chinai was pleased about the "broadening base" of taxation and about the revenue deficit. Encouraged by the Government's performance he openly called for the scrapping of the Wealth, Gift and Expenditure taxes—we can soon enough expect the Government to oblige.

S. C. Karayalar felt that the time had come to further reduce direct taxes and company taxation. Side by side he recommended that the Government should impose a ban on strikes during the entire period of "take-off"—pity the poor Finance Minister that he could not afford to be so outrageously frank!

In his reply, Morarji Desai was obviously rankled about the further exposures of LIC affairs

Khrushchov on arrival at Kabul on March 2 was welcomed at Bagram airport by King Mohammed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, Prime Minister Sardar Mohammed Daoud and other high-ranking officials.

THE airport was decorated with Soviet and Afghan national flags. A 21-gun salute of nations was fired and the national anthems of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan were played. The IL-18, carrying N. S. Khrushchov, was escorted by a group of jet fighters of the Afghan air force.

When the Kabul airport goes into operation, the capital of Afghanistan will become an important international air junction.

Mechanised Bread Factory

Khrushchov also visited Kabul's mechanised bread factory—built with the Soviet Union's economic and technical assistance.

N. S. Khrushchov was welcomed at the factory with the traditional bread and salt, which also happens to be an old Afghan custom.

At the bread factory Afghanistan's Minister of Finance Malikyar told N. S. Khrushchov that the Afghan people were deeply grateful to the Soviet people and Government for the construction of the Kabul bread factory for self-denying work of Soviet specialists who helped Afghanistan to train its own specialists.

Speaking at the dinner, given in his honour by Prime Minister Daud, the head of the Soviet Government, declared:

"I believe I shall express not only my own opinion but also the opinion of our Afghan friends if I say that the enemies of our country will never succeed in undermining the traditional friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, if both of our countries will continue to cherish this friendship, to strengthen it.

"Women play quite an important part in the labour of the people and in bringing up the growing generation called upon to work fruitfully for the good of their country and to defend freedom," Khrushchov said. "Allow me to greet wholeheartedly the Afghan women present here and wish them and in their person all Afghan women great success in their noble activities.

"We rejoice in the progress made by our country of late. Our friendship stood the test of time. The Soviet Union never left its good neighbour and friend in the time of need. Never did we stay indifferent to Afghanistan's needs.

"We understand the alarm felt by Afghanistan over the behaviour of definite circles in certain states which apparently have no idea of what is respect for the legitimate national rights of other peoples," N. S. Khrushchov said. "As it is possible for the Soviet Union which is opposed to all oppression not to raise its voice in support of the just national aspirations of any people?"

"We doubly condemn a policy which is the source of dangerous aggravation of relations between states, including relations between neighbouring states."

On March 4 tens of thousands of Kabul residents and peasants from neighbouring villages gathered in the Gazi Stadium, festively decorated with Soviet and Afghan state flags, to attend a meeting in honour of Nikita Khrushchov.

Stormy applause and shouts

Enemies Will Never Succeed In Undermining Our Friendship

KHRUSHCHOV TELLS AFGHANS

"Zindabad Khrushchov!" greeted the appearance of Nikita Khrushchov on the platform, accompanied by Afghan Prime Minister Sardar Mohammed Daud and others.

The Mayor of Kabul, Mohammed Sadyq, greeted the distinguished Soviet guest on behalf of the people of the Afghan capital.

Addressing the public meeting, Nikita Khrushchov noted that in the relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan there has never been even a trace of superiority of a big nation over a smaller one. On the contrary, our relations provide a convincing example of sincere cooperation between a big and a small state on an equal footing.

Nikita Khrushchov went on to say that the USSR has been and will be rendering Afghanistan many-sided assistance in building different enterprises, roads and housing, in promoting the economy and raising the cultural level of the Afghan people. We do it in a way in which a good man helps his neighbour, he said.

"The Afghan people may rest assured that in their efforts for the further development of their country, in their struggle for consolidating political and economic independence they will always have the reliable support of the Soviet people.

It may be said that Afghanistan approves our foreign policy because it is our friend. But I think that those Governments, too, which regard us with reserve or, to put it plainly, coolly, cannot ignore, cannot pretend that they do not see our goodwill, because they will thereby increasingly isolate themselves from their own peoples.

Speaking on the main impressions of his stay in the friendly countries of South-East Asia, Nikita Khrushchov remarked: "Wherever I went—and I covered by car and plane over 20,000 kilometres, visited scores of towns, villages and workers' estates—the people I met, their faces and their sentiments made it quite clear to me that the people long for peace, friendship, prosperity and happiness.

Much remains to be done on earth, he said, to be able to advance quicker along the road of progress, and above all it is necessary to put an end to the cold war, to desist from the policy "from positions of strength", threats and blackmail.

With the present level of science and technology when such frightful weapons have been developed as hydrogen and atomic bombs, when inter-continental rockets have been produced capable of

taking a lethal cargo to any point on the globe and when it is impossible to halt or prevent their flight, a special importance is acquired by a new, realistic, reasonable diplomacy. In the past it was said that "the tongue is given to the diplomat to disguise his thoughts." But if such methods were used in the diplomacy of our time, this might end badly.

To direct his efforts towards peace—this is the duty of every statesman and political leader, of every honest-minded person, irrespective of the post he holds, the political or religious views he professes. This means that in conditions when there are differing social systems in the world, only the peoples themselves have the right to decide upon the social system they like best.

We must live in peace because we walk on one planet, the earth, and there is no getting away from it. We must learn to coexist peacefully.

We are grateful that His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, his Government and the Afghan people approve of our steps aimed at general and complete disarmament, the relaxation of international tension, Khrushchov continued.

After the meeting, Nikita Khrushchov and Prime Minister Mohammed Daud visited the Jangalak Auto Repair Works, which has been built with Soviet financial and technical assistance and is the country's biggest industrial enterprise.

Nikita Khrushchov inspected the principal shops and was especially pleased with the auto repair shop, built of prefabricated reinforced concrete, and the foundry.

The Soviet Prime Minister pointed out that the organization of this foundry and ferrous and non-ferrous metal casting was of great importance for Afghanistan. He noted further that the Afghan workers had success-

fully mastered their new jobs and told the Afghan Prime Minister that in his opinion the works might serve in the future as the nucleus of Afghanistan's automobile industry.

Leaving the works, Nikita Khrushchov wished further successes to the Afghan and Soviet workers and specialists.

Support In Abolition Of Backwardness

The same evening the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, gave a reception in honour of the Prime Minister of the Royal Afghan Government, Nikita Khrushchov and Mohammed Daud exchanged speeches.

In his speech N. S. Khrushchov declared that he was confident that all attempts to divert Afghanistan from the road of neutrality and to draw her into military alliances are doomed to failure.

The ardent desires of the Afghan people and their Government to abolish their age-old backwardness and to ensure national progress are perfectly understandable to us Soviet people. We are always ready to share our experience with you, ready to continue extending to you economic and technical aid without any political strings attached.

The Soviet Government's policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan has always been sincere and fraternal. It is common knowledge with what attention and interest the great founder of our state Vladimir Ilyich Lenin approached questions of Soviet-Afghan relations. I should like, gentlemen, to read out one document drafted with Lenin's personal participation back in 1921.

This is an instruction of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation to the Federation's Plenipotentiary Representative in Afghanistan. It says: "...Our policy in the East is not aggressive, it is a policy of peace and friendship. You must stress this basic point systematically in all your work and in particular make it your main goal in Kabul to develop our friendship with Afghanistan.

"Friendship pre-supposes mutual aid and, proceeding

* SEE FACING PAGE

MARCH 13, 1960

MANOEUVRES AGAINST IRAQI COMMUNISTS' RIGHT TO ORGANISE

Deplorable manoeuvres are going on in Iraq to prevent the legal recognition of the Communist Party. Regulations require parties seeking legal recognition to submit names of ten founding members and 50 other eligible party members, together with their official programmes. The Ministry of the Interior has one month to give its decision and issue a licence.

THE Communist Party fulfilled these conditions and made application on January 1. On January 10, the Iraqi newspaper Al Abda announced that an ex-Communist Dawd al-Saigh, described as owner-editor of the paper, had applied to form a so-called "Communist Party of Iraq."

A few days later it gave the names of ten founding members, but no supporters. On January 15, six of them announced in Itihad al-Shaab (the daily of the Communist Party of Iraq) that they had withdrawn their names.

Traitor's Record

Later a new "founding committee" of 12 was announced, but on February 3, eight of them withdrew their names. Yet the Ministry of the Interior decided on February 7 to license Saigh's phoney outfit. It withheld a licence for the genuine Communist Party.

Saigh was expelled from the Communist movement in Iraq in 1943 for being more concerned with attacking the Communist Party than with fighting fascism. He applied to rejoin the Communist Party in 1956 and was accepted back only after he signed a personal statement admitting past disruption.

Toward the end of 1959 he was again forming an anti-Communist group, launched Al Mabda and waged a vicious campaign against the policy and leadership of the Communist Party. On December 29 last year he declared that the working class cannot be represented by more than one party: "this one and only party... is the Communist Party of Iraq." And eight days after that "one and only party" had applied for a licence, he made his application, spurning every approach to dissuade him from doing so.

From all parts of Iraq demands have poured in to the Ministry of the Interior to recognise the genuine Communist Party.

Party Applies As "People's Union"

In contrast to the few names published by Saigh (most of whom later withdrew) by February 17 no fewer than 184,000 names had been published in Itihad al-Shaab demanding a licence for the Communist Party, which has decided to make a new application under the name of "People's Union Party" (Itihad al-Shaab).

It is crystal clear that reactionaries in the Ministry of the Interior are doing their utmost to prevent the Communist Party from functioning as a legal movement.

In this connection Itihad

al-Shaab approached the Communist leaders for elucidation. On their behalf Zeqi Khairie said: The title 'Iraqi Communist Party' is very dear to us, we the Iraqi Communists and the broad masses of the people, who have known the Party as the staunch defender of interests and legitimate rights.

"The title 'Iraqi Communist Party' continued, for the last quarter of a century, to be synonymous with relentless struggle and costly sacrifices for the cause of the people.

"The more the imperialists and their local stooges tried their best to vilify Communism and distort its genuinely patriotic nature in order to frighten the masses, to the same extent, our people realised more and more the reality about Communism and rallied around the Iraqi Communist Party.

"When the new Law of Associations came into effect, the leadership of the Iraqi Communist Party submitted a founding application based on this law. On February 6 we were informed by the Ministry of Interior which we, as is well known to all, accepted without any argument.

"Soon after, another request to form 'The Iraqi Communist Party' was granted despite the fact that our ap-

plication was under consideration and that this cooked-up attempt met with the indignation of all citizens and that its founding clique collapsed in less than a month.

"Confronted with this queer situation, we were compelled to notify the Ministry of Interior of our desire to alter the name of the Party as per our previous 'Inner Party Rules' in order to avoid any legal obstacles.

"It is now our desire that the Ministry of Interior will handle our request as it did many other requests and will finalise the necessary steps in order to enable us to carry on, alongside other parties, our activities.

"We are, after all, a part of this nation—not to mention the glorious part of our Party with its ideology, struggle and cadres—and we are simply asking for a legitimate right to form a party.

"So since there is nothing in the way, we hope that the Law of Associations will be carried out without any discrimination because of nationality, ideology or political leanings.

"Real democracy means allowing any national party, intended to be formed by citizens regardless of their political leanings or social strata, to function provided it complies with legal requirements. This must be the case with the Communists as well as with others.

"Such is the case in India, Indonesia and Tunisia, where Communist Parties are allowed to function together with other parties. On the contrary, in countries whose governments are in the service of reaction and imperialism, the United Arab Republic is a good example, Communist Parties are compelled to go

underground. This was the case with the Communist Parties of Syria and Egypt.

"All circumstances are, no doubt, favourable for the continued march of the Iraqi republic on the road of greater harmony with the people's interests, further development, and resistance against the pressure of imperialism and reaction and the granting of democratic liberties to all decent members of society.

"There is no doubt that the advance of our Republic along such a road will raise its prestige among the Arab peoples and the democrats throughout the world. It will also increase the confidence of our people in the Republic and their rallying around it and their support to it.

"Besides, such a change does not imply any change in our attitude towards the subversive and opportunist clique which calls itself the 'Communist Party in its legal form.' This clique was never and will never be a party of the working class.

"The Marxist-Leninist expressions it uses are nothing but a smokescreen to pass off anti-people slogans and against the working class and Communism. As a matter of fact, its pretence to be Communist is a flagrant violation of Marxist principles.

"It will be sufficient to mention the contempt it has met from the people, the Iraqi Communists and the Arab and the international labour movements. Communists have enough political and class consciousness and enough experience to recognise the tricks of a clique, who have made the fight against the Iraqi Communist Party their lifelong preoccupation.

"What happened in the last few weeks is, perhaps, the best proof of this. This right opportunist clique did not get the support of a single Communist in the whole country.

"As a matter of fact all Communists strongly condemned this attempt and as a result the unity of the Communists has become still more consolidated and strengthened. Not only did this clique fail to affect the Party or gain the support of its members, it also was not able to deceive those former militants who are not members of the Party for one reason or another. They have proudly refused to be associated with this subversive revisionist clique or be members of it."

Change Of Name Implies No Departure

"At the same time as we change the name of the Party, for which we have submitted our founding application, we want to make it clear that this does not imply any change in the programme, the inner rules, structure of the Party or its adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its faith in them.

"This, applies equally to the nature of its structure and its aims and policies. Our work, after the completion of the legal requirements for our founding application, will be nothing but the continuation of the proud history of struggle that lasted a quarter of a century against imperialism, feudalism and reaction—a struggle conducted in the interests of the people and the working class under the banner of the Communist Party.

SOVIET-AFGHAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE

* FROM FACING PAGE

The agreement provides for co-operation between scientific, literary and art organisations and societies in both countries, the exchange of cultural, scientific and sporting delegations, the exchange of art ensembles and the organisation of concerts, the reading of lectures, the organisation of scientific and art exhibitions, the encouragement of tourist travel, the exchange of books and other publications, the exchange of feature, documentary and popular science films as well as the compilation and exchange of broadcast programmes, the exchange of microfilms, of manuscripts.

Before Khrushchov's departure for Moscow on March 4 a joint communique was signed by the Prime Ministers of the two countries.

The communique reaffirms Afghanistan's allegiance to the policy of neutrality and non-alignment; a policy which makes an important contribution to the relaxation of international tension and which is profoundly respected by the Soviet Union.

Both sides expressed the opinion that military alignments do not in any way help to strengthen peace and that this great aim can be attained only by joint efforts of the great and

small countries and friendly co-operation among them.

The sides exchanged opinions on the fate of the Pusthu people and agreed that the application of the principle of self-determination on the basis of the United Nations Charter would be a reasonable way of easing tension and safeguarding peace in the Middle East.

The sides expressed the firm hope that the forthcoming conference of the heads of the Great Powers, the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union of President Eisenhower of the United States and the exchange of opinion between the statesmen of the two countries is another useful step in the direction of solving disputed problems and consolidating peace.

The Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of Afghanistan, the communique emphasised, believe that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most vital problem of our time and that all peoples are interested in its solution.

The Prime Minister of Afghanistan supports the proposal for general and complete disarmament made by Nikita Khrushchov, the Chair-

man of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The sides reaffirmed that the discussions between the states concerned on a ban of nuclear weapons tests for all time are a necessary and useful measure, and expressed the hope that these talks would lead to ultimate agreement, the document says.

The communique notes Afghanistan's appreciation of the economic assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and says that the Soviet Union has and will have a proper understanding for the economic needs of Afghanistan and will help her in further strengthening and expanding her economy.

Referring to the joint communique Khrushchov before taking off for Moscow said:

This is a good basis for the further expansion of political, economic and cultural relations between our two countries.

King Mohammed Zahir Shah in his airport speech asked Khrushchov to accept again his assurances of friendship and "to convey to the Soviet people our assurances of brotherhood and friendship. I also want you to tell them that our friendship is inviolable."

NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

HIND MAZDOOR SABHA CONVENTION

Immediately following the AITUC General Council was held in the capital the HMS (Hind Mazdoor Sabha) convention from February 19 to 21 1960.

THE two stand out in contrast on vital issues concerning the working people and the trade union movement.

There was clarity in AITUC deliberations and the call for united action in its decisions. There was confusion in HMS discussions and the conclusion inaction.

Anthony Pillai, outgoing President of the HMS spoke of the working class entering into a crucial stage in the long-drawn-out struggle of labour for "a need-based fair wage and adequate social security."

He characterised the Finance Ministry's attitude to 15th Tripartite recommendations as "shameless reeling from Government commitments."

He called upon the HMS "to volunteer full support to the Central Government employees in their agitation to seek improvements."

Sri Anthony Pillai concluded by saying that without strengthening the fighting potential of the unions, little advance could be registered.

But the General Secretary Bagaram Tulpule made a report to the convention that strikes a different note.

The report deals with the present day "political and economic situation" in the country. It talks of growing unemployment and rising production. But it says that all resistance against this is circumscribed by the "threat to the nation on its northern border."

Even after this attempt to make the India-China border dispute as the "central issue" of the day, the report does not

rouse the trade unions to strive for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute and to unitedly resist the onslaught on their real wages. The report on the other hand wants the workers to subordinate their agitation to the "National security" which according to it is in danger.

For example the Report advises the Central Government employees to make it "unmistakably clear that if the situation on the northern frontiers of the country becomes graver than they would unconditionally keep their demands in abeyance...."

Obviously the Report seeks to create panic on this question in order to overawe the employees and disarm them in the face of an attack on their real earnings.

When it comes to the resolutions, the convention has given no lead for united action of workers on any issue affecting them.

The resolution on the economic situation speaks of all the strains and stresses of raising prices and growing unemployment. But concludes only by calling upon the "trade union movement to educate the workers about the realities of the economic situation in the country so that they may not permit themselves to be deprived of their legitimate share in the fruits of economic development."

The resolution on the "code of discipline" speaks of the employers and the Government ignoring and violating it. It ends up by saying that if the Government and the employers do not positively and faithfully implement the same, "the Sabha may have to seriously reconsider its own obligation to the code."

No doubt, therefore, this con-

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.
SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

STATE BANK EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

THE employees of the State Bank of India launched their strike on the afternoon of March 4, 1960. The strike had spread by March 6, to 308 branches on the Bank's own admission and had involved more than 10,000 men.

The responsibility for the strike is to be squarely put on the management and specially on the Finance Ministry.

It was in October 1958 that the Staff Federation had submitted its charter of demands.

There were prolonged negotiations and when the management saw no way to concede anything, the Federation offered voluntary arbitration.

But even this was not acceptable to the Bank.

The Finance Minister told Parliament that they were considering the reference of the demands to a Tribunal or a Commission.

But the Chairman of the Bank, evidently on the Finance Minister's advice told the Federation on March 3, 1959 "some thing which according to the general secretary of the Federation amounted to asking the Federation to withdraw the charter of demands and to negotiate only on minor grievances."

What is provocative on the part of the management is that the charter of demands that was "fantastic" for them had

already been the subject matter of discussion between them and the Federation for some time.

What is amazing is that they neither want a negotiation on the charter of demands nor are prepared for voluntary arbitration.

Hence the strike.

But a strike in the public sector Bank is no luxury for the Finance Ministry to play with. The Government must be forced to revise its stand and find the mechanism to settle the dispute.

WHO COMMANDS MAJORITY?

IN Shivrajpur Mines in Gujarat the INTUC union is the recognised union.

But in the canteen committee elections held recently the two leaders of the AITUC affiliated Shivrajpur Mines Workers' Union were returned with thumping majority.

Sharma, Vice-President of the union, now elected to Canteen Committee was transferred from the mines for having carried on propaganda against the INTUC agreement on bonus.

Who represents these workers? AITUC or INTUC? Which union commands majority? And which union has to be recognised?

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U. S. HEADING FOR DISASTER OVER CUBA

As President Eisenhower was on the last leg of his South American tour a serious incident, portentous of great evil and reminiscent in some respects of the KASHMIR PRINCESS sabotage on Bandung eve, occurred on March 4 in the Western hemisphere.

A FOUR thousand ton freighter called Le Coubré, flying the French flag, had berthed in the harbour of Havana, the capital of Cuba. It had started unloading the arms and ammunition—some sixty-five tons—it had brought from Antwerp.

The arms had been bought with donations contributed by the Cuban people to defend their revolution. As the unloading was in progress the freighter went up in an explosion of terrific force, killing all the dockers aboard.

As people rushed and got busy with rescue work another explosion, an hour after the first, took a further heavy toll of the rescuers. In all some 75 to a hundred people had been killed and some 250 were wounded.

The entire country went into mourning and all the workers abstained from work. At the funeral next day half-a-million were present when Premier Fidel Castro spoke. He informed the people of the results of the investigations, and said that the explosion of S.S. Le Coubré was the result of a premeditated plot arranged at the port of loading.

He stated that the chief culprits should be sought among the officials of the United States Government. The U.S. military attaché and consul in Belgium had exerted pressure on the Belgian Government to prevent it from selling arms to Cuba, said Castro. When that scheme failed, this criminal sabotage was prepared. This was another act, Castro said, of intervention to prevent the Cuban people from obtaining arms.

The U.S. had supplied arms to the Batista henchmen but never retreat.

The Cuban people's demonstration of protest and Castro's charge out with a denial that U.S. had any connection with the explosion on S.S. Le Coubré. State Department press officer Francis Tully said the U.S. Government "will promptly express through diplomatic channels its vigorous protest against Cuba. He however admitted that the U.S. was actively opposing Cuba getting arms.

Meanwhile Cuba had arrested a 28-year-old U.S. citizen Donald Chapman who was on board the ship as a passenger and claimed to be an UPI correspondent.

A new clamour for more effective reprisals was launched in the U.S. On March 5 representative Cunningham demanded threateningly that Cuba "immediately release" Chapman saying the U.S. "has let Castro get away with too much already."

The State Department besides its threat to launch a "vigorous protest" issued a statement on March 5 expressing "deep distress" over the explosion and saying that the U.S. would "share the grief and shock which this disaster has brought the Cuban nation."

The A.P. commenting on this statement said: "Under normal circumstances such a message would have been sent from the Government and the people to the people" but "the formal State Department statement pointedly omitted any reference to the Cuban Government."

This, A.P. said, "reflected the strained relations between the United States and Cuba's Fidel Castro regime and indicated U.S. displeasure with the Government itself."

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"One cannot fail to see that the days when it was possible to 'make short work of small nations are gone. Today, any people even the least numerous, has entirely different opportunities for fighting for its independence because it is backed by the powerful forces of other freedom-loving peoples."

Official trade pacts, based upon equality and mutual interest, have been concluded with the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Guinea and Ghana.

"An important form of co-operation with the African States is the technical and scientific help given by the GDR without any political strings. A large number of specialists from our nationalised industry are erecting whole factories, and are training African workers as skilled workers and specialists."

"Several hundred young Africans are studying at universities and technical high schools. When they have completed their training they will be able to play an important role in the national economy of their countries."

West Germany policy, dominated as it is by 25 imperialist monopoly groups controlling 80 per cent of West German share capital is returning increasingly to the "traditions" of the colonial policy practised by Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler.

Naturally in present-day conditions it cannot announce itself as crudely as it used to in those days. Nevertheless Dr. Adenauer is an old believer in those traditions. In 1927 he wrote in a Hamburg magazine Europäische Gespräche: "We need more room for our people, and therefore, we need colonies.... First, we should try to get a colonial mandate, in order to go one step forward, but we should never forget our aim of possessing colonies of our own."

A decisive factor in today's West German policy in Africa is its dominant role in the OEEC, the Inner Six and the plans of Eurafrika, that is Africa being tied to Europe as its firm agrarian and raw material hinterland.

The other decisive factor is West Germany's increasing role in the main aggressive military bloc of today, Nato. West Germany gives firm support to Nato policies in Africa. It is a partner in the 17 Nato air bases and eight Nato naval bases established in Africa.

During the 1956 imperialist aggression against Egypt, Adenauer described the Anglo-French-Israeli action as one motivated by a "legitimate political goal." During the acts of aggression against Lebanon and Jordan, following the Iraqi revolution, West German planes flew as convoy for the aggressive forces.

The West German imperialists have granted their French Nato partners more than 1500 million marks to help wage war in Algeria.

More disgraceful than everything else is the West German stand on the French atomic explosion. It is no secret that both in the preparation and testing of the French atomic bomb West Germany had actively helped France. It was further confirmed by the open support West German Government spokesmen later gave to the French action.

Speaking at a mass rally of the Christian Democratic Union in Ludwigshaven on February 14, the day after the explosion was carried out, Minister for all-German questions Ernst Lemmer said: "So long as an international agreement on the relinquishment of atomic weapons is not reached, nobody can accuse France for carrying out atomic armament." He further stated that "one must see to it that this test increases the strength of Nato."

This same theme of the French bomb increasing the strength of Nato was emphasised the next day by another West German Government spokesman Felix von Eckhardt.

The French test this spokesman said was "a manifestation of the military strengthening of Nato.... France was simply exercising its sovereignty" and "the French Government was completely free to carry out such a test," said Herr Eckhardt.

Guinea's exchange of ambassadors with the GDR is Africa's clear notice to Bonn that it is no longer prepared to be hoodwinked or browbeaten in ordering its policies. This is no isolated instance. There is a rapidly increasing recognition the world over of the truth about the two Germanys.

—Ziaul Haq

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

MARCH 13, 1960

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

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NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

KERALA CASHEW WORKERS' DEMANDS

THE cashewnut workers of Kerala have been facing three serious difficulties.

First, the minimum wages fixed six years ago had already been long overtaken by rise in prices and the workload too has since been enhanced.

Secondly, the workers were periodically laid off.

Thirdly, many factories were being closed down.

The Communist Ministry tried to solve all these difficulties by:

— appointing a committee to revise the minimum wages

— trying to set up a trade corporation for purchase and proper distribution of raw nuts to avoid seasonal lay-off; and

— attempting to organise workers' cooperatives to take over closed down factories.

The Committee submitted its revised wage recommendations only a few days before the Communist Ministry was dismissed.

The Governor's regime did not do anything to implement these recommendations. Nor did it take further steps to set up the trade corporation or workers' cooperatives.

The cashew worker's central council (affiliated to AITUC) has appealed to the new Government to implement those recommendations and decisions. It has called upon the workers to unitedly agitate to achieve this objective.

WEST GERMANS AGAINST NAZI REVIVAL

those who deny them the right to work for wages.

In another resolution the Committee appealed to the Kerala Government and all members of the Kerala Legislature to ensure that the Agrarian Relations Bill sent to the President for his assent, should not be amended when referred back to the State Legislature for consideration, but should be passed into Law immediately and implemented without delay.

The Committee pointed out that many landlords in Malabar are filing petitions against peasants in the rent court utilising the provisions in the Malabar Tenancy Act where a landlord is given the right to go to court to get an increase in the rent.

The Committee appealed to the Government to protect tenants from further increase in the rent and to stay the implementation of the clause in the Malabar Tenancy Act.

The Council also took a number of organisational decisions to improve its work in Kerala. It was decided that the membership enrolment work should be completed before March 25 and local Conference of the Kisan Sabha should be concluded before March 27. The Council decided to hold a delegates conference of the Kerala Karshak Sangham in the second week of April at Kozhikode.

This, A.P. said, "reflected the strained relations between the United States and Cuba's Fidel Castro regime and indicated U.S. displeasure with the Government itself."

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LET MY PEOPLE GO NOW

Despite suppression and arrests, the demonstrations by American Negro students against racial discrimination at lunch counters in stores and restaurants in Southern U. S. cities are rapidly swelling into a new mass struggle against segregation.

DURING the past several weeks, thousands of Negroes in eighteen cities in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and Tennessee have joined the spontaneous movement protesting against the racist denial of basic human rights. The demonstrators occupy seats at lunch counters and when refused service, remain seated.

In Chattanooga, Tennessee, about fifteen hundred Negroes went to the streets to support the Negro students' struggle. The police attacked the demonstrators with fire hoses to force them back into their segregated residential area.

Four hundred Negro students took part in the passive resistance movement in Richmond, Virginia earlier and forty were arrested.

Eleven Negro students arrested in Tallahassee, Florida announced that they would defend their case in court.

The militancy of the Negro people in these places has been paralleled by similar actions elsewhere. Demonstrations against racist practices are spreading to the North. In some instances Negroes were supported by white students. In New Haven, Connecticut, white students from Yale University carried out a picket demonstration in front of the local Woolworth Company Store declaring their solidarity with young Negroes engaged in "sit down strikes" in Woolworth branch stores in the South. A sympathy demonstration was also held in Washington on February 24.

Besides terrorist threats against the movement, the racists have quickly resorted to new legal expedients. In North Carolina, Attorney General Malcolm Seawell said that "private business could legally refuse to serve anyone

and could, indeed, bar the 'undesirable' from the premises."

Subsequently, forty-one Negroes were arrested in Raleigh for "trespassing" on a sidewalk in a shopping centre in Georgia, the legislature last week was hastily putting through a bill which would authorise merchants to evict "unwanted customers." In Virginia, the state legislature has adopted three new trespassing bills proposed by Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia conference of the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People, urged the Negroes to defy the legislation hastily adopted by the state legislature on February 25 in an effort to stifle demonstrations. This law provides maximum penalties of one thousand dollars fine and one year's imprisonment for convicted demonstrators.

More than sixty Negro men and women were arrested by the police in Nashville, Tennessee on March 2, when they took seats at a bus station lunch counter in protest against racial discrimination.

After they were hauled to jail, forty Negroes who had purchased bus tickets to nearby Bellevue, continued the sit-down demonstration at the lunch counter.

In other parts of Nashville, an estimated two hundred and fifty Negroes took counter seats in half a dozen variety and drug stores during the day.

Meanwhile, protest meetings at colleges were touched off again by the mass trial at Nashville of several Negro students arrested for demonstrating against segregated lunch counters in the city's department stores. There were reports that Nashville Negroes planned a mass meeting outside the courthouse.

The president of the Alabama State College at Montgomery, H. C. Trenholm was ordered by Governor John Patterson to expel leaders of the sit-down demonstration. But other students vowed to resign if one of their fellow students was dismissed.

A Negro student was fined one hundred dollars and sentenced to thirty days in jail at Montgomery because he protested against racial inequality.

In Florida, demonstrations by Negro groups occurred at variety store lunch counters again in Tampa and also spread to St. Petersburg and Sarasota.

At Durham and other places in North Carolina, white students joined Negro students in the demonstrations. Some were arrested.

Protest rallies also took place in at least four South Carolina cities on March 1, and at the Capital city of Columbia.

DURING the last week Southern racist Senators have been conducting a parliamentary filibuster in the U. S. Senate against the Civil Rights Bill—weak as it is—sponsored by the Republicans in an election year.

Their violent anti-Negro hatred, outside and inside the legislative halls, is not a mere pathological quirk steeped in pre-Civil War slavery days but is rooted in the determined effort to hold on to their super-profits reaped from Negro discrimination and to their legislative position based on rigged elections, as a result of preventing Negroes to vote.

"Free by '63", adopted as a slogan by the National Association of Coloured People seven years ago, is today being transformed into action by the aroused Negro people, South and North.

At a Carnegie Hall testimonial for A. Phillip Randolph, 70 year old AFL-CIO Negro vice-president who recently clashed with George Meany, Randolph called for mass Negro marches on both the Democratic and Republican conventions, saying "The Negro... is no longer satisfied with promises. The Negro says let my people go NOW. He says it in Montgomery and he says it in New York. Let my people go now, not tomorrow, but now, now, now."

In Chicago a Midwest Conference of Negro Voters is being held on March 11, 12 & 13, where the main theme is "unity of Negro voters... to exert maximum pressure" for Negro rights. They declare "no Presidential candidate and few Congressional candidates can win without the Negro vote in 1960".

Continuing, they emphasize that "Negro voters should march to the polls as united as those Negroes who recently walked the streets of Montgomery" when they broke Jim Crow on the buses by a total boycott, and end on the note that "the key to democracy in the U. S. is equal rights for Negro citizens".

Already in Carolina and Virginia, Negroes marked the 97th observances of the Emancipation Proclamation by marching in the streets demanding immediate civil rights. 2,700 marched in Richmond and adopted a resolution that schools be reopened and 1,700 Negro school children allowed education. In Greenville 250 marched on the Municipal Airport Terminal in protest against segregated restaurants, waiting rooms and toilets.

In 17 Southern communities covering five states, Negro students from 20 universities have demonstrated hundreds strong in each place against the refusal to serve meals to Negroes in restaurants and lunch-counter cafes.

These struggles are now exerting pressure inside the Labour movement. Until recently, the top labour leaders adopted pious resolutions for civil rights for Negroes, but

allowed certain unions to continue discrimination practices against Negro members, to refuse to allow Negroes to become skilled workers, or to hold up positions of union leadership.

This came to a boiling point when Randolph pressed for disciplinary action against certain unions following these anti-Negro practices. Meany rebuked and insulted Randolph.

The answer to the Meany-Reuther attitude has been expressed in the call for the American-Negro Labour Council, to be established in Detroit on May 28-29. Its aim is "to pool the strength of an estimated 1½ million Negro trade unionists for a struggle for full rights and democracy NOW within the trade unions and industry."

Supported by all Negro trade union leaders, Right and Left or centre, its aim is to stay within the unions and carry on the fight.

—John Williamson

RELEASE HENRY WINSTON

IN a statement condemning denial of medical parole to Henry Winston, Negro leader of the Communist Party of the USA, Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA says:

This decision by the U. S. Board of Parole and the P.S. of the authorities to send Winston back to prison despite his almost complete blindness and the loss of the use of his legs after a major operation for a serious brain tumor—a condition brought on and aggravated by callous indifference and negligence of the prison authorities—can only be characterized as sadistic and ghoulish in character. Such an outrageous decision can only arouse the conscience and sense of humanity of every man and woman the world over.

If the sense of humanity was aroused throughout the world by plans of U. S. authorities to execute Carol Chessman who is convicted of heinous crimes, the conscience and sense of justice of the U. S. and world's people will undoubtedly be even more aroused when the ugly facts of inhuman treatment accorded Henry Winston by the U. S. Government become known.

If the State Department felt that the execution of Chessman would cause embarrassing reactions in Latin America during the trip of President Eisenhower there, it will be even more embarrassed by the challenge to humanity in the Winston decision.

Prison records show that in similar medical cases, even people convicted of ordinary crimes are granted parole. Why then is such parole refused to Winston if not because of racial and political discrimination?

Concluding Gus Hall has appealed "to all humane men and women and organizations in the United States and the world over, to let their voices be heard now. We appeal for immediate action, for messages to President Eisenhower urging immediate medical parole for Henry Winston. Such humane action will reaffirm the best traditions of justice and humanity of the common people of our country and the common people the world over."

The Smith Act charge for which he was convicted has its origin in a period of our history when repression of dissent from dominant government policy was rampant, when passion and prejudice against dissenters, both Communist and non-Communist, were whipped into a state of such intensity that we were a nation characterized by

the black silence of fear." When the Supreme Court in subsequent times had occasion to examine the identical evidence in another case involving the same charges (the Yates case) it found the evidence wanting and the nature of the advocacy involved protected by the guarantees of the First Amendment of our Constitution.

Nevertheless Henry Winston has been denied even medical parole and is surrounded by prison guards in the hospital where he is fighting for recovery from the removal of a serious brain tumor and from the serious effects of the negligence of prison authorities.

Henry Winston is a Negro and because he is a Negro and a political prisoner, the prison authorities in Terre Haute, Indiana callously refused him ordinary medical attention for several months, even though he could no longer walk nor see.

Only the vigorous protests of outraged citizens obliged the Government to permit the removal of Winston to a private hospital in New York for an emergency operation which saved his life.

Now that such protests have saved Winston's life, will the Government be permitted to take him back to prison and thus again endanger his recovery and his life? This is the question, and the sense of humanity residing in all decent people will not permit an affirmative answer to this question.

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U.S. Record In Latin America

* FROM PAGE 2

U.S. imperialism has set up a host of organizations to "handle" the Latin American countries under the protective signboard of Pan-Americanism. These include the commercial bureau of American states (organized in 1889), the former Pan-American Union, and the present-day Organization of the American States (OAS).

In 1945, the United States forced on its southern neighbors the "Clayton Plan"—euphemistically described as the "economic charter" for the Americas. This was a plan which paved the way for intensified U.S. economic exploitation of Latin America under the guise of "free trade, free investment," and "free enterprise."

In 1947, the United States saddled Latin America with the so-called "Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance" to tighten its military control over these countries. This was followed by the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist Caracas Declaration of 1954. Two months after adoption, Washington made full use of it for the armed subversion of the democratic government in Guatemala.

At the conference of the presidents of the Americas in 1956 Eisenhower declared: "... that those who demonstrate the capacity for self-government thereby win the right to self-government; the sovereign states shall be free from foreign interference in the orderly development of their internal affairs."

In practice this "pronunciamento" was used to turn a country into a U.S. colony by the simple expedient of labeling it as one lacking the capacity for self-rule. A clear example is Puerto Rico.

By the same token, the United States can claim at will that a certain sovereign state is not developing its internal affairs "in an orderly way" and use it as a pretext for interference. Thus, following the victory of the Cuban revolution, Washington has on three separate occasions sent official notes to the Cuban government slandering the

Cuban revolutionary movement and declaring that the Cuban land reform did not have the concurrence of the U.S. property holders in Cuba.

Washington also applied pressure on the Inter-American Foreign Ministers' Conference to extend the powers of the "Inter-American Peace Committee" and entrust it with the assignment of "studying" the tense situation in the Caribbean. This was in effect part of the plot for intervention against Cuba.

Pan-Americanism is a ruse which gives Washington a free hand in using the OAS for intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries and in their mutual relations. Thus, when the United States wanted to overthrow the democratic Guatemalan Government, it did so by instigating the rebel forces under Armas to launch an attack against Guatemala from Honduras and Nicaragua. The Guatemalan Government's request that the U.N. Security Council take measures to stop the aggression was sidetracked by U.S. manoeuvres designed to refer the question to the OAS. Since U.S. manipulation prevented any effective measures by the OAS, the democratic Guatemalan Government was overthrown without much ado.

The peoples of Latin America have no use for the U.S. brand of Pan-Americanism, which is nothing but a cover for Pan-United-States-ism. Since the end of World War II, Washington has imposed further U.S.-controlled dictatorships on the Latin American peoples. This has been accomplished behind the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist smokescreen. Without exception these dictatorships all serve the interests of Wall Street.

Take Batista as an example. During his rule tens of thousands of Cuban patriots were murdered in cold blood; this was done at the instigation of the United States and carried out according to specific plans of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Batista turned over to U.S. monopoly

capital, practically IN TOTO, Cuba's industrial and communication enterprises as well as other national resources, subjecting the Cuban people to brutal exploitation.

When the Cuban people, driven to desperation, took arms against the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, drove them out and set up their own democratic regime to free themselves from U.S. imperialist oppression and plunder, Eisenhower issued statement after statement, meddling in Cuba's internal affairs.

He described the overthrow of the reactionary Batista regime by the Cuban people and the establishment of their own democratic government as the destruction of the "democratic system" and the victory of the Cuban people's revolution won at the cost of several years' sanguinary struggle as "international Communist conspiracy."

Under the same anti-Soviet and anti-Communist pretext the United States applied economic and political pressure compelling 12 Latin American countries to conclude bilateral military agreements with it; established and maintained 15 major military bases on their territories; made five Latin American countries break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and 16 countries ban their Communist Parties.

The results are all too obvious. Quite a number of Latin American countries do not have their own independent national defence; many cannot trade freely with other countries of the world and are consequently economically at the mercy of U.S. monopoly capital. And in many Latin American countries the people were deprived of all democratic rights.

The present economic situation in Latin American countries is the result of prolonged colonial rule. In Latin America only those fields of production which are most profitable to foreign capital are developed. Growth of the national economies is arrested because U.S. monopoly capital which controls Latin America's economic lifeline makes industrial and agricultural production there serve its own needs.

U.S. investments in and "aid" to Latin America bring huge profits to Wall Street and untold suffering to the Latin American peoples. Venezuela is an example. The United States owns three-fourth of Venezuelan oil from which it derives a profit of 600 million dollars every year whereas the daily wage of a Venezuelan worker is equivalent to only 1/24 of the value he produces.

Since 1950 twenty Latin American countries have been forced to accept U.S. "technical assistance" originally introduced as the "Point 4 Program." While U.S. "technical personnel" infiltrated the economic departments of various Latin American countries, no real help was given them to develop their industry.

Up to the present-day, oil-rich Venezuela still cannot refine oil within its territory nor can Chile smelt its own copper.

The Latin American states remain agricultural countries exporting raw materials and importing industrial products. Although countries like Argentina and Brazil exerted considerable effort to develop their national industry in recent years, they could not attain normal growth due to the manifold U.S. obstructions.

SCRAP BOOK

KUOMINTANG M. P.

WE seem to be getting along famously. Our reputation for tolerance—don't dare to call it opportunism—will soon touch a new high. Look at the way we are allowing the Dalai Lama to play ducks and drakes with the Potala treading, to say nothing of his doling it out to numerous anti-Panch Shilla beneficiaries of Indian flesh and blood.

Now we are going ahead, it seems, with allowing a Kuomintang "member of Parliament" to attend sessions in Taiwan and still enjoy a life of leisure and ease in the salubrious climate of Srinagar.

This decrepit member of a defunct assembly goes by the name of Haji Delal Khan. He ran like hell when the People's Liberation Army swept across Sinkiang like a cleansing storm ten years ago. He got himself a refuge in Ladhak, but later moved on to Srinagar where he has set up as a trader—in what wares, Heaven knows.

Some few weeks back the Taiwan authorities suddenly remembered his existence, sent him a return air passage and asked him to come along to the "National Chinese Congress" tamasha.

The ex-General, it is learnt, has decided that staying 10 years in India has in no way disqualified him from "representing China" and has hit the trail to Taipei. But he knows the KMT gangster methods too well and so has guaranteed his return.

Need the Government of India be so generous in allowing a "representative" of a "State" we do not recognise, in conflict with another which we do, to scurry back and forth in this way?

AMERICAN SLANDER

SOME American authors have decided to put on historical apparel in order to slander our country. Perhaps, they have been asked not to become too contemporary—the "niggers" are developing sensitive skins. But an insult is an insult, and it makes the gorge rise.

Take this scurrilous passage: "India is a woman. A soft, passive, sprawling woman who paints her face, dyes her hair and ornaments herself with myriad priceless jewels. A woman who perfumes her fat, disease-ridden body with all the seductive attars of the tropics and submits apathetically to rape by any strong man."

"I smelled her as soon as I rode out of the South-East gate of the Khyber Pass. I smell her spices and her blossom, her fever and her leprosy. Even while crossing the spring waters of the Indus in the Punjab highlands, I could smell her stinking Ganges delta."

Similar "colourful" descriptions are to be found to be elsewhere also in a book by one Cothburn O'Neal entitled "Conquests of Tamerlane" and published by the Avon Publication Inc., 575 Madison Avenue, New York. This wretched book is freely

available in the Railway bookstalls and the pavement book stores, at any rate.

It is all very well for some American authors to spit out their spite against us—we are not going to take them as the real representatives of America. But why must such books be allowed free entry into our country? The Government should put an end to this nonsense.

CONGRESS CONFLICTS

THE Bangalore session of the Congress—with all its unctuous sermonising—does not seem to have done much good to the Bangalore Congress.

Only recently local Congress elections were held in Bangalore City. But it did not pass off peacefully, even if freely. In Vasantnagar, for instance, in absence of non-violently casting ballot papers, Congressmen hurled heavy chairs against each other. Only slightly more "peaceful" scenes were witnessed in the Sheshadripuram Palace and City Market constituencies.

Since the rival factions had an equal number of toughs, they did not frighten each other but only created chaos. Some were frightened, however—the returning officers. These poor gentlemen ran for their lives!

Not exactly running, but flying, to intervene in another disgraceful fracas was Sadoba Patil. The Bombay Regional Congress Committee Chief, Ratalal Mulji Gandhi has resigned—taking in his tow three secretaries as well—because, it is said, his group has not been represented fairly on the Rajya Sabha candidates' list.

Organisationally, there is an absolute mess in Bombay and the Congress stands paralysed. Morarjiभाई is said to be in the dumps, since the Budget session prevents him from rushing off to Bombay. Sadoba, however, is not thus inhibited. He has flown with a glint in his eye—not soon had he hoped to take a swipe at the Finance Minister's followers.

COMMUNITY COST

THE Community Development Project has let down the Congress badly. Far from initiating a "silent revolution" it has stoked the fires of far from silent peasant discontent. Nobody seems to believe the ballyhoo any more.

But the Minister was taken as a dedicated man, a dynamo of energy and fully in control of everyone and everybody. His ringing messages in Simla and Srinagar (and other hill resorts) seminars always warmed the blood and persuaded all hearers to sacrifice everything for the community.

But, alas! his own family seems to have turned rebellious. What can he do if his son decides upon a cushy and lucrative job in a very private and very foreign firm and later switch to Tata? Another cost for the community!

—ONLOOKER



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Wild Charges Against Aligarh University

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Aligarh Muslim University became the focus of public attention for a day, when leading newspapers splashed on their front pages reports of serious charges and allegations flung at it from the floor of the Lok Sabha.

The hero of the hour was Prakash Vir Sastri, a Swatantra Party M. P. He delivered himself of a long peroration in "chaste Hindi" on the ills besetting the University, to the applause, no doubt, of the powerful communal lobby.

A snap discussion on this subject in the Lok Sabha was, to say the least, rather unusual. Sastri's charges were deemed sufficiently alarming for the house to prolong the discussion far beyond the scheduled half hour.

A newspaper classed it with the other revelations of corruption in high places made in Parliament during the week. Your correspondent, therefore, decided to go down to Aligarh and see and judge for himself.

Allegations which occupied a fluent M. P. a full hour, cannot be fully analysed in these columns. But of one thing your correspondent has satisfied himself, viz., that whatever other defects there might or might not be in the University, the particular allegations aired by Sastri, which have received such generous press publicity, are just hopelessly untrue.

● Sastri has alleged, first of all, that the University

purchased a house worth only Rs. 7,000 for Rs. 31,000 from a high official of the Ministry of Education.

Against Swatantra Concepts!

Sastri as a Swatantrite must be a believer in the sanctity of private property and I was surprised to find that he should have valued a modern house off the main road, with twelve rooms, two verandahs, a garage, a number of out-houses, a well and more than a bigha of open space at a mere Rs. 7,000!

University teachers who so keenly feel the acute housing shortage in the university did not display the same acumen as the worthy M. P., who, perhaps, has never cast his eyes upon the house. They considered the purchase of the house at Rs. 31,000 a good bargain.

● An allegation that the university purchased land from an old respected Nationalist Muslim leader at the "inflated" price of Rs. 5 per square yard is generally dismissed as ridiculous. The land is very well situated and the Government of India itself is said to have valued it at a much higher rate.

If Sastri or his informant could arrange for the sale of any plot of land in the same locality to the University at the same, if not a lower, rate, everyone would be most gratified.

● A worthless house at Ranikhet purchased for Rs. 70,000 to oblige a friend of the Vice-chancellor! By now, from errors of valuation Sastri proceeds to errors of fact. The price paid was only Rs. 38,000.

The property consists of two buildings with 14 rooms, 9 bath rooms, three verandahs, two garages and one cottage, about 50 apple trees and about two acres of open space. The Vice-chancellor has denied all previous acquaintance with the former owner of the house, the transaction being arranged through a bank.

It might be added that the house is meant to provide University teachers with an opportunity of spending holidays at a hill station at reasonable expense.

● An ex-Registrar, Sastri thunders, a person who can neither walk nor talk has been appointed professor.

The fact is that the so-called "ex-Registrar" has been a teacher of the University for more than twenty years. He worked for a number of years as the head of the department of which he is professor now.

He has an excellent reputation as a teacher and was one of the few in the university who never bowed to the Muslim League in the forties.

He had a stroke of paralysis from which he has recovered. He can talk at best as well as Sastri and his Swatantra friends. It is surely no part of the duty of a professor that he should run a mile every day.

BON VOYAGE, EVEREST CLIMBERS

NEW AGE sends its warmest good wishes to the intrepid first all-Indian mountaineering expedition, which is out to scale Mount Everest.

It is a fact that all expeditions to the Himalayas, though made up of foreigners, have had to rely on the knowledge, courage and physical toughness of our Sherpa guides. Their role often enough went unrecognised till the great Tensing Norkay was able to plant our

National Flag on the highest point on the earth.

It makes every Indian proud that now, for the first time, a team of our countrymen are setting out to scale the massive Himalayan heights. Equipped with the latest scientific instruments, most of it made in India, they have set out on their arduous journey. May success attend their efforts for the glory of our Motherland. May all of them return victorious and safe.

(March 9)

● Some light relief has been provided by the statement that the house in Ranikhet, the holiday home for teachers, has been used as a centre for "anti-national" activities. The local interpretation is that this has had its source in a birthday party given by the Vice-chancellor for Shaikh Abdullah.

Only, this Shaikh Abdullah is not the ex-premier of Kashmir, but the founder of the university Women's College, who stayed in Ranikhet during the last summer vacation.

A statement rebutting all these allegations has in the meanwhile been issued by the Vice-chancellor on behalf of the university.

Your correspondent has been careful to look into these charges because while corruption anywhere is intolerable and must be exposed, democratic opinion must be on guard to see that interested parties do not, in the garb of righteous indignation at imaginary scandals, trample underfoot the autonomy and prestige of academic institutions.

If what occurred in the Lok Sabha had been the lone performance of Sastri, one could have dismissed it as mere vituperation. But what has happened is only a link in the chain that connects it with the recent "enquiry" launched against the Banaras University, with all its hue and cry and deplorable consequences.

Ever since Dr. Srimall became Minister of Education he has taken upon himself the role of "cleaning" the Universities according to his own light. In the case of Banaras he burnt his fingers rather badly and now Aligarh has the benefit of his attention.

Minister's Strange Behaviour

No one can have any complaint if he wishes to assure himself that all financial transactions in the University are above board. But his method is not one which gives any assurance that this is what he is after.

● It is widely believed that he has a high-placed member of the staff of the university who supplies him with all kinds of "information." This is a despicable system of espionage.

● He projects into the university affairs his private quarrel with the Secretary of his Ministry. A commentator in the Statesman pointed out that Dr. Srimall did not defend this officer—an educationist of great repute—when he was attacked by Sastri, although it is customary for ministers to justify

the conduct of their subordinates who cannot defend themselves.

Dr. Srimall's performance during the whole episode in the Lok Sabha is widely resented here. He made no protest against a discussion in the House at a time when an Enquiry Committee, appointed by the University Executive Council "at the instance of the Government" (Dr. Srimall's own words), is going into all the charges that have been levelled.

Since Dr. Srimall's informants had supplied him with all the allegations aired by Sastri, it is learnt that the University had already communicated to the Ministry all the relevant data.

Yet while one side was heard, names mentioned, baseless allegations thrown about, all supposedly to facilitate the enquiry, the Minister was not very helpful in showing to the M.P.s and the public outside whether the charges had even a prima facie basis.

There is naturally great indignation in the Aligarh University over this incident and what it portends. This indignation is not confined to any one section of the staff or students.

Not Free From Faults

No one pretends that this University—like any other—is without defects. No one says that communalism does not exist within the University: both Muslim and Hindu communal forces are in existence and often have even a working alliance between themselves.

But what cannot be missed is that there has been a tremendous change in the atmosphere of the University during the last ten years. Publicity is often given to the charges about discriminatory practices in admissions. Yet the number of non-Muslim students is considerable (over one-third of the total, I was told).

Complaints of discrimination on communal grounds in appointments have also been made (and not from one side only), but the fact remains that there are a very large number of non-Muslim teachers on the staff. There are no apparent signs at all of any communal tension within the University campus.

Democratic opinion, Aligarh teachers generally feel, does not assert itself to see that yet another university is not added to the already long enough list of the victims.

E. M. S.—New Phase In Kerala

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

himself had to admit that the Communist Party is by no means a negligible force in Kerala.

The 35 lakh votes polled by the Party and its allies cannot be neglected by anyone who wants people's participation in the matter of formulating and implementing plans and developing our State.

The hatred shown by Debar and his colleagues towards the Communist Party is irreconcilable with the unity of the people needed for taking the country forward. So far as the Communist Party is concerned, its State Council made the position clear.

In the resolution on the political situation adopted by it on March 3, it welcomed the statement of the Chief Minister to the effect that it would be his Government's endeavour to give some relief to the hungry stomachs and unemployed hands in the State.

While offering the Party's support to anything that the Government may do to realise this objective, the Council pointed out the inconsistency of this policy statement with the anti-Communist crusade that has been launched by the leaders of the ruling party (not only ideological and political crusade but even physical attacks).

The Council assured the people that the Party will function as a constructive op-

position within and outside the legislature and called on the leaders of the ruling party to respond to this call for cooperation.

The resolution of the State Council evoked two types of reaction from the leaders of other political parties and the non-Communist Press.

The first was one of welcoming it and claiming that the non-Communist parties had functioned as a responsible and constructive opposition while the Communist-led Government was in office.

Typical of this reaction was the remark made by the Home Minister, P. T. Chacko, who said the Congress Party, while in opposition, was responsible and constructive and that it would be good if the Communist Party followed that example.

The other reaction was to dismiss this statement of the State Council as insincere, since the very meeting of the State Council which adopted it also decided to launch a State-wide campaign on such issues as the Agrarian Relations Bill, cooperatives, police attacks on the members and sympathisers of the Communist Party, etc.

Those who make this criticism appear to argue that launching such a campaign is inconsistent with the sense of responsibility and constructiveness.

We, Communists, are confident that genuine democrats in all political parties will see the utter baselessness of this

criticism. For, the sense of responsibility and constructiveness does not consist in failure to take up people's issues and to launch campaigns on that basis.

On the other hand, the struggle to impel the Government to adopt better and more popular policies, as well as the struggle for a better and more popular method of implementing such policies are an integral part of the basic task of a responsible and constructive Opposition.

It is only when the Opposition attacks on the Government lack the basis of such concrete policies and suggestions, when the Opposition opposes only for the sake of opposition, that it ceases to be responsible.

As for P. T. Chacko's claim that his party was responsible and constructive while in opposition, he may only be reminded that his party and his allies went even to the extent of launching a movement to paralyse the State administration.

If this is part of the task of a responsible and constructive Opposition, we do not propose to follow that example.

We consider it to be our task to fight the anti-people policies and measures of the Government and see that as much relief as possible is secured for the common people from this very Government so long as it lasts.

(March 9)