

U.S.-BRITISH INSOLENCE DENOUNCED

'Clinch MIG Deal' Call By CPI Secretariat

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of India which met in Delhi on May 22-23 issued the following statement to the press:

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party of India fully shares the public resentment against the behaviour of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom in regard to the reported negotiations by India for the purchase of certain MIG Jet aircrafts from the Soviet Union for our Defence forces.

"We do not know at what stage these negotiations are or whether they are at all in progress. But it is evident that the U.S. and British imperialists would not like to see India's national defence strengthened.

"What, however, is most astounding and objectionable is that the U. S. and British Governments have thrown overboard all international decorum and started open blackmail, pressure and intimidation against our country so that no steps to strengthen our national defence by acquiring the much-needed modern equipments from the Soviet Union succeed.

"They would like to see our country still remaining dependent on the pleasures of the West for its defence requirements.

PROFITS THREATENED

"The Western Powers are particularly irritated because their armament firms stand in danger of losing their fabulous profits if India sets up, with the Soviet assistance, factories to produce such jet planes. It will be noted that the mere reports of the negotiations have led the Western circles to offer their jet planes at reduced prices.

"This attitude on the part

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INTEGRATION COUNCIL MUST ACT TO

Defeat Communal Reaction

Editorial

serious problem—the growth of the forces of communalism.

The problem of national integration came to the forefront after the disturbances that took place in Assam over the issue of official language. It was the Assam developments that woke up the entire nation to the reality that something was seriously wrong with the public life of the nation. It was, therefore, natural that the leaders of the September 1961 conference, which led to the formation of the National Integration Council, should have paid their attention to the question of language. Other questions which affected the development of national unity such as communalism, were held over for the time being.

It was, however, clear even then that the problem of relations between the various religious communities, and between the various castes, was equally serious. As a matter of fact, the attacks on the minority community which took place a few months before the September Conference—those at Jabalpur, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh—were as serious as the Assam disturbances. The representative of the Communist Party, the late Ajoy Ghosh, in his speech at the conference characterised communalism as "the most serious of all the menaces that confront us". Pointing his finger at "the commu-

THE NATIONAL INTEGRATION Council, whose first meeting will be held on June 2, has to apply its mind to an extremely

nalism of the majority community" as particularly serious, he said:

"Hindu communalism seems to be gradually permeating our social and political life and what is even more dangerous is that political reaction often operates in this garb. Apart from the organisations of Hindu communalism whose names are well-known, the Hindu communalists have found their way into many key positions in the administration. It is no accident that, when aggressive Hindu communalists engineer tension and riots, sections of the administration are found somewhat paralysed. This was witnessed to an alarming extent at the time of the recent Jabalpur riots".

The leaders of the conference, however, could not then accept the urgency of discussing this question in order to devise ways and means of avoiding the repetition of what had happened at Jabalpur and other places in Madhya Pradesh. One need not now go into the reasons which led them to such an approach according to which the first and major question to be tackled in connection with national integration was linguistic integration, rather than the prevention of communal disturbances. Today, however, it is impossible for any one to dispute the fact that the growing menace of communalism has become the biggest single problem to which attention of those who are interested in national integration should be drawn.

If the Jabalpur riots were the first warnings of the gradual deterioration that has begun to set in in the communal life of the nation, the recent riots in Malda in West Bengal and Rajsahi in East Bengal point out how the internal life of the two neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan, as well as their mutual relations, are put to heavy strains. Nor can any responsible statesman or political worker in our country, as well as in neighbouring Pakistan, afford to minimise the seriousness of the riots in his own country, or put the blame for what is happening on the shoulders of the other side. It is for the leaders of the two nations, particularly of the majority communities in both, to see that communal passions are not whipped up, those who incite them are given exemplary punishment and everything that is humanly possible is done to protect the life, property, social and cultural institutions of the minority communities.

We hope that the various elements in the public life of the country which are represented in the National Integration Council will pay serious attention to this problem.

Let them not try to minimise the seriousness of the recent riots in Malda.

Let them not underestimate the mischief that is being played by the forces of Hindu communalism.

Let them not allow the prejudices and narrow self-interest of the various parties and organisations to stand in the way of united action in order to weaken and defeat the forces of communal reaction.

Let a rousing call go forth from the National Integration Council for a united campaign against communalism, for united action in defence of those whose peaceful life is being threatened by the communalists.

COMMUNIQUE

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi on May 22 and 23, 1962. The meeting which was attended by all the members of the Secretariat discussed a number of matters, both political and organisational.

THE Secretariat heard reports about the recent communal disturbances in Malda and other places and took a serious view of these disturbances. The question of the protection of the Muslim minorities both by official and non-official efforts was given a prominent place in the deliberations of the Secretariat. The Secretariat is of the view that the forthcoming meeting of the National Integration Council should take up in all seriousness this issue of communalism, particularly in view of the recent communal outbursts and intensified activities of the communal organisations.

It was noted that certain good decisions of the National Integration Conference held last September had not been implemented in the States. The Secretariat strongly felt that the National Integration bodies should be formed at the State

level also, in order to coordinate both official and non-official efforts for the purposes of promoting the cause of National Integration in general and for combating the forces of communalism in particular. The Secretariat attached the greatest importance to practical measures for the protection of the Muslim minorities and for maintaining peace and communal harmony. In this context the majority community owes special responsibilities. The Party's representative on the National Integration Council will take up this issue at the next meeting of the Council.

In this connection the Secretariat also considered the new move to expand All-India Services to cover matters which generally fall within the jurisdiction of the States. The Secretariat was of the view that no expansion of All India Ser-

vices should take place in regard to subjects which are State subjects. Nothing should be done to abridge the autonomy of States. What is really needed is to enlarge State autonomy. This enlargement of State autonomy rather than its restriction is called for precisely in the interest of National Integration.

The Secretariat discussed the new spate of both Central and State taxes that hit the masses. It also considered the proposed increase in the railway fares. In the view of the Secretariat these measures are both unjust and unwarranted and cannot but add to the hardships of the people. The Secretariat heard reports about the situation in the States and took note of the pressure by the Central Government on the State Governments to impose new tax burdens on the masses. The Secretariat decided that the campaign against these taxes and the proposed increase in the railway fares which has already been started in several

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Punjab Communists And The United Front Of Opposition Parties

(Translated from an article in Punjabi originally published in *Nawan Zamana*)

On May 5, in Chandigarh, the opposition parties had some discussions on the minimum programme for the formation of a United Front.

In this connection, they announced an 11-point programme which included abolition of the Upper House, separation of the judiciary from the executive, land revenue to be levied on income tax basis with the exemption to owners of less than five acres of land, only one tax on urban property, nationalisation of transport, putting an end to corruption, restoration of civil liberties, enquiry into the properties of Ministers, a smaller ministry and welfare of backward classes.

The final decision to form such a Front had been left over to be taken by the respective working committees of the different organisations. The Secretariat of the Punjab Council of the CPI considered the issue at its meeting on May 5 and felt it necessary to explain the viewpoint of the Party in this connection.

No Blind Opposition

To bring about a shift to the left in the policies of the Government, the Communist Party strives to build the broadest democratic unity and directs its activities towards this. In this connection, it must be made clear that the Communist Party does not believe in the concept of blind opposition to the Congress.

In fact, the Communist Party supports many of the Congress Government's policies, such as, independent foreign policy, the building of the public sector, industrialisation of the country, strengthening of the relations with socialist countries, etc., because these policies represent the common interests of the whole country.

At the same time, the Communist Party determinedly fights against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government. These are the policies which place the burden of the development of the country on the shoulders of the working people, which increase the loot of the labouring masses, which lead to the eviction of agricultural workers and poor peasants from the land instead of giving them land, which impose unbearable tax burdens on the poor, which entail heavy fall in real wages with the steep rise in prices, and curtail civil liberties and attack democracy.

These policies hinder the overall development of the country and especially run counter to the interests of the working people.

The Communist Party wants to bring about a turn to the left and wants to form a national democratic front for this purpose.

The opposition parties are of two types—progressive and reactionary. The objects and interests of the progressive parties cannot be separated from the objects and interests of the democratic front. Therefore, the Communist Party has always striven to build a united front with the

parties of democratic opposition.

But in the Opposition, there are reactionary parties also whose aim is to oppose the progressive features of the Government's policies and who seek to

The Communist Party in Punjab considers the united front struggle to be dual, a struggle on two fronts—against the anti-people policies of the Government and against communalism. Whereas the anti-people policies of the Government hit the people, communalism disrupts the democratic movement and thereby safeguards the interests of the ruling classes. These parties are not pre-

pared to shed their communalism and want to utilise the people's discontent against the Government. United front with these parties might help in intensifying the discontentment against the Congress but will weaken the fight against communalism; it will create hurdles in the way of the formation of the democratic front.

There is no doubt that the Congress in the Punjab continuously gives impetus to communalism and to keep itself in power it uses communalism as a weapon.

We can fight against this policy of the Congress if we continue our ideological and political fight against communalism and present a democratic solution of the issues before the people on which these parties and the Congress disrupt their unity.

From this it is clear that the Communist Party cannot join the united front of these opposition parties, in spite of the common programme worked out by it. It is that we cannot cooperate with the opposition parties.

by Harkishen Singh Surjeet

bring about a shift to the right in these policies.

If we take the concrete example of Punjab, here besides the Communist Party, there are three other Opposition parties. (The fourth one, the Swatantra Party, had three members, out of whom one has gone over to the Congress and nothing is definite about the rest.)

The party which is recognised as the Opposition Party in the legislature is the Progressive Independent Party which mostly consists of those who have left the Congress and who have adopted the democratic programme.

The other two parties are the Akali Party and the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh is an avowed communal party and besides creating disruption in the democratic movement, it opposes the independent foreign policy, opposes the public sector, etc.

The Akali Party also is a communal party. Although opposition to the public sector and independent foreign policy has never become a part of its programme, its leadership supports most of the policies of right reaction. It is not without significance that it has instructed its members in Parliament to join the Swatantra Party and sit on their benches.

Re: Minimum Programme

Question arises whether the Communist Party agrees with the minimum programme.

The Communist Party may hardly have any difference on the 11-point programme which the opposition parties have published. Our Party had launched campaigns on many of these issues from its own platform.

In spite of this, however, we are not prepared to form a united front with all the opposition parties on these issues because such a united front creates an atmosphere of united opposition to the Congress and thus creates a wrong concept of united front among the people.

to fight for their rights. But a general united front depicts before them a concept of blind opposition to the Congress and this obstructs the formation of a National Democratic Front.

Similarly, inside the Assembly, on issues of common interest to the people and the state in general, the Communist Party will cooperate with every party, but it cannot form a united front because, on important issues confronting the state, the Communist Party has basic differences with the reactionary parties.

On Specific Issues

When the glorious struggle against the unbearable burden of betterment levy was launched by the Kisan Sabha, we gave a call to all the parties to participate in the struggle, although the leadership of these parties did not participate in it. Nevertheless, on that issue, there was a broad unity of the peasantry irrespective of their political affiliations.

The same year (1959) when there was a food crisis and the food situation worsened, we gave a call to all the parties to unite in a struggle to secure an improvement in the food situation.

Now this very year, when there were election irregularities in counting of votes in Sarhali constituency and the issue of defence of democracy was in the forefront and the people of Punjab were worried on this issue, we, along with other parties, raised our voice against it.

In future also, on such specific issues of special importance for the people, we can cooperate with all opposition parties. That can only be on the burning issues affecting the common interests of the people, it cannot be a general front. United campaign and united struggle to safeguard the interests of the people on specific burning issues awakens the feeling of unity among the people and enables them

Against 'Kaironshahi'

We know that the people of Punjab are fed up with what has come to be known as Kairon-Shahi. Besides its anti-people economic policies, corruption, governmental interference, attacks on civil liberties and democracy, and repression have become part of the Kairon regime and the people of the state want to put an end to this state of affairs. They have given expression to this feeling in the last general elections.

The Communist Party will intensify its campaign against the attacks of Kairon Shahi and will try to mobilise widest sections of the people. The Communist Party will grudge no sacrifice in this.

At the same time, the Communist Party will intensify its ideological struggle against communalism because, without combating communalism, the fight against Kairon Shahi cannot be strengthened, as it is the role of the communal parties to disrupt the united movement of the working people.

The future of the democratic movement in Punjab lies in this dual struggle on two fronts.

youth festival is on

FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA, May 21
The nine-day West Bengal Festival against war and for the preservation of peace, for the banning of all weapons of mass annihilation and for the demands of the youth, opened at the Ranji Stadium grounds in Calcutta on May 19 with a majestic peace parade.

The state festival is being held in honour of the Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, which will take place in Helsinki from July 28 to August 5.

In the afternoon of May 19, three big processions of youth from the northern, central and southern parts of Calcutta converged at the mall and marched towards the venue of the festival.

Hundreds of flags of different colours fluttering in the air, the sound of drums, melodious notes from flutes and other musical instruments, songs in chorus and thunderous slogans in support of world peace, for international cooperation and friendship among nations, against the machinations of the U.S. im-

perialists in Laos and for the demands of the youth had transformed the parade into a living symbol of all that youth signifies.

Amid brilliant splash of colours, the beat of drums, enchanting notes of music and waving streamers expressing the hopes and aspirations of the young people, one could not but feel that on all sides life was pulsating with youthful exuberance.

It was one of the most colourful and impressive processions ever witnessed in this "city of processions".

Variety in unity, too, was there. Young men and women, rural as well as urban youth, young workers and peasants, boys and girls, and also elderly people, joined the parade.

There were youth delegations from each one of the 16 districts of West Bengal. About 50 young men from Cooch Behar had covered over 200 miles on cycles to take part in the festival.

The young people marched with the symbols of their means and fruits of production, of their works of art and branches of education. The delegates from Purulla

district were carrying beautiful masks, the products of their labour. The peasant youth were marching with ploughshares, fishing nets, bundles of paddy, etc.

The purpose behind all this was to express the conviction of the youth that it is only in a world without wars they can find an atmosphere conducive to the blossoming of their lives and aspirations.

The participation of youth delegations from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh was an important feature on the first day of the festival. The idea was to demonstrate in practice that the youth stood solidly for national integration, which is so urgently needed in the situation obtaining in our country today.

Vivekananda Mukherjee, Editor of *Yugantar* and President of the Preparatory Committee of the Festival, hoisted the State, Peace, Yuvasangha and the festival flags, which were strung together.

Inaugurating the festival, Vivekananda Mukherjee said that in the world of today, a historic responsibility had devolved on the young people.

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Attacks On Communists & Soviet Union Measure Of Bankrupt Policies

The plight in which Finance Minister Morarji Desai found himself during the general debate on the Budget was indeed pitiable.

Day after day the budget was sharply criticised by members from all parts of the House. Communists, Praja Socialists and other sections of the Opposition were unanimous in their criticism of the increasing burdens of taxation, particularly those which fall on the common man.

That however was only part of the story. The main thing was that the opposition to the policies which were reflected in the budget came from the ranks of his own party.

HERE, for example, is what the Congress MP Anwar Harvani stated regarding the budget and the Minister who presented it:

"When a few years ago Sri Morarji Desai, a great Congressman, an eminent Finance Minister, people thought that he would give a good lead to this country, but when we go through his budget, we are thoroughly disappointed.

"No budget could have shaken more the confidence of the people in planning and in socialism than the budget that has been presented before the House."

The concluding passage of Sri Harvani's speech gave the lie to the allegation that opposition to the budget stemmed from personal animosity to the Finance Minister. For, Sri Harvani ended with the following respectful but sharp criticism of the Prime Minister:

"It was long ago—in the year 1934—that a great and eminent Indian, Netaji Subhas Bose, had said about our great Prime Minister: that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru also claims to be a leftist. His head may be with the leftists but his heart has always been with the rightists."

"Today, unfortunately I have to point out this: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is a great socialist; his head may be with the rightists, and, as long as that continues, India's future is doomed."

Sri Harvani's may be a lone voice insofar as public criticism made by Congressmen is concerned. But there un-

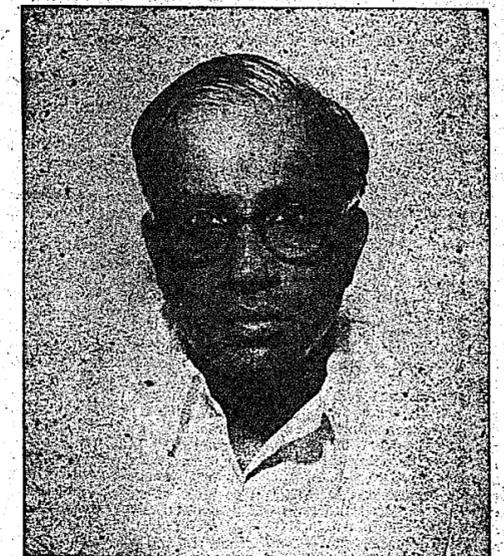
3 That the Government's management of public sector undertakings is inefficient; public treasury is therefore losing what ought to have come into it.

4 That Governmental policy as a whole is making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

These are conclusions which are borne out by the studies by independently-thinking economists, even those who do not subscribe to radical or socialist ideology.

Here, for example, is the opinion of Dr. B. R. Shenoy—who is the very opposite of an economist with radical or socialist way of thinking—on the result of planning undertaken by the party and the Government of which Sri Morarji Desai is the spokesman and leader:

"With the intensification of planning in 1955-56, the value of money incomes has been falling at an annual rate of 6.5 per cent, the fall in five years aggregating 39 per cent. "The major beneficiaries of planning have been a thin top layer of the community—traders, businessmen, indus-



E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary, Communist Party of India.

to this conclusion. The studies made by a large number of economists go to show that the benefit of planning as has been visualised and implemented by the Congress has

come.it appears that socialism whether as a result of internal reaction or external forces is at a discount within the Indian national planners." (January 6, 1961).

Is it surprising that the view given expression to in the AICC Review is shared by a section of Congress MPs including Harvani when they participate in the general debate on the budget?

But the Finance Minister cannot tolerate that. He frets and fumes against them and calls them "fellow-wanderers or fellow-travellers." Who are the fellow-wanderers?

"Very good people, idealistic many times, who try to see good in everything. But they are not able to understand the subtleties of the working of evil or evil ways and they get caught up by good professions. And they are people who are utilised by the Communist friends most. And the fellow-wanderers never realise that they are utilised. We have got such people among all other parties, including my own."

The presence of such "good people, idealistic many times" in the ranks of the critics of his policy has made it extremely difficult for the Finance Minister to answer the criticism levelled against the budget and his speech on it. He is, however, an experienced and clever politician.

He can, therefore, find a way out of this difficulty as other difficulties, i.e., ignore the fact that the criticism against his budget cuts across all barriers of politics; isolate and attack the Communists among the critics; paint a picture of all other critics being innocent victims of the Communists; in a word, utilise to the maximum the political prejudice, of all other parties, and members of his own party, in order to divide and disrupt the ranks of

NAMBOODIRIPAD TELLS MORARJI DESAI

1 That the burden of indirect taxation which is being put on the common man is unbearably heavy.

2 That there is unpardonable failure to take steps to cut down wasteful expenditure.

trialists, the larger farmers, speculators, the corrupt among the politicians and administrators and their accomplices." (Nagpur Times, April 19, Emphasis added.)

Dr. Shenoy is not alone among economists who come

TYPICAL CARTOON COMMENT ON BUDGET



—Courtesy: Nav Bharat Times

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NEW AGE

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NEW AGE

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PUBLIC SECTOR STEEL PLANTS

Powerful plea was made by Communist MPs in Lok Sabha on May 17 in the course of debate on demands for grants of the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries, in support of country's steel production targets, in defence of public sector enterprise as well as for nationalisation of privately-owned steel plants.

INITIATING the discussion from the Communist benches, Homi Daji dealt with the Plan targets and stated that the production of 10 million tons of steel by the end of the third Plan was not an ambitious one. At the same time, its fulfilment was in doubt because of certain important factors.

This, he said, was being pointed out "not with any éclat, not with an intention to merely pick holes", but "because we ourselves are fully conscious of the urgency of the target being fulfilled." He said that it would be a stupendous task for the new Minister to clear the Augean stables of the ministry and the mass of debris of the past few years of wrong planning.

He referred to production lags in Rourkela and Durgapur and deplored the serious drawbacks which have hindered the production and stated that even in the matter of expansion of steel plants, the country was lagging behind schedule lamentably. He said, except for Bhilai, where the installation of new machines would begin in 1963, the other two steel plants' expansion schemes were "still at the stage of project-finalisation only and tenders have not yet been even publicised."

Daji in this connection quoted from the Estimates Committee report and stated that there was something seriously wrong with the cost structure of expansion programme, because, he said, different cost structures were estimated for the three steel plants. He asked: how was it that "whereas the Bhilai expansion project will cost something like Rs. 920 per ton, the Durgapur expansion project will cost Rs. 933 per ton and that of the Rourkela plant will be Rs. 1,225 per ton?"

Daji also referred to the annual report of Hindustan Steel Ltd., and said that it showed a strange picture. He said that according to the last year's report, it is shown that "there is a loss of Rs. 15.56 million in Rourkela, Rs. 7.5 million in Durgapur and a profit of Rs. 15.27 million in Bhilai."

He said that Bhilai and Rourkela went into production simultaneously but still how is it that there were two different pictures—one of loss and the other of profits? He then referred to the state of affairs in Rourkela and emphasised that the profit-hunting motive

of the organisations concerned was responsible for it.

Daji stated, "For the installation of every machine and for every new bolt that is put in, there is some inauguration. By these series of inaugurations, an impression is sought to be created that things are proceeding according to the target, whereas really it is not so."

He called upon the Minister to look into the affairs of this concern and institute a deep probe.

Daji disclosed that the Hindustan Steel has entered into a contract for a study of management and personnel problems with a company called 'Personnel and Production Services (P) Ltd.', for a fabulous fee. The managing director of this concern, which has its head office in Bombay, is an avowed enemy of the public sector and holds the view that the public sector undertakings should be scrapped.

"Have we gone so bankrupt in imagination and intelligence," Daji asked, "that we must hand over this study to the avowed enemies of public sector?" Daji further disclosed that this company, in turn, is going to engage a team of American experts and the total expenses will run into tens of lakhs of rupees.

Homi Daji then referred to the state of labour relations in the Rourkela-steel project. He said, among others, that none of these public sector plants have any Standing Orders. If this would have been the case in a private concern, he remarked, the management would have been penalised, but no step was taken in regard to these projects.

"In the absence of standing orders," Daji said, "trained personnel are dismissed, victimised without any charge sheet" and he mentioned the case of Ajit Roy in Rourkela, a skilled technician for whom Government has spent about Rs. 7,000 on training for two and a half years, who has been discharged by the management without assigning any reason therefor.

He also described in detail the labour-management relations in the various public sector plants and drew attention of the house to the deplorable situation and demanded that the labour relations in the public sector undertakings be taken over by the central government so as to

get rid of "all kinds of interference of the State governments".

Speaking on the subject, Dr. Misra, among others, demanded that the steel industry in our country should be nationalised so that our industries may grow and advance towards socialism. He said that he believed that the policy should be to nationalise the whole of the steel industry.

Fattening Private Sector

He pointed out that the report of the Ministry was scrappily written and that even geographical inaccuracies have also not been checked up. He said that the policy of the government for heading towards socialism has got to be firmly followed because

the industry. The Tatas alone, who had a paid-up capital of Rs. 10.47 crores in 1949, increased it to Rs. 38.97 crores in 1960-61. The present gross block of the Tatas comes to Rs. 185.52 crores, he added. All these, according to Dr. Misra, were indicative of the fact that "we have fattened them".

In the context of the criticism about giving undue concessions to the private sector concerns, Dr. Misra referred to the instance of giving license to the Tatas for the setting up of an alloy steel plant at Jamshedpur with an annual production capacity of 50,000 tons, and said that this plant could certainly have been allotted to the public sector.

The prosperity of the various private sector undertakings, Dr. Misra said, had come about thanks to the increased

kela and demanded a rational policy of the government in this regard.

Taking part in the debate, S. M. Banerjee stated that he had an impression that TISCO and IISCO, in particular, from the private sector, were exerting terrible pressure on the government in regard to retention prices and that was, perhaps, the reason why government could not take a final decision in the matter till now. In this context he urged upon the Minister to take a final decision concerning the retention prices of steel at the earliest opportunity.

Banerjee said that among the steel plants, Rourkela has become a trouble spot due to various factors, such as, the approach of the foreigners towards Indians, non-existence of labour laws etc., and he said that all these deter the workers and technicians from doing their best. He said that the reports submitted by the former Labour Minister of Orissa and the Labour Commissioner, clearly show that "all the labour laws which ought to be implemented are being flouted."

He also cited instances of other steel plants where, similarly, implementation labour laws was a far cry.

Banerjee then referred to the situation obtaining in the Bhopal Heavy Electricals and condemned the attitude of the management who had charged several workers after they had observed a "production week" to restore the loss of production that took place due to the strike.

He said that he did not know "how such relations could serve best the country and help the growth of the public sector projects which, according to the Prime Minister, are places of pilgrimage."

Banerjee also said that in Madhya Pradesh, the labour minister is interested in propelling up the INTUC unions and central laws are not applicable there. He therefore demanded that it was high time that "all these public sector projects came under central labour laws, so that there can be effective intervention by the central Labour Ministry."

Plea To Remedy Serious Drawbacks

"what is happening is that by and by we are fattening the private sector at the expense of the public sector."

He referred in this connection to the instance of Bolani Ores (P) Ltd., where the government despite holding 50.5 per cent of the shares, has handed over management of the concern to a private company.

Dr. Misra said that Bokaro Plant has been talked about a lot but even today "we are reading in the newspapers that the 'feasibilities are being enquired into'". This, he said, was despite the fact that in April 1961, the Minister for Steel had announced on the floor of the house that "the decision has now been formally taken and steps are going to be pushed ahead in respect of the project."

Dr. Misra asked: Why is it so? Is it because some people do not want this? He referred here to the speech of a spokesman of the Tatas who had stated that the ten million ton steel project of the country was an ambitious one and therefore it should not be attempted.

Dr. Misra said that we should not dilly-dally with this project and be very firm about our policy. He added that "we should be very firm that steel and every heavy industry should go to the public sector."

Referring to the criticism of some members that the public sector projects are not making any profits and cannot make any profits, he said that he had no doubt that these undertakings would make profits very soon.

In this connection, he cited the instance of the Tatas and the profitability of the industry in general and said that the Tatas have earned huge profits during the last ten or twelve years because they had a monopoly of it so long. The profit-index of this industry after payment of tax, he said, had gone up from 100 to 1950 to 318 in 1958.

Dr. Misra said that during the last few years there has been a tremendous growth of

productivity of the workers and greater exploitation by the employers. Here he mentioned the example of TISCO where the production capacity has been increased from one million to two million tons without any increase in the labour force.

He also mentioned as to how the Tatas were utilising this prosperity to build up an empire of their own and meddling with Congress groupings. He alleged that the Tatas spent money just to oust a certain Congress group from power, whom they did not like, or to instal another which was to their liking.

He then mentioned retention prices of steel, which were increased for the Tatas 13 times during the last eleven years and which contributed directly to the building up of their profits.

Dr. Misra also referred to the labour relations in Rour-

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states should be stepped up and developed into an All India campaign rallying the broadest section of the people. It has been decided that the Communist Party, along with others should take all necessary steps to build up a national campaign on this issue. It has been further decided that June 16 or 17 should be observed as a Protest Day against such unjust taxes and the proposed increase in railway fares in every State. The Party Centre will be assisting this campaign in all different ways, particularly by sending Central Party leaders to States.

The Secretariat took a grave view of the U.S. and the British interference in the internal affairs of our country in regard to the reported negotiations by India for the purchase of MIG Jet planes from the Soviet Union. On this subject the Secretariat has adopted a resolution which has already been released to the press.

KHRUSHCHOV WARNS KENNEDY AGAINST SABRE-BATTLING

"It is often said in the bourgeois press that the socialist countries in Europe have made little progress economically since the establishment of people's power," Khrushchov said. "But which of Bulgaria's capitalist neighbours can say that it has achieved as much as the Bulgarian people have in conditions of socialism?" asked Khrushchov addressing 2½ lakh citizens of Sofia on May 19.

IN the years of people's power, Bulgaria has increased her industrial output 14 times over, established a strong highly-productive agriculture, made big progress in the fields of science and culture and considerably raised the material standards of the people.

SOCIALISM'S TRIUMPH

People's Bulgaria has turned into a developed industrial-agrarian State and has become a genuinely independent country which occupies a worthy place in the mighty socialist commonwealth. This is what a people building socialism can achieve!

"To scare the phillistines, the champions of the capitalist system have depicted us, Communists, as wreckers who bar the road to progress, as people who will leave nothing of the achievements of human civilization. But the people, led by Communists, came to power first in Russia, and then in a number of other countries of Europe and Asia, and the world saw all the absurdity of these fabrications."

"Yes, communists really do uproot the rotten stumps on which the old system of oppression and violence was built. But this is only our first task. The main thing for us is not to destroy, but to build, to erect a spacious and bright edifice for a joyful life worthy of man."

NEWLY FREE COUNTRIES' PATH

Nikita Khrushchov in course of the speech touched upon the ways of development of newly independent countries. He pointed out that the national bourgeoisie in the countries which have freed themselves of colonialism is of a dual character. In the present conditions, it has not yet exhausted its progressive role. But as contradictions between the working people and the propertied classes increase, it begins to vacillate more and more towards agreement with the forces of reaction.

"Among the leaders of countries which have taken to the road of independent development there are many good people who are ready to give all their strength to the cause of struggle for the freedom and happiness of their peoples," Khrushchov said. "Many of them have fought and are fighting devotedly against imperialism, mindful of the terrible danger it represents to the free development of nations."

"However, despite all this, one cannot but notice also the weak aspects of their policy.

Many leaders of countries that have won national independence are trying to pursue some sort of a middleline policy, which they are calling a classless policy and to ignore the class structure of society and class struggle really existing in their countries.

"But it is not we, Communists that have divided society into classes. Their existence is an objective result of historical development. Marxists have only stated this fact and have drawn from it appropriate conclusions for our struggle for a revolutionary transformation of society."

"We are convinced of one thing," Khrushchov continued, "that time and the course of historical development will place before the former colonial countries the choice—either to follow the capitalist way of development, or the non-capitalist way. What way to choose, the peoples themselves will decide."

"And those leaders who really cherish the interests

of the people, the working masses, will have to understand, sooner or later, that only by drawing upon the support of the working class, as the most consistent, the most revolutionary class of society, in alliance with the peasantry and with the support of all progressive forces, it will be possible to attain victory and a correct solution of cardinal social problems.

"Either they will realise this or other people will replace them, who will better understand the demands of life."

"The national liberation movement of peoples is gaining in momentum. In the bitter struggle against imperialism it will win decisive victory."

Nikita Khrushchov denounced the policy of the imperialist states which are sabotaging negotiations on general disarmament. "The representatives of capitalism have to admit more and more frequently that the socialist system is not weaker than the imperialist camp," he said.

"The President of the United States of America himself declared, it will be recalled, that the forces of Western powers and the countries of socialism are now equal. We received this realistic appraisal

with satisfaction, though we do believe that in our time the forces of peace are superior to the forces of aggression and war.

"Unfortunately, President Kennedy could not later avoid the temptation and embarked on the dangerous road of his predecessors, resorting to threats against the Soviet Union. He did not even stop at declaring that in certain conditions the United States might take the initiative in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union."

"It is true that later on the President tried somehow to tone down this statement of his. But a word and a stone released once cannot be called back."

AGAINST BARBARISM

"We cannot but take into account the statement made by Mr. Kennedy, because it introduced a new element into relations between our countries. Does this statement mean that the President of the United States wants to prompt me, as the head of the Soviet Government, to compete with him in who will be the first 'to press the button'?"

"We are against such competitions. It must be clear to every sensible person how dangerous this would be, how inhuman and unreasonable. Knowing the aggressive nature of imperialism we must keep our powder dry and be in a state of constant combat readiness."

"The President of the United States of America made an unreasonable statement. Is it reasonable to threaten one who is at least equal in strength? To 'press the button and display' initiative in a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union, would actually mean committing suicide."

"He who would dare unleash such a military conflict would receive a devastating retaliatory blow with the use of all modern means of warfare. And the socialist camp, the Soviet Union are in possession of these means and in sufficient quantity at that."

Having stressed the danger of the arms race, N. S. Khrushchov said that the question whether there will be peace on earth depends first of all on the unity and the resolution of millions of common people and on their active measures.

Repeal Portuguese Laws GOA TRADE UNION CONFERENCE DEMANDS

★ From Our Correspondent

Immediate extension of the provisions of the Constitution of India, introduction of the Indian Trade Unions Act and other labour laws and repeal of all the Portuguese fascist laws in Goa were some of the demands put forward in a resolution adopted in the conference of Marmagao Port, Dock and Transport workers held at Vasco da Gama on May 15.

Another resolution adopted at the conference called for planned development of Goa, its rapid industrialisation, modernisation and enlargement of Panjim and Marmagao ports and the establishment of a steel plant.

This was one of most important conferences of the workers in Goa and it earmarked the significant step-forward which the workers there have made following Goa's liberation. This was also the first major expression of unity which the Goa workers are now striving for and this naturally pinpointed the attention of the entire working class towards this conference.

The conference proved to be a great success and workers from their places of work mustered strong at the conference. There was no work done and the attempt of an Italian-German concern, M/S. Sesa Goa Ltd., to keep the work going and deprive the workers from attending the conference ended in a fiasco.

The management of this company tried their best to coerce the workers to join work and one officer of this concern—Mr. Beck—a West German person notorious for his Nazi views and a

Gerald Pereira, Chairman of the Reception Committee and General Secretary of the union, called for common and united actions of all workers for building a happy and prosperous Goa.

Putting forth an assurance on behalf of the workers, he called upon the Port authorities, Shipping companies and other employers in the port that the workers would work hard in order to increase the wealth of the region but in return they must be guaranteed a fair deal.

In his address, he referred to the retrenchment recently started by several companies on the plea of "slackness" of work and

warned these employers not to resort to such "unjustified and dangerous actions which would compel the workers to fight back for safeguarding their rights."

THEY WILL NOT COME BACK

He also called upon those employers, whose relations with the former Portuguese regime were very close, to realise that the Portuguese, however may they wish, will never be able to come back to Goa and the wheels of history cannot be turned back.

*ON PAGE 12



Gerald Pereira addressing the mammoth rally on the Conference Day at Vasco da Gama.

PEKING FUNCTION

THE tenth anniversary of the founding of the China-India Friendship Association was celebrated in Peking on the evening of May 16 at a film reception given by the association, says a Hsinhua despatch.

P. K. Banerjee, Charge d'Affaires ad Interim, and his wife and other officials of the Indian Embassy in Peking were present.

Also present were Ting Hsi-lin, President, Chen Han-sheng, Vice-President, Lao Shieh and Wu Mao-sun, council members of the association; Chang Tung, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Foreign Ministry; and Lin Lin, Wu Hsueh and other people of various circles.

Given below is the speech of Renu Chakravarty, delivered in the Lok Sabha on May 16 during debate on Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Fuel and Mining:

THIS Ministry is one of the most important Ministries which we have to take into consideration because, in the words of the Prime Minister, this Ministry and the Steel Ministry are the Ministries which will control the strategic heights of our economic development and if anything goes wrong or goes well in this Ministry it will bring about either disaster or improvement in the total over-all planning and advance of our country.

Secondly, this is a very important Ministry because it deals with sectors in which there is a very strong and entrenched private sector, in which sector an important part is played by oil, which is controlled by foreign monopoly interests.

I will first deal with petroleum. The oil monopolists and their stranglehold with enormous political and economic power is one of the biggest obstacles in the path of independent development of petroleum for any country and, more so, for undeveloped countries like ours. Therefore, I think it is something to be proud of that, to a certain extent, of all Asian countries our country is the first to challenge these big oil monopolists and we have been able to make some advance.

I want to preface it with the warning that these oil monopolists have not given up. As a matter of fact we find that they are powerful enough to make dents in our declared policy and for some time past we have been noticing some vacillation on the part of the Government of India in pursuing a firm policy in the matter of oil.

POWERFULLY INTRENCHED

One thing has become very clear in the last ten or fifteen days and it is that the foreign capital is very powerful, and they are trying to pull us away from our independent path. Even the slightest attempt on our part to buy Soviet jet planes has brought Mr. Galbraith, the American Ambassador, rushing to our Government to say that we should not do it because it will put the Kennedy Administration in a politically embarrassing situation in the United States.

The funniest thing is that the gentleman who is pleading for restoration of cut in foreign aid, Senator Humphrey, said that it is annoying and frustrating, when lea-

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mended "that discounts on crude oil are available in the Middle-East and elsewhere, and are known to be allowed by the very same companies on exports to Western Europe to meet competition at rates much higher than 8 1/2%. Moreover, even on posted prices of products, discounts are known to be available at considerably higher rates. On our own imports from rupee sources, discounts are available to us much higher rates."

In the light of all this, I wish to ask the hon. Minister the meaning of the new offer of the BOC, which has appeared in the papers, of Indian participation in the proposed company.

It is now for us to go a little backwards. From the time when the industrial policy resolution was formulated, it was very clearly stated that we are going to keep any new developments in oil in the public sector, and that we are not going to permit any more new refining capacity to the private sector. After that we find that whenever there is a foreign exchange crisis and we have to go on begging for foreign aid, pressure begins to be exercised by these oil monopolists to change our oil policy in favour of private foreign capital.

We remember—we have not forgotten yet,—that in 1959 when Mr. Rockefeller was here he lunched with our Prime Minister. He said that oil

are we going to allow them freely in the market under the guise of free enterprise? If the latter, it is better that the Treasury Benches give their places up to the Swatantra Party.

If we are not going to maintain strategic stress specially on the question of coal and petroleum, the entire industrial output and its prices cannot be contained. This is the main and basic concept of a planned economy.

Having said this I would like to say a little bit about our new refineries. Of these new refineries the main one which has come into existence and is functioning is the Nunmati Refinery. I do not know what the latest position is with regard to this Nunmati Refinery. I would like the hon. Minister to let us know that.

NUNMATI REFINERY

But the first teething difficulty, or shall I say the un-planned activity of this Ministry was that the refinery came into being ahead of schedule. The pipelines came three or four months afterwards. That itself was a big loss.

Then when the pipes started flowing, we find that after two days there was a

Oil Monopolies Obstructing Growth Of State Sector

—Says RENU CHAKRAVARTY

companies could be expected to contribute liberally to India's ambitious oil programmes if our rigid policy is relaxed. We found to our travail that a few months later when the Petroleum Concessions Rules were announced, we had to give some substantial concessions to private oil interests.

The power of these oil interests has struck dents in our policy and even now we have not heard the last of it. We have to really see whether these concessions which are being offered by the BOC are worthwhile and whether we are not giving back much more by way of concessions to them.

The IOC is now going ahead. At one stage when we brought Soviet oil at concessional rates they refused to even distribute it and we were in great difficulty. We overcame that crisis and we are able now to decide for ourselves that we are going to have our own marketing arrangements. We have ordered equipment. We have incurred expenditure.

RUPEE COMPANY PROPOSAL

When they have known that we are serious about it, they come forward and say: we are going to have a rupee company. What does it mean? Does it mean that our own distributing company will

Without that here has been too much of corrosion of the Industrial Policy Resolution hanging itself by that one sub-clause which provides that in the interest of the country we may do anything that we like.

Therefore the schedules are given the go-by: It has happened in the case of aviation and it is now happening in the case of oil. Therefore we have to be wary about it.

There is also this question which they have raised of expanding the capacity. We have already debated in this House how cleverly they have actually put up in these refineries additional capacity which was not known to us. It is now known that without any more additional plant they can have more capacity. This paper says that our Ministry is quite agreeable to allow them to expand without any additional plant.

WANT TO RAISE CAPACITY

Then they say over here that the refinery companies would also like to add some plants in order to grow naturally in the market. What is this 'grow naturally in the market'? We thought that we were going to contain them. Let it be clearly stated as to what the policy of the government is.

Are we going to contain the foreign monopolists or

glut. The storage capacity of the refinery fell out of order. It was filled up with low diesel oil which is un-marketable we are told. We are told that this was done against the advice of the Rumanian experts.

After that the Indian Oil Company also fell into difficulties. They were naturally faced with the consumer and had to face the disgrace of not being able to supply.

The most important point is that it is said that the officials rush to foreign companies' refineries to discuss production problem and ignore the Rumanian experts who have built the plant and are available for advice and help.

Why is it so when certain experts who have built something in a particular way are still functioning? Durgapur, or I will even say that Rourkela people cannot run to Durgapur for that because the methods, the planning, and the machinery are quite different.

It is said that Indian technicians trained abroad and working at Nunmati are suddenly being sent to private sector refineries in India for further training which it is pointed out cannot prove useful for running a different kind of refinery built with Rumanian help.

I say that this is because we know that foreign mono-

Assam Congress President's Election

COMMUNAL PASSIONS BEING ROUSED

★ From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: With the election of the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee on the agenda, the Assam PCC is due to meet at Gauhati on May 24. As the date for the meeting draws nearer, the stage is being set for another round of trial of strength between the two rival factions of the Assam Congress, known in political circles as the ministerial group and the anti-ministerial group.

THE election of a new President has been necessitated by the inclusion of the present president in the cabinet. The present president, now included in Chaliha cabinet was a former minister of the Medhi cabinet that was dislodged after the second general election by the faction led by the present Chief Minister Chaliha.

After he was thrown out of the ministerial gaddi, he got himself elected the president of the PCC and thus tried to get the organisational wing under his control. All the disgruntled elements in the Pradesh Congress gradually rallied behind him in their struggle for power against the ministerial group of Chaliha.

At the time of nomination of Congress candidates for the third election the Chaliha group, with the backing of New Delhi, managed to get a substantial majority. Among the successful Congress legislators also the Chaliha group commands a clear majority.

However, presumably on the advice of New Delhi, the Chaliha group took the present president of the PCC, the erstwhile leader of the anti-ministerial group, into the cabinet and thus the anti-ministerial group was outmanoeuvred by its rival faction.

The anti-ministerial group, though crestfallen for the time being, began to mark time for another round of trial of strength. The coming election of a new President of the APCC provides it with that opportunity.

Ministerialists Reluctant

The ministerial group was a bit reluctant to face that trial of strength and probably

win the battle for the post of the APCC President, these "rebel" Congress leaders may become prodigal sons, returning to the Congress fold.

The ministerial group relies mainly on its official power with which it can bestow patronage on its supporters. The current anti-Muslim campaign launched by the anti-ministerial group has provided the ministerial group with a convenient weapon to beat the rivals with.

With the help of the two Muslim ministers in the cabinet, the ministerial group has been successfully rallying the Muslim Congressmen behind them. These Muslims hold the balance between the two groups.

The anti-ministerial group, on the other hand, relies chiefly on its slogan of "Hindu consolidation" against the Muslims and "Pakistanis". The cry for "Hindu consolidation" is helping Muslim consolidation.

Incidentally the election battle was fought by these two factions on these two respective planks. One "Hindu" Minister who is never credited with a stable allegiance to any particular faction—he changes his allegiance as it suits his hankering for power—has now been trying to become the "leader" of the Bengal Hindus in Cachar, and to some extent, in other districts also. Though he is in the Chaliha cabinet, he is reported to be getting solid support from some of the stalwarts of the anti-ministerial group in this mission; even some non-Congress elements, some of them MLAs belonging to the opposition, are also reported to be in his company.

The Chaliha group, on the other hand, does not interfere with the activities of this minister, because it believes that if this minister is successful in his mission, it will ultimately add to the strength of the Chaliha group which holds power.

Had this communal alignment been confined to the Congress alone, it would not have been a matter of concern to the people at large. But the fact is that his alignment has been affecting the common people. During the election battle people had been already divided on these ugly communal lines. Now the two groups seem to be vying with each other in rousing communal frenzy for their factional interest.

How dangerously this virus of communalism has been going among the people will be evident from just a few instances. In Cachar, under the leadership of one of the ministers—the Muslims and the so-called indigenous people have been rallying together, while under the leadership of the Hindu colleague of that minister, the Hindus and the refugees (who are termed by the so-called indigenous elements as Bengalis, though the language of both is Bengali) have been consolidating.

It may be mentioned that in Cachar the relation between the early settlers and the later migrants—both speaking Bengali—some time becomes strained mostly over securing certain benefits like services etc. The Congress leadership

of the state, out of their factional interests, fan this feeling out of their factional interests, fan this feeling and try to work it up.

In the valley districts, it is learnt, there is a wide variety of alignments. First, there is the division between the Hindus and the Muslims; secondly, among the Hindus, there is the division between the plain tribals and the Assamese people; thirdly, there is the division among the Assamese people also on the basis of caste.

Thus the Congress factionalism exploiting all kinds of disruptive forces threaten to tear asunder the integrity of the state.

Godsend For Planters

However, this communal atmosphere yields rich dividends to some class of people. In Cachar, for instance, it has provided the tea planters with good opportunity to evict the ex-tea garden workers and entrenched tea workers who had settled in Tea Estate lands. They have also been circumventing the provisions of Assam Land Ceiling Act which provides that tea garden lands settled with tenants are to be taken over by Government leaving the maximum of 150 bighas with the garden owners.

Some tea garden owners are reported to be forcing the workers to sign a declaration that once they are removed from service, they will vacate the garden land. In some cases, one section of tea garden workers is instigated by the garden owners against another section to facilitate their (garden owners') eviction drive.

Those workers who are in employment are set against

those who are ex-garden workers or are entrenched workers. The communal atmosphere in the district is providing the garden owners with a shield.

In this connection the role of the INTUC is significant. It is not only not raising any protest against this game of the garden owners, though in most gardens they control the union of the workers, but it is reasonably suspected that the INTUC leaders have given their consent to the eviction operation launched by the garden owners.

Yet these same INTUC leaders so long told their garden worker followers that the Communists were out to snatch away the land of the garden workers to give to the village peasants!

There was a scheme to settle refugees from Pakistan in the waste lands of tea gardens, under the Refugee Rehabilitation department. Within a week after the election results were out, this section of the R&R department was abolished by the Congress Government of the state by a telegraphic order.

Consequently about one thousand refugee families are now left at the mercy of the tea garden owners who did nothing during the last ten years to rehabilitate these refugees.

Needless to say, the Congress government, far from curbing the eviction operation launched by the tea garden owners, has been maintaining a "benevolent" silence. It is pointed out that though the tea garden labourers voted for the Congress, it was the garden owners who financed the election battle of the ruling party. Money is no doubt more powerful than mere votes and hence the government cannot raise even a finger against the garden owners.

BARAUNI REFINERY COMING UP
IPA SERVICE

THE rich, rice-growing countryside around Barauni is rapidly transforming itself into a modern industrial town. Barauni itself is humming with construction activities of the Rs. 60 crores oil refinery being built with the technical and financial assistance of the Soviet Union.

Scores of Russian engineers and technicians rub shoulders with hundreds of their Indian counterparts in building the second oil refinery in the public sector.

A major portion of the 720 mile pipeline, which is to bring crude oil to the refinery from the Assam oilfields, is complete. The Burma Oil Company, which is in charge of the Rs. 53 crores pipeline project, expects it to be fully completed by the end of this year.

A national highway, to establish a direct road link between Assam and New Delhi is also being constructed side by side with the pipeline.

Location of the oil refinery at Barauni has opened up the way for the development of a number of industrial units in the area. A State-owned rural creamery has already started production. The Centre has sanctioned the setting up of a big ferti-

liser plant to utilise the by-products of the oil refinery. A re-rolling mill and a fabrication workshop are also proposed to be set up in the area, besides some petrochemical units.

The Bihar State-owned thermal power plant, which will supply the necessary power to the oil refinery and the township is fast nearing completion. It is expected to be commissioned by the end of this year. The Rs. three crore power plant, supplied by Yugoslavia, will generate 30 thousand k.w. of power, and will meet not only the needs of the refinery and township, but also of some other industrial units to be set up in the area.

While all these activities in a once backward area are heartwarming, the one depressing aspect of the situation is the bad condition of over five thousand of workmen who are doing such a splendid job there. They have been agitating for higher wages and better working conditions for quite some time. If timely steps are not taken to meet their demands, industrial peace might be disturbed, it is apprehended by many here.

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REJECT WAR AS MEANS OF SETTling DISPUTES

At the conclusion of the visit of the Soviet Communist and Government delegation to Bulgaria headed by N. S. Khrushchov, a joint statement of the Party and Government delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, signed by Nikita Khrushchov and Todor Zhivkov was published on May 20.

The statement points out that to the consistent peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, the Western imperialist states are replying with an intensification of the cold war, the stepping up of the arms race, the expansion of provocations and the activities of the aggressive blocs NATO, SEATO and CENTO, which endanger peace.

NATO'S Dangerous Game

The latest NATO session, held early in May in Athens, was completely in the spirit of this political line condemned by the peoples. It adopted decisions which constitute a dangerous step towards the fanning of the arms race and to the further aggravation of the international situation.

Both sides note with alarm the decision of the U. S. Government to transfer Polaris nuclear submarines to NATO, which is a new proof of the aggressive nature of this military alliance, and still more increases international tensions.

It is an open secret that in Athens the tone was to a large extent set by the West German militarists, who already for a long time have been seeking access to nuclear weapons. In the West, too, there are influential circles which are viewing the plans of the Bonn revisionists with sympathy.

It goes without saying, says the statement that the socialist countries and all the peace-loving peoples would not sit with their hands folded, were the West German militarists to be given access to nuclear arsenals. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and other socialist countries would unquestionably draw the proper conclusions, in the interests of ensuring their security and in the interests of peace.

The Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are resolutely opposed to the division of the world into military

blocs, to the policy of cold war and creating tension in international relations.

In the face of actions and measures of the aggressive forces of the Western powers endangering the cause of peace and international security, both governments attach exceptional importance to strengthening and increasing the defence potential of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, which has been signed in reply to the imperialist threats.

At the same time they announce their unwavering determination to continue efforts aimed at liquidating all military pacts and military bases on foreign territories, in order to prevent thereby the possibility of an outbreak of a new world war.

The Party and Government delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria believe that war cannot and must not be a means of settling disputed international questions at a time when science and technology have reached their present level and when weapons of great destructive force exist.

Disarmament, Tests Ban

Under these conditions the question of reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament, to which humanity has been aspiring for a long time, is posed more insistently than ever before.

Both sides note with deep satisfaction the fact that the idea of general and complete disarmament which has been substantiated in detail in the proposal of the Soviet Union to the Disarmament Committee in Geneva finds deep response among the broad popular masses throughout the world and is supported by more and more states and statesmen.

The alternative of rejecting the Soviet proposals and thus exposing themselves as enemies of general and complete

disarmament compels the leading quarters of the imperialist states to manoeuvre, to conceal their real attitude towards this question. In words they accept the idea of general and complete disarmament, but in reality they sabotage any concrete step, any constructive proposal which would lead to its realization.

Both delegations stress in this connection that at the Geneva conference on disarmament the Western powers are trying to substitute the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament under strict international control by proposals on control over armaments, which constitutes nothing else but legalized espionage. The proposals of the Western powers are designed to prolong the dangerous arms race, although, as it is, weapons of unparalleled destructive power have been accumulated in the world.

The Party and Government delegations of both countries believe that today it is necessary more than ever before for the peace-loving nations of all the world to step up the struggle for preserving and strengthening peace, for general and complete disarmament under strict international control, for the ending of nuclear weapon tests and for prohibiting the propaganda of war. By their active and firm measures the peoples of the world can and must force the Western powers to remove the barriers that they have erected on the road to general and complete disarmament.

An essential contribution to the cause of improving the international atmosphere would be an agreement prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons to states that so far do not possess them, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and the setting up of zones free from atomic and nuclear weapons in various parts of the globe.

The Governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria consider that the settlement of the German problem and the problem of West Berlin is essential for the cause of peace in Europe and the world over.

Neutral Powers' Proposals

Both sides note the positive significance of the proposals on the question of ending nuclear weapon tests submitted by the neutral countries in the Disarmament Committee. The Government of the Soviet Union

and the People's Republic of Bulgaria took a positive attitude towards these proposals considering that they may be a useful basis for reaching agreement. Regrettably they point out that the Western powers, in point of fact, ignore the proposals of the neutral nations.

Both sides declare that the actions of the Western states both at the 18-nation conference and elsewhere bear little evidence to a desire to reach agreement on this vital question. They regard the resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere by the United States at a time when the conference is meeting in Geneva as an attempt to blackmail the peace-loving nations, as a demonstration of utter contempt for the will of the peoples.

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They regard the position of the Western powers on these questions as an evidence of a desire to maintain in the centre of Europe a smouldering hotbed of war used by them as a means for provocations against the socialist countries, for increasing international tension. The policy of the Western powers on the German problem constitutes open aid and encouragement to revenge-seeking and militarist forces in West Germany.

Germany, West Berlin

Both sides, the statement notes further, believe it is necessary to reach a speediest solution on such important questions, connected with the post-war peaceful settlement, as the normalization, on the basis of concluding a German treaty, of the situation in West Berlin by liquidating there the occupation regime and turning West Berlin into a free demilitarized city; respect for the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, in particular during the settlement of the question of free access to West Berlin; the fixing of the present borders of the existing Ger-

man states including the border between the FRG and the GDR; non-arming of the two German states with nuclear weapons; and the signing of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the countries that are members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are prepared to do everything in their power to ensure the vital functions of the free city of West Berlin and non-interference in its internal affairs. They stand for giving the free city most reliable international guarantees and agree that for these purposes small contingents of troops of neutral states or the United Nations be stationed in West Berlin for a definite period of time.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria understand well and support the struggle waged by the German Democratic Republic for the consolidation of her sovereignty and her international positions for the consolidation of peace. They remain, as they have always been, resolutely opposed to the preservation of the completely rotten occupation regime in West Berlin.

The need for liquidation of this dangerous centre of tension is long overdue and those who expect to prolong the abnormal situation under various pretexts, lack a realistic understanding of the present-day international situa-

Both delegations note that today, as in the past, the greatest danger to young independent states is imperialism which by various means is trying to infiltrate them, to enslave them economically and to bind them to unequal and humiliating alliances and treaties. To achieve their ends, the imperialist states are intensifying their activities against the progressive forces, against the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies and dependencies.

Imperialist Intervention

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria condemn the actual occupation of foreign territories, such as Taiwan and others, condemn imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, protest against the treacherous war of extermination waged by the United States against the patriotic forces of South Vietnam and regard the dispatch of American troops to Thailand as extension of the aggressive actions of the United States against the peoples of South-East Asia.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely stand for the immediate liquidation of the remnants of the disgraceful colonial system and express

JOINT SOVIET-BULGARIAN STATEMENT

tion and are living by illusions which are dangerous to the cause of peace.

Soviet-U.S. Contact

The Soviet side informed the Bulgarian delegation about the contacts made recently between representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States on the German question. Both delegations stressed the benefit of these contacts and at the same time noted the attempts of some circles in the Federal Republic of Germany and personally Chancellor Adenauer, as well as in some other Western states, to complicate the reaching of agreement on the normalization of the situation in the centre of Europe.

In this connection both sides state that it cannot be permitted that these contacts be used as a means of deceiving the peoples, for a constant and dangerous postponement of the settlement of the German question; that if the Western powers continue keeping to unreasonable and unrealistic positions, then the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and a number of other states would have no other choice than to sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, without reaching agreement with the Western powers.

their unconditional solidarity and support for all peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. The peoples fighting for liberation, for the consolidation of their political and economic independence, for overcoming the grave aftermath of colonialism, can always count on the friendly support of the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria again confirm their ardent determination to continue rendering all-out support to the glorious Cuban people who are waging a heroic struggle for the consolidation of their independence and revolutionary gains.

The example of the Cuban people and the noble aims for which they are fighting, have won wide international recognition, and only the enemies of the progress, freedom and independence of peoples are trying to prevent revolutionary Cuba from following the new road chosen by its people.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria believe that the depriving of the People's Republic of China of its lawful seat in the U. N. is an act of arbitrariness of the imperialists against the Chinese people and it does not facilitate the improvement of the international atmosphere and is damaging first of all to the United Nations.

Both sides declare that they will continue their efforts aimed at restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organisation.

The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria which attaches exceptional importance to any proposal which is aimed at the normalization of the political situation in the Balkan Peninsula and establishment of good-neighbourly relations between all the Balkan countries, fully supports the proposal of the Soviet Union to make the Balkan Peninsula and the Adriatic area a zone free from nuclear and rocket weapons.

The Bulgarian Government considers that this proposal accords with the wishes and hopes of the Balkan peoples.

The delegation of the Soviet Union has declared that it appreciates highly the efforts of the Bulgarian Government aimed at establishing lasting peace and good-neighbourly relations on the Balkan Peninsula. The proof of this is the constructive proposals of the Bulgarian Government addressed to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, concerning the normalization of political, economic and cultural relations, the conclusion of a non-aggression pact, cuts in the armed forces and a peaceful settlement of all outstanding questions.

Simultaneously with this, both governments note that the governments of those Balkan states that are NATO members do not take into consideration the interests of their peoples and the need to preserve and consolidate peace in this part of the globe, and are granting the territories of their countries to imperialist states which are turning them into depots of rocket-nuclear weapons and place d'armes of aggression and are staging provocative military manoeuvres near the borders of the socialist countries.

Make Balkans A Peace Zone

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have warned more than once and are again warning about the dangerous consequences of the policy which some circles in the Balkans are adhering to in order to gratify the interests that are alien to the Balkan peoples.

Both delegations stress that the interests of the Balkan peoples demand not an arms race and foreign military bases, but the turning of the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and rocket weapons, the establishment of friendly and good-neighbourly relations, the extensive development of economic, cultural, scientific, sports and other contacts.

The Party and Government delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria consider that the current tension in international relations lies as a heavy burden on the broad popular masses in all countries and obstructs humanity's progress.

In the name of the most cherished human hopes and ideals, both delegations proclaim their determination to continue to give all



Demonstration stopped by police cordon before the U.S. Consulate in Calcutta on May 18.

Calcutta Acts Against U. S. Landings

ONE of the main thoroughfares of Calcutta resounded with the slogans "Defeat U. S. war conspiracies in Laos", "Withdraw all U. S. armed forces from the Asian soil" and "Hands off Asia" when a big demonstration marched to the U. S. Consulate in the city on May 18 to protest against the landing of U. S. armed forces in Thailand.

The demonstration was organised according to a decision of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party, which had met two days earlier and also in response to the call of E. M. S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the CPI.

CPI Leaders In The Van

All sections of citizens of Calcutta, people from neighbouring districts, members and supporters of the Communist Party and Communist MPs and MLAs participated in the demonstration, in the forefront of which were Bhupesh Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta, Harekrishna Konar, Niranjan Sen Gupta and other leaders.

The demonstration was stopped by a police cordon at some distance from the Consulate. Then a deputation, consisting of Bhupesh Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta, Harekrishna Konar and Niranjan Sen, went to the Consulate and handed over a

their strength to the cause of preserving peace and ensuring peaceful co-existence of the peoples.

The representatives of the Communist Parties, in the spirit of cordial friendship and complete mutual understanding, exchanged views on the most topical problems of the activities of their parties, and discussed a number of questions relating to further development and strengthening

memorandum to the U. S. Vice-Consul.

In a short speech, Jyoti Basu told those who had participated in the demonstration that if the U. S. imperialists were permitted to step up their war conspiracies in Thailand, the world would be pushed to the brink of war.

Pointing out that the Indian Government was one of the signatories to the Geneva Agreement on Laos, he emphasised that the Government must voice its protest against the latest aggressive act of the U. S. Government.

The memorandum, which was addressed to the U. S. Consul-General in Calcutta, expressed grave concern over the dispatch of 1,800 U. S. marines and 12 Super-sabre jet fighters to Thailand and pointed out that the plea trotted out by the U. S. Government in support of its action would deceive nobody. It was a well-known fact that the U. S. Government and its allies in the SEATO had aggressive designs against the peoples in this area, who were fighting for peace and national independence.

Characterising the U. S. Government's move as a deliberate act of provocation, the memorandum stated that the action would not only prolong the war in Laos, but would also worsen the international situation and intensify the war danger.

"The Laos issue would have been settled long ago but for th resistance put up by the U. S. Government

and its puppets in the area," the memorandum added.

It further pointed out that the latest aggressive and provocative moves on the part of the U. S. Government could not but encourage the right-wing elements in Laos in disregarding the Geneva Agreement about the formation of a Coalition Government with Souvanna Phouma as the Prime Minister.

The memorandum emphasised that "instead of sending armed forces to Thailand and to the Pacific area, the U. S. Government should on the contrary exercise its influence and authority, so that the settlement in Laos on the basis of the Geneva Agreement is expeditiously arrived at."

The memorandum also stated that the latest action of the U. S. Government would only aggravate tension and create new difficulties for the solution of the Laos problem.

It warned the U. S. authorities that any attempt, under whatever pretext, to prolong the civil war in Laos and to use Asians against Asians, would be resisted by all freedom and peace-loving peoples in Asia and the whole world.

It concluded by demanding that the U. S. Government must stop aggressive moves in Thailand and in the Laos area, withdraw all U. S. armed forces from Asian soil, stop meddling with Asian affairs and respect the Geneva Agreement on Laos.

-J. B. MOITRA

Peace Council's Call

DENOUNCE IMPERIALIST MOVES ON KASHMIR

ROMESH Chandra and Chatur Narain Malviya, General Secretaries of the All India Peace Council have issued the following statement to the Press:

The All India Peace Council calls on all its State and District committees and all patriotic parties, organisations and individuals, to observe Sunday May 27 as Kashmir Day to extend full support to the Government of India's stand in regard to Kashmir, on the eve of the debate in the Security Council.

Let the voice of the Indian people be raised

everywhere in protest against the efforts of certain interested powers in the Security Council to confuse world public opinion and attack India's policy of peace and non-alignment.

It is not an accident that just at this moment a powerful anti-Indian lobby in the United States seeks to exert economic pressure by trying to reduce financial aid to our country; and while supplying most modern and dangerous weapons of war to Pakistan, openly seeks to prevent India from exercising its sovereign right to buy her defence equipments necessary for her security from

whatever source she finds it advantageous.

The Indian people are united in their support for our Government's clear demand that Pakistan vacate its aggression on our soil in Kashmir, and for persistent efforts for a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Meetings and demonstrations on Kashmir Day will cable resolutions and statements to the Security Council, expressing the united voices of the entire Indian people, irrespective of differences on other issues.

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SPARE SMALLER INDUSTRIES FROM NEW LEVIES

Communist MPs Plea

The following Memorandum was submitted by A. K. Gopalan, Renu Chakravarty and Anandan Nambiar to the Minister of Finance, Government of India on May 16, 1962 demanding relief for small-scale industries and medium sized units from the new tax and duty levies.

In the proposed new levies a number of small-scale and cottage industries as well as smaller and medium sized units of other industries are covered. It is the purpose of this memorandum to represent for relief to this class of industries from the burden of the new levies.

1 Handloom Industry: We hope the Hon'ble Minister is aware that the Government has found it necessary to continue the cess grants to sustain the existence of this industry. And yet in Madras and other places, just now this industry is further facing the problem of accumulation of stocks.

And if at this juncture, excise duties are levied on yarn below 40s which was exempt hitherto, and existing rates on above 40s are increased, while on the other hand reducing the duty on mill-made fabrics, it will not only considerably wash away the cess grants to this industry but also put the entire industry in serious jeopardy in face of competition from the mills.

2 For the same or similar reasons the new levies will seriously affect handloom processing industry as well as the smallscale industries working on woolen, rayon and art silk.

In view of the above circumstances, we request that the status quo prior to the new levies be restored.

3 Power-looms: As to power loom industries where there are large number of small and medium sized units, our submission is that very small units be brought under exemption, and for those above the exemption limit, the duties be graded while fixing which due consideration be given to smaller units below 100 from strain.

4 Excise Duty on Rubberised cloth: The rubber proofing industry which has fallen under the axe of enhanced excise duty under the category of processed cloth, has been in jeopardy and the eight or nine rubber proofing companies concentrated mainly in West Bengal and Bombay are facing tremendous difficulties. The units have capital varying from about Rs. 60,000 to 10/12 lakhs. They may be called medium scale industries.

For making this rubberised cloth, coarse and cheapest variety of powerloom and handloom cloth amounting to 33 lakh yards are used. This is itself in jeopardy with the rise in excise duty on handloom yarn.

This rubberised cloth in turn was, in the main, being used by a large number of workers, mainly refugees, on a cottage industry basis to make into cheap hand-carrying bazaar bags, school bags etc. Rubber cloth was being used for babies in hospitals and homes by middle income group people and even for substitute

black boards in poor primary schools.

Cotton canvas was replaced by double texture rubberised cloth as being cheaper than canvas.

Formerly they were paying duty of 3 nP. per sq. metre. There was total exemption from duty on handloom cloth. Now the new proposal is to levy 25 nP. per sq. metre with no exemption.

This, it is alleged, will kill this industry throwing about 5,000 workers and thousands of subsidiary cottage industry workers out of jobs.

It is therefore requested

that the process of (1) rubberising should be put at par with dying and printing, attracting excise duty of 5 nP; (2) double texture should not be treated as double unit for levying excise duty; and (3) coarse handloom and powerloom cloth used by this industry should be exempted from any processing duty.

As the expected excise duty from this rubberised cloth will not exceed 16/17 lakhs, this concession should be considered worthwhile if it can save thousands of poor breadearners in our country.

5 Imposition of Excise duty on plywood: The recent imposition of excise duty on plywood, manufactured by the small manufacturers in the cottage industry in West Bengal has hit these small units to the greatest extent.

These units are run by the displaced persons from East Pakistan and nearly 8,000 men will be idle if they

are not exempted from this levy.

These units are producing packing boxes without the help of any machinery and by using the cheapest quality of plywood. About 3,000 families in Calcutta depend on this type of plywood cottage industry for their livelihood and maintenance.

It is for the consideration of the Finance Minister whether recent levy is for all small and big units and whether these small units can run after imposition of this levy. We are of the opinion that the intention of this levy is not to tax these small units and as such a clarification to this effect will save them.

Again we wish to make it clear that the purpose of the memorandum is to save small-scale industries and medium-sized units from extinction or going lame and avoid further accentuation of the already serious unemployment position.

It has also been the government's declared policy to protect the small-scale industries and medium-sized units from big industrial units and we request the government to strictly adhere to this policy by responding to our representation.

They have not taken any help from government. They are manufacturing cheap quality plywood mostly for packing cases (not over 3' x 3').

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Diehard Positions Will Crumble

Says
**WALTER
ULBRICHT**



In an interview granted recently to the chief editors of Pravda and Izvestia, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, threw light on the situation in West Germany and explained the GDR policy on West Berlin issue. Following are some of the questions and answers:

Question: Do you not see in the political circles of West Germany already today a tendency towards a realistic appraisal of the situation and serious considerations that bring closer the settlement of questions of safeguarding peace?

Answer: The West German public is today speaking a great deal about exchange of opinions between representatives of the Soviet Government and the Government of the United States. The West German press has already published some of the United States proposals.

What is the point at issue? The Adenauer Government now finds itself in a position where it must inform the West German population now, without further delay, about the real subject of the talks.

The Bonn Ministers have until now pursued a policy of embellishment in a spirit of their illusory revanchist aims. They have now been gradually forced to recognize the real facts.

At the same time they are using the policy of informing the public about the contents of the talks to mobilize the revanchist ultras, to bring pressure to bear upon the United States Government and to hamstring the talks.

The most important thing today is to finally tell the West German population the truth about the balance of forces in the world, about the stability of the workers' and peasants' government in the German Democratic Republic, and about the inevitability of establishing normal relations between the two German States.

Even the big industry newspapers, such, for example, as Industriekurier, remind its readers that back at the 1959 Geneva Conference, the Western powers proposed that all-German committees be formed of representatives of the West German Federative Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic. As to control, the United States government it-

self admits that communication with West Berlin is 95 per cent under G.D.R. control.

It ought to be expected, writes Industriekurier, "that the Western powers will not base their policy eternally on the fiction" that the G.D.R. does not exist from the legal standpoint. The newspaper adds that in the final analysis nothing remains for the Bonn Government but to sit down at one table of negotiation with the G.D.R. Government.

As for the proposal of concluding a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the N.A.T.O. members, the Bonn Government cannot object to this since it itself has officially declared that it rejected the use of force.

It is not easy for Herr Adenauer to uphold his former diehard position before the world public. It has been said in Bonn that during Dr. Adenauer's visit to President Kennedy, the latter asked why he, Adenauer, feared direct talks with the G.D.R.—after all, West Germany was larger than the G.D.R.

Many people in the United States and Great Britain are also asking this question. I can say quite frankly regarding this: the time will certainly come when the tension lessens and when not only talks between the governments of the two German States but even open peaceful competition between them will become possible.

A good sign is the fact that cracks have now appeared in all bourgeois parties of West Germany, as well as in the Social Democratic Party of Germany. This reflects the striving of the majority of the West German population for a peaceful settlement.

Indicative of the growth of the peace forces in Western Germany, for example, is the fact that the youth congress of the West German trade union association, recently held in West Berlin, came out against atomic armament and for a peaceful settlement.

International Arbitration

Question: Your recent suggestion that an international arbitration body be set up for the communication lines connecting West Berlin with the outside world has aroused wide response in many countries.

What do you think of the proposal made by some Western newspapers that the body should not be simply an arbiter but should practically take charge of G.D.R. communications, as a result of which G.D.R. sovereignty would be violated?

Answer: The readiness of the G.D.R. Government voiced by me to consider the possibility of setting up an international arbitration body to which, for example, those who use the G.D.R. communications for connections with West Berlin could apply when-

borne in mind that at present neither West Berlin nor the Western powers have any legal status for free freight and passenger communication with West Berlin.

There can be no doubt that in settling the question of access to West Berlin the recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic is inevitable and that this access should serve peaceful aims only. Consequently, there can be no question of ensuring access to the N.A.T.O. military base in West Berlin.

Our proposals fully conform to the principles of international law. There are all kinds of international treaties that contain definite clauses on regulating communications in cases similar to that of West Berlin.

Let us take as an example the international legal status of the United Nations residence on United States territory. The United States issues entrance visas for travelling through its territory, to the territory of the United Nations headquarters. In the 1947 agreement the United States undertook not to raise any obstacles for individuals who want to visit the United Nations headquarters for the fulfillment of certain missions.

According to paragraph 12 of this agreement entrance has to be assured irrespective of the relations existing between the United States and the states interested in visiting the United Nations headquarters. In spite of the exterritoriality of the United Nations headquarters, the United States has the right to control entrance to the part of its territory where the United Nations headquarters is located.

It is perfectly obvious that our proposals fully conform to the principles and customs of international law.

The Wall And After

Replying to another question in the earlier part of the interview, Walter Ulbricht said:

The Bonn Government's policy has been and still is to use Western Germany's NATO membership to capture dominating positions in Western Europe and draw its allies into the aggressive ventures of the German revanchists.

The Western press often tries to make it appear that

the measures taken by us on the border in August 1961 came as a surprise. What is the truth?

In June 1961, the leadership of the Adenauer C.D.U., the Bonn Bundestag and the Bonn Government openly proclaimed their aggressive aims, including that of incorporating the whole of Germany in N.A.T.O., to be the basic principle of their policy and the principal purport of the N.A.T.O. agreements.

At the same time they began to take aggressive action against the G.D.R. The interests of preserving peace made it necessary for us to take measures to strengthen the G.D.R. borders.

Thus, the measures to safeguard the security of the G.D.R. taken on August 13, represented a forced reply to the provocative statements made in the Bonn Bundestag and to the subversive activities conducted from the territory of West Berlin.

Blow To Revanchism

The measures to safeguard our security taken on August 13 came as a blow to German revanchism. They have served to prevent military provocations from the West. German militarists and are helping to create the atmosphere to sober up the N.A.T.O. powers as well. This sobering up has led to a certain easing of tensions and served as one of the prerequisites for serious negotiations on the preparation of a German peace treaty, including a settlement on the question of West Berlin.

The abuse of West Berlin as a centre of subversion and espionage against the G.D.R. and other socialist countries made the implementation of resolute measures to safeguard our state border also in Berlin inevitable. We, nevertheless, sought ways to mitigate as far as possible the effects of these measures on the peaceful citizens of West Berlin and their contacts with the citizens of the G.D.R.

In this connection we proposed to the West Berlin authorities to negotiate an agreed solution of the problems of interest to the two parties. However, these negotiations were rejected, and in abusive language, as is usually the case with the authorities of the West Berlin "front-line city".

ADENAUER BARS PROGRESS ON BERLIN

—Says Nehru

Another important development is that the

German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer does not like this progress to be made and there has been some difference of opinion between him and the American Government. However it may be, if the Berlin issue is solved there is no doubt that a very big step will have been taken.

(From speech in Lok Sabha on May 14, '62.)

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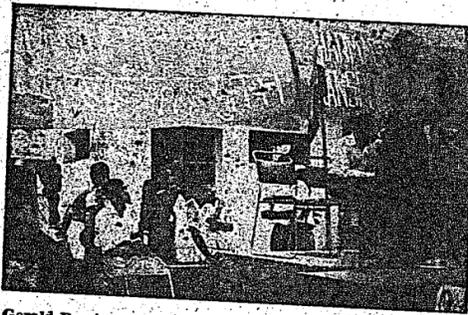
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Gerald Pereira addressing the delegates. To the left is Naguesh Naik, the President of the Union. To the right is Narayan Palekar.

GOA T. U. CONFERENCE

FROM PAGE 5

Narayan Desai, the President of the Kisan Sabha of Pernam Taluka, inaugurating the conference declared that "this conference was a great event in the history of trade union movement in Goa."

"The liberation of Goa has brought in freedom for the workers for uniting to defend their rights and this organisation will finally usher in an era of happiness and prosperity," he added. He also called for united actions of workers, peasants and middle classes in furthering their common interests.

In a message to conference, Major General K. P. Candeth, the military Governor of Goa, said:

"The conference, I hope, will consider a firm proposal for the legislation necessary to be introduced in this territory. The necessity for a happy and contented labour force, which sets about the correction of the grievances in a constitutional manner, is too well recognised to need more emphasis."

"I hope that your deliberations will be fruitful and will result in the educating of both labour and management on their rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities."

Greetings From Unions

Among other organisations which greeted the conference were Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers Union, Madras Harbour Workers Union, Kandla Port Workers Union, Cochín Port Employees Union, Calcutta Port and Dock Employees Union, Dockyard Labour Union, Indian Naval Dockyard Employees Union, All-India Port and Dock Workers Federation etc.

Indrajit Gupta, member of Parliamentary Committee for Shipping and Transport, who could not attend the conference, sent an inspiring message.

The conference at the beginning paid homage to the

RENU CHAKRAVARTY

FROM PAGE 10

ered. They never say: we will certainly want a price increase on the basis of the grading of coal which will undergo some sort of examination.

Take this question of stowing. I want to know from the hon. Minister one thing. It is said that the Government were to have supplied these ropeways, the Central ropeways. The Coal Board was to have given that. But I believe up to now hardly anything has been fulfilled.

The Jharia and Raniganj

PAGE TWELVE

State Govt.'s Inefficiency Helps CENTRE'S NEGLIGENCE OF KERALA

The following statement was issued by A. K. Gopalan, Leader of the Communist Group in Lok Sabha in New Delhi on May 17:

DURING the last two weeks of the current session of the Lok Sabha, a number of questions have been answered in regard to certain projects in Kerala. Answers to these questions given by Ministers of the Centre reveal a very sorry state of affairs in Kerala.

They show the utter incompetence and lethargy on the part of the State Government towards even the projects and programmes included in the State Plan or already allotted by the Centre to the State.

The story of the phyto-chemical plant is answer to well-known. In answer to certain supplementaries which I and my colleagues asked in the Lok Sabha on May 7, Minister Kanungo said that the delay in going ahead with the construction of the plant is partly due to the delay in handing over the land required for the project. No one knows when the project will be taken in hand.

In this connection, it is worthwhile to remember that the other three projects of the group, i.e., at Rishikesh, Hyderabad and Madras have already made progress. And only the Kerala project is still "under consideration."

Secondly, the Third Plan had allotted 1 lakh 50 thousand spindles for Kerala. According to the answer given by Minister Manubhai Shah in the Lok Sabha on May 7, the Centre wanted to give licences for 11 mills to cover these 150 thousand spindles but received 137 applications and the delay in issuing the licences was obviously being justified by the Government of India on the plea that it takes time for them to decide to whom out of 137 applications received, the 11 licences have to be issued.

Thirdly, in regard to the resettlement of repatriates from Ceylon, in answer to a question by me and Imbichibava on May 10, Smt. Lakshmi Menon said in the Lok Sabha that the Madras Government has sent reports on the measures needed for the relief and resettlement of these people to the Centre and the Government of India is in consultation with the Madras Government about the rehabilitation of these persons. She added:

"No report has been received from the Government of Kerala in regard to the measures undertaken by them for the rehabilitation of the repatriates from Ceylon."

Not only that. Prime Minister in reply to further supplementaries had the audacity to say that "many of the people going from Kerala are fairly well off. In fact they are often money-lenders there."

The implication is that therefore the Ceylon repatriates in Kerala do not require any help. Could the tragedy of these unfortunate people be worse than this?

Fourthly, a most amazing situation exists in regard to the National Highway projects in Kerala. In answer to my question in Lok Sabha on May 11, 1962, it was revealed that even at the end of the first of the Third Plan, six of the 24 projects left over from First Five-Year Plan are still not completed and out of a total of 58 schemes under Second Plan, only 242 works have been executed while 38 have not been completed and out of these 38 projects not completed from the Second Plan, 20 of the schemes have not even received sanction, let alone being proceeded with.

The reason for the non-receipt of the sanction for the 20 projects according to Raj Bahadur, Minister of State for Shipping is that "the estimate for these works has not yet been received from the State PWD."

I would therefore be clear that the Government of Kerala is guilty of the most irresponsible attitude and neglect in regard to these completely Centrally-financed projects. After all if

the State Government were keen they could have drawn the centre expenditure under the National Highways in Kerala.

Similarly in regard to the proposals for resettlement of landless labourers included in the Third Five Year Plan in answer to a question by K. Maran, Minister for Food and Agriculture, S. K. Patil stated that while most of the other State Governments have sent a number of schemes for approval of the Centre, the Kerala Government has not done so.

There are a number of other questions which have been answered during the session revealing the incompetence and lethargy of the State Government in taking advantage of the various projects under the Plan for which central aid is available in plenty.

This sort of inefficiency on the part of the State Government gives a handle to the Central Government for not giving proper attention to the innumerable problems of Kerala. It also gives a pretext for the Centre in evading its responsibilities for the industrial and economic development of the State.

It is also shown that this inefficiency and incompetence is not confined to one department or one Minister only but almost every department and every minister in the State Government is guilty of gross neglect.

In the light of these facts I appeal to the people of Kerala to conduct a widespread campaign against this incompetence of the State Government and call on them to be quick and efficient in pressing the Centre for our reasonable share in nation-building activities and make administrative arrangements to execute them quickly.

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NEW AGE

MAY 27, 1962

KERALA GOVT.'S VENDETTA DISCUSSED IN LOK SABHA

ON May 18 the Lok Sabha had a half-an-hour discussion on "Verification of Character and Antecedents of Government Employees." Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri prefaced the discussion by telling the House that the "verification of character and antecedents of the candidates selected for appointment is done generally prior to the offer for appointment, though in exceptional cases, where appointments are on a short-term basis and have to be made without any delay, the verification is undertaken immediately after the appointment is made."

It was pointed out in reference to this by A. K. Gopalan who initiated the discussion that while the Union Home Minister said that it was only before the appointments that police verification was done, the State Home Minister of Kerala, P. K. Chacko, had stated that 76 persons had been dismissed from Government service in Kerala on the basis of police verification carried out subsequent to the appointments.

Another glaring contradiction between the Union Government's theory and the Kerala State Government's

practice revealed by the discussion was that the latter had incorporated in their rules provisions which went beyond the Centre's directives.

Although he refused to amplify it further, Home Minister Shastri told the Lok Sabha referring to the Kerala Government G. O. No. M.S. 711 (Home), dated 23.1.1961, Trivandrum, cited by Gopalan, that "there are one or two things in that circular which find no place in the circular issued by us."

Gopalan had read out the following from the Kerala Government's circular:

OFFENDING CIRCULAR

"Illustrative grounds for action under this rule for taking action against persons suspected of subversive activities are membership or association with members of the following parties, the parties listed being the Communist Party of India, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Forward Bloc (Marxist), the Kisan Sabha, RSS, and Muslim National Guards."

"I understand," Gopalan added, "that the Muslim Na-

tional Guards and RSS in Kerala have been removed from the list because Sri Mannath Padmanabhan recommended it."

The cases cited by Gopalan included employees who had been in service for five or even eleven years, besides 76 persons who had served for six months to two years.

Also cited was the case of two young advocates who were properly selected by a selection body including a judge of the High Court for the post of Munsiff. One had stood first and the other fourth. They were denied appointment. There could be nothing against their character otherwise their applications would have been rejected by the Selection Committee on which a High Court judge was sitting.

The denial of appointment in these two cases was due to "association" with Communists in the case of one and the other having a brother in one of above-listed "objectionable" parties.

AGAINST THE CODE

Gopalan recalled the Code of Conduct adopted by the last National Integration Con-

ference, item No. 6 of which said that political power at any level should not be used for furthering the personal interest of the members of the other parties. He wanted to know how far the vendetta being carried on by the Kerala Government was in keeping with that code of conduct accepted by all the parties that had joined the National Integration Council.

Gopalan pleaded with the Union Home Minister that all persons who were to be told that their "services were no longer required" should be given the reason for it and an opportunity to defend themselves.

The debate made it clear that, at least in Kerala, the "process of verifying the character and antecedents of Government employees" is used in order to shut out persons who are suspected to be sympathetic towards some of the opposition parties. The Home Minister's reply, however, did not assure the members that this obnoxious practice would be immediately put a stop to.

It may be noted in this connection that the Central Government itself had in 1949-50, issued secret instructions on the same lines as the Kerala Government's circular of 23-1-1961. Appointments in Kerala were actually governed by the Central Government's directives on those lines till the Communist Government stopped that practice in 1957. These facts were brought out by the then Chief Minister, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, who repeated it recently in his public pronouncements.

The question then arises: Does the Central Government's instruction, referred to by the former Chief Minister of Kerala still continue in force in other States? If it does not, how was the Home Minister in the present Kerala Government emboldened to issue instructions on these lines? How is it that the Central Home Minister himself does not give a categorical assurance that this circular of the present Government of Kerala will be withdrawn.

SHASTRI'S ADMISSION

Far from doing this, the Central Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri questioned the propriety of the former Chief Minister of Kerala "divulging secrets which he had come across when he was Minister." In doing this, of course, he admits that the Central Government had issued instructions to the effect that discrimination should be shown against certain opposition parties, including the Communist Party.

It is obvious that, those instructions were kept secret, not because their being made public would endanger the internal or external security of the country, but because the Central Government led by the Congress was doing something which it did not dare to allow the public to know.

Would it not have been graceful on the part of Lal Bahadur Shastri to openly admit the mistake committed by the Centre and continued in Kerala and to take effective measures to stop that abominable practice, rather than finding fault with E. M. S. Namboodiripad for having brought into the open the fact that the Congress Government was showing political discrimination?

CALCUTTA YOUTH FESTIVAL

FROM PAGE 2

They must come forward and take the lead in the endeavours to prevent another world war and to save humanity and the rich heritage of human civilization from annihilation.

He made a rousing appeal to the youth of West Bengal and of the entire country to spare no efforts to build a happy and prosperous India. "If the present social system stood in the way of the realisation of this noble mission," he emphasised, "the youth must fight to replace it by another social system which would provide for abundant scope to their creative genius and enable them to build a clean, healthy and happy life."

Over 10,000 young people and hundreds of Calcutta's citizens participated in the inauguration ceremony. The main attraction on the second day of the festival (May 20) was a mock Summit Conference. The items on the agenda were: (1) signing of a Treaty of Non-aggression; (2) international cooperation and peaceful coexistence; and (3) colonialism and neocolonialism.

Such keen interest was evinced by the people in the issues dominating the international scene today that the Ranji Indoor Stadium, where the mock Summit Conference was held, was packed beyond capacity with over 5,000 men and women.

There was no mistaking the fact that the entire gathering was on the side of the representatives from the socialist countries and the consensus of opinion in the Summit Conference was that a lasting peace was not possible without liquidating imperialism.

The second day observed as the Social Service Day. In the morning, volunteers of the Youth Festival Committee and about 1,000 young people living in slums in Calcutta cleaned Kutehha drains and gave anti-cholera inoculations to over 4,000 people in different slum areas of the city. The authorities of Calcutta Corporation extended their cooperation in this work.

The Young Women's Sub-Committee of the Festival Committee staged a drama before the patients of Jadavpur T. B. Hospital, distributed fruits to the inmates of Chitranjan Sevasadan (a hospital for women) and opened a Health Centre for women in North Calcutta.

It needs no great intelligence to see that no subversion from outside can succeed in a country if the people are behind its regime—we have the experience of the socialist countries where despite all its dollars, U.S. subversion has not succeeded.

Equally it is true that when a whole people are bitter about the regime in their country, no subversion is necessary to make them fight and win—we have the lesson of Cuba before us.

It is understandable that the U.S. imperialists are not bothered by such truths. But it becomes serious when India, as Chairman of the International Commission, is reported to be subscribing to this American view.

To subscribe to this view is to put on the same plane the liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese people and the aggressive U.S. intervention; it is to strengthen the hands of the U.S. imperialists, to provide them with a weapon to mislead the American people themselves and the non-aligned people everywhere who are beginning to voice opposition to the U.S. intervention in South Vietnam.

India must condemn outright the naked U.S. intervention in South Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Agreements and demand the disbanding of the U.S. military command there and the withdrawal of U.S. troops and equipment.

U. S. Flouting Geneva Accord

FROM BACK PAGE

Such details of U.S. military activities can be duplicated over and over again from plenty of other American sources, but what the AP correspondent has written is enough to show that the U.S. military command in Saigon is neither for "assistance" nor for "advice", that it is an operational command that directs and participates in the war in South Vietnam.

U.S. intervention in Vietnam had begun in 1959, long before the French colonialists were thrown out by the Vietnamese people. It was then that the U.S. had set up the Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG). In 1954, at the time of the Dien Bien Phu battle, Dulles had stood on the brink with atomic weapons in his hands, but had to give up the idea of using them when he could not carry his allies, Britain and France, with him.

The glorious military victory of Dien Bien Phu, the powerful movement of the world peoples for a peaceful settlement and the opposition which it faced from its British and French allies brought the United States to the Conference table in Geneva where the agreements on Indo-China were worked out.

Within months, the U.S. set about violating these agreements, took over South Vietnam from the French, designated it a protected area of SEATO, and began the military build-up which has now reached such dangerous proportions.

But all this could not be done without rousing the opposition of the South Vietnamese people.

The U.S. intervention and the U.S. puppet Ngo Dinh Diem both wanted to perpetuate the temporary division of Vietnam at the 17th Parallel, the people wanted the reunification of the country according to the Geneva Agreements and they

were bitter both with the U.S. and with Diem.

A people who had just completed eight years of bitter but victorious struggle against French colonialism would not accept without resistance the imposition of U.S. domination. This resistance had to be suppressed and the inhuman repression which the U.S.-Diem clique has launched against the people has its parallel only in the atrocities Hitler committed in occupied Europe.

Right now major operations are going on in South Vietnam to uproot the people from their age-old homes and to herd them into concentration camps labelled "strategic villages." Hundreds and hundreds are being killed in these operations, while thousands of others are forced into the camps to live a life worse than death. These operations are part of the U.S. plan for the "pacification" of South Vietnam; they are directed and conducted by American personnel.

Is it any wonder if a freedom-loving people has risen in revolt against such brutalities, is it any wonder if the revolt has spread to become a nationwide liberation struggle, is it any wonder if everyone with the least bit of a democratic conscience has ranged himself against Diem's family dictatorship, is it any wonder if Diem's own army is beginning to turn against him as was evidenced by the coup attempted by his paratroopers in November 1960 and the bombing of his palace by his U.S.-trained pilots in February last?

It is understandable that the U.S. imperialists are not bothered by such truths. But it becomes serious when India, as Chairman of the International Commission, is reported to be subscribing to this American view.

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The question begins being asked: why is the U.S. intervening on such a scale in South Vietnam to keep in power Diem who is hated by his peo-

ple, who is so unpopular that he cannot last a day without American support? Right in the United States this question has been raised by sixteen eminent scientists and professors who recently wrote an open letter to President Kennedy.

The U.S. imperialists obviously cannot answer: we need Diem for our plans in Southeast Asia. Hence the U.S. slander of "subversion from the North" to camouflage its own aggressive activities in South Vietnam.

It needs no great intelligence to see that no subversion from outside can succeed in a country if the people are behind its regime—we have the experience of the socialist countries where despite all its dollars, U.S. subversion has not succeeded.

Equally it is true that when a whole people are bitter about the regime in their country, no subversion is necessary to make them fight and win—we have the lesson of Cuba before us.

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NEW AGE

MAY 27, 1962

PAGE THIRTEEN

VOTARY OF "TRUTH" TAKES RECOURSE TO PATENT UNTRUTHS

*FROM PAGE 3

those who criticise the budget and his speech. He therefore, launches a violent attack on the Communist Party generally and on the leader of its Parliamentary Group, A. K. Gopalan personally.

He does not even spare the Soviet Union against which too, he launches a reckless and irresponsible attack.

This, however, is not going to help him. For, even though violent in his attacks against the Indian Communists and against Soviet Union, he has been unable to answer the main points of criticism openly levelled by the entire opposition and inwardly subscribed to by large numbers of Congressmen themselves.

It is a measure of that total bankruptcy of his policy that Morarji Desai has had to drag into the controversy a friendly country with which we have the best of diplomatic and trade relations and which has substantially helped us and is still helping us in implementing the plans of industrialisation. For, no member of the Opposition had even once referred to the achievements of the Soviet Union, not to speak of contrasting the performance of India and the Soviet Union.

There was thus no provocation for this attack on the Soviet Union.

All the criticisms levelled against the Government were confined to the contrast between its own professions and practices. This contrast was so obvious, facts and arguments advanced to prove it were so formidable that, like all bourgeois politicians following a bankrupt policy, Morarji Desai had to resort to anti-Communism in order to divert people's attention.

Not only does Sri Desai try to divert people's attention from the problem of taxation and other policies of the Government of India to the policies of the Soviet Union. He also makes assertions which are far from true.

And yet, he has the audacity to accuse the Opposition, particularly A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist opposition, of "suppressing truth" and "distorting facts".

With an air of "truthfulness," he concludes his speech:

"I know that truth hurts sometimes, but I admit that truth ought not to hurt also. Therefore, if I have erred in that and I have hurt him, I believe there is something wrong in my expression of truth. I will take care to see that next time I express my truth I will express in such a manner that it may be very inconvenient to him but he will not have any complaint that he is hurt."

Sri Desai's own speech however, from beginning to end is a vain attempt to parade as truth, things which have not even the remotest relation to reality. One of the "truths" which he has attempted to prove through his speech is that the policy of indirect taxation which his Government has been following does not lead to any increase in prices. This is so transparent an untruth

that nobody in India would believe it. That was why the leader of the Communist group, A. K. Gopalan, challenged him to "boldly declare that prices have not gone up after the presentation of the budget".

The Finance Minister, of course, could not do so. For, if he had done so, he would have incurred the wrath of the millions who have found from their own experience that, just as on previous occasions when indirect taxes were imposed anew or enhanced in rates, on the occasion of the present budget too, increased burdens of indirect taxation have immediately reflected themselves in retail prices.

Wrong Comparison

Another "truth" which he was trying his best to prove was that indirect taxation imposed in India is like the turnover tax imposed in the Soviet Union. This is a point which Sri Desai is not afraid of repeating and emphasising because he knows that the Indian people do not know the mechanism of taxation in the Soviet Union. They would not be able to distinguish between the turnover tax in a socialist system and indirect taxes in our country.

Even on this question, he realises that he would not be on firm ground if he were to compare the turnover tax in the Soviet Union with the indirect taxes in India. For, even the general Indian public who are not familiar with the intricacies of the system of taxation in India and the Soviet Union note two things.

First, wholesale and retail prices in India have been steadily going up during the last ten years.

Secondly, a series of reductions in prices have taken place in Soviet Union during these very years.

They would, therefore, inevitably come to the correct conclusion that the turnover tax in the Soviet Union does not have the same impact on the price level of that country as indirect taxation has in our own country.

This, however, does not deter Sri Desai from his attack on the Soviet Union. With an air of impartiality and objectivity, he concedes that the Soviet Union today is in a different situation. He only pleads that it would be incorrect to compare present-day Soviet Union with present-day India; the proper comparison should, according to him, be between the Soviet Union of 1928-36 and India of 1950-60.

"Let the conditions of this country," he triumphantly declares, "be compared after 40 years of development; they are bound to be better than those in Soviet Russia. What is the use of comparing in a wrong way, and comparing wrong facts and wrong circumstances?"

And yet, it is precisely Sri Desai who is actually "comparing in a wrong way, comparing wrong facts and wrong circumstances." For, he is comparing taxation in a so-

cialist country (where there are no exploiting classes) with taxation in our country where the people are admittedly subjected to landlord-capitalist exploitation.

Is there any point in comparing the two, and yet the person who makes that comparison claims that he is a votary of truth!

If Morarji Desai had even the slightest concern for truth, he would admit that the overwhelming majority of those, on whom falls the burden of indirect tax which he has continuously levied through successive budgets, are the very people who are exploited by the landlords, the moneylenders, capitalist employers and wholesale traders. The income that they realise is the residue left after the landlord collects his rent, the moneylender his interest, and the capitalists (including wholesale traders) their profits.

Out of the total income of the nation, a major portion (which has not been scientifically estimated but which, according to certain competent economists, can be put at no less than one fourth of the national income) goes to a very small section of these exploiting classes. It is out of the balance left over after the exploiting classes take their share as rent, interest and profit that the Government collects its share as tax.

In other words, taxation—both direct and indirect—in India is an additional burden on the working and middle classes (including the peasantry) after they have borne the triple burdens of rent, interest and profits.

Nay more, a major part of the taxes collected from them is to be utilised precisely in order to perpetuate and strengthen the system which squeezes the common people dry through the collection of rent, interest and profit.

It is precisely here that the Soviet Union, even of the 1928-36 period, is basically different from present-day India. For, the Soviet Union is a country with no landlord, no capitalist.

The peasantry are completely free from any obligation to pay rent to the landlords. They are also free from the exploitation of the banks and other capitalistic elements. As for the workers and the middle classes they too are free from the capitalist exploitation.

The peasant is free to cultivate his land and appropriate for himself the fruits of his labour. The workers and the middle classes get their wages and social insurance paid by the enterprise which is socially owned and hence does not yield any capitalist profit.

In other words, the entire national income is divided as between the Government which takes a share and meets the common expenditure of the people, the demands of the nationalised sector of the economy which takes another share for investments and the common people for their consumption.

It is thus clear that taxation in the two countries is absolutely incomparable. In

one case, it is an instrument in the hands of the working people themselves to discharge their social responsibilities, while, in the other, it is part of the system of exploitation.

His "Socialism" And Ours

One can, of course, agree with Sri Desai when he says that "the socialism of the Congress is not the socialism of the Communist Party". According to the "socialism of the Congress", India should, forever, bear the huge burdens of capitalistic private property; at no time even in the distant future shall the Indian people be free from capitalist exploitation.

Even in the matter of landlord exploitation, the Congress does not propose to end it completely and forever.

The triple burdens of rent, interest and profits will have to be borne by the people for all times if the Congress brand of socialism were to continue indefinitely.

On the other hand, the socialism which the Communist Party visualises will gradually abolish all forms of exploitation; to begin with, it will put an end to feudal exploitation and place severe checks on capitalist exploitation.

This difference between the objectives of the two parties has its implications on current policies. The policy of the Congress is, in the words of Dr. Rao quoted above in this article, one of "restriction on the consumption of the poor (which plays an important role in the financing of the social and economic overheads created by the State)".

The Communist Party, on the other hand, advocates a policy which was explained in the following words by the leader of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, Comrade A. K. Gopalan:

"I admit that there must be resources, but let me indicate the ways in which the resources can be found.

"We have made these suggestions several times here, and I want to reiterate them:

"1. Nationalise banking and credit institutions, mines, export-import trade, plantations and heavy industries.

"2. Restrict the operation of foreign capital, prevent the export of profit by foreign companies.

"3. Increase the tax on the rich, especially Corporate Tax. Our rates of Corporate taxes are one of the lowest, and the very fact that this year the Finance Minister has taken the welcome step of slight increase in Corporate taxes, despite his arguments in previous years that we have reached the limits of direct taxation, is a vindication of our stand. (Even this 5 per cent increase is not there for the foreign companies.)

"4. Take stringent measures against tax-dodgers and tighten the machinery of tax assessment and collection.

"5. Make the public sector enterprises more efficient so as to make them yield more surpluses for development.

"6. The privy purses of the princes should also be stopped.

"7. Cut down wasteful expenditure, stamp out corruption, inefficiency and maladministration.

"These are the only methods by which the resources can be found. And, if resources can be found, planning can be expedited. So far as planning is concerned, success depends not only on money. Contentment and co-operation of the people are necessary. The people must feel that they are marching towards a socialist society.

"But, so far these taxation and other proposals are concerned, certainly, there will be no inspiration. I do not know how the co-operation of the people can be secured without improving the conditions of the people. The Study Group and others show that the burden is more and more on the people.

"I hope the Finance Minister will look into all this and see that all these levies are not there and some other methods are adopted to get the resources."

It is precisely because of these differences between the approaches of the Congress and of the Communist Party that Sri Desai thought it necessary to launch an attack not only on the Communist Party of India but also on the Soviet Union.

He is afraid that, as the people accumulate the experience of the Congress rule and its economic policies, they will realise the necessity of united struggle against the policy of restricting the consumption of the common people and of allowing the rich to make huge profits out of national development.

Affinity With Swatantra

It is significant in this connection that Sri Desai has no word of criticism against the Swatantra party. Its spokesman in Parliament, Maharaj Gayatri Devi, made demagogic use of the acute dissatisfaction of the people against the taxation and the price policy of the Government. She spoke more or less in the same tone as the speakers of the Communist Party did in respect of taxation.

She and her party, however, are at one with Sri Desai in their basic approach. She rejected outright the suggestion offered by the leader of the Communist Group with regard to finding the resources for the Plan. Maharaj Gayatri Devi had no constructive suggestion to offer to the Finance Minister as to how to raise the resources.

She is opposed to the Government's policy of taxing the poor; she is equally opposed to the Communist policy of giving up the whole policy of planning which obviously cannot be implemented without the measures suggested by the Communist Group.

Yet, Sri Morarji Desai kept completely silent on the criticism made by the spokesman of the Swatantra Party against the budget.

Can the common people, under these circumstances, be blamed if they draw the conclusion that Sri Morarji Desai has a sneaking sympathy for the Swatantra Party?

IMPERIALIST THIEVES FALL OUT

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

The conflict of interests and the fight for positions among imperialist powers has recently grown to formidable proportions.

THE inter-imperialist conditions are clearly visible in Western powers' strategy and tactics on the West Berlin and the German questions, on European defence arrangements, on European Common Market policies and on tariffs.

These conflicts are between the U.S. imperialists and the West German imperialists, between American imperialism and French imperialism, between French and the British and even between West Germany and France.

It was only last week that the U. S. President Kennedy and the West German Chancellor Adenauer loudly quarrelled across the Atlantic over West Berlin strategy.

DE GAULLE'S CHALLENGE

And yesterday French President de Gaulle issued a clear challenge to United States predominance in the defence of Western Europe.

Before several hundred correspondents crowded together in the Elysee Palace in Paris, the French dictator declared that "the conditions under which thirteen years ago Europe found it very expedient to turn over to the United States the responsibility for its protection have now changed profoundly". He asserted his country's "aspirations to her own defence based on modern atomic forces."

Another slap in President Kennedy's face he gave when he joined in the opposition of Chancellor Adenauer to East-West talks on West Berlin and the German question. He also ridiculed the disarmament conference in Geneva which France has boycotted reducing it from an 18 nation disarmament conference to a 17-nation conference.

COMMON MARKET

Over the European Common Market issue, France and West Germany want Britain to abide by all the Trade Rules laid down by the Treaty of Rome which set up the European Economic Community, consisting of six countries (France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg).

These rules set up a common external tariff against outside countries. Their acceptance will nullify the "imperial preference" enjoyed by British Commonwealth countries in British-held markets and adversely affect India's and other Commonwealth countries' foreign trade.

France and Germany would jointly force Britain to choose between the Commonwealth and the Common Market, which Britain seeks to join. Adenauer in his Press Conference in West Berlin even invited Britain to join the Common Market as a junior partner.

President de Gaulle also wants Western Europe to be "master of its own destiny" and make its voice heard in world affairs. West Europe should thus be able to make decisions without recourse to outside powers, notably the United States.

He outlined his country's objectives as follows:

- 1. To disengage itself from the political, economic and military obligations overseas; and
- 2. To concentrate on reconstructing Europe in political, defence and economic fields so as "to establish

De Gaulle said, he wanted the European Economic Community capped politically without delay and that this could be done "only by France's participation in institutions." It is here that the French and West German imperialist policies differ on the future of European Common Market.

Adenauer says: "In our national history, we saw during the first half of the last century, a North German Customs Union and this was followed by an all-German Customs Union which developed into a political structure (the German State). It will be the same in the end with Europe of the Common Market despite difficulties." (New York Times, 4.4.62.)

This idea of supranational institutions with states merged into one, which would preclude the national governments from discussing and deciding issues bilaterally with each other, and the idea of a supranational parliament which would exercise vital authority when that of the national parliament was visibly waning, was dismissed outright by de Gaulle.

The idea of establishing a kind of supranational federation which would destroy the national independence of West European nations is stoutly opposed by the working class movement and even by some sections of the bourgeoisie in these countries. It is difficult

for Britain to accept any European political super-structure that would override the traditional British Parliament.

Inside the Common Market itself, anti-American feelings are growing.

When the U. S. raised its tariff for Belgian glass and carpets, the Common Market bitterly complained. When America tried to grab Atlantic shipping and trade from Britain, the British Minister for Trade protested.

Now the Council of Ministers of European Economic Community has voted to speed up the reduction of tariffs within the Common Market and application of a new Common Tariff against the outside world, rejecting American demand for preferential treatment.

The Council is preparing to retaliate against the U.S. unless there was "a modification or satisfactory agreement" of tariff increases on carpets and glass (from E. C. M. countries) in U. S. Under new trade legislations prepared by the Kennedy Administration, the United States manipulates and bargains for a major reduction in external tariffs, while it is not prepared to lower its own tariff.

Conflict of economic interests between U. S. and Common Market countries is growing side by side with differences on political and

military strategy of imperialism against the socialist world.

● Australia, a partner in the imperialist camp, has recently protested against U. S. economic policies which are forcing Britain to give up its Commonwealth allies and choose the Common Market.

● Another imperialist partner, Canada, will refuse any request to send any troops to Laos according to the Canadian Foreign Minister Howard Green.

● The Bonn-Paris axis is growing in strength as a rival for leadership in Europe against the Washington-London alliance.

● The attempt for the salvation of capitalism's crisis-ridden economy in Europe is now to be made through the E.C.M. but European integration and destruction of national independence of States will not help prevent integration of capitalism. These are the writings on the European Wall.

The imperialist camp though united in its policy of preparation for another war, in its struggle against socialist and colonial liberation movements, is weakened not only by the mighty blows delivered by the world democratic movement for peace and socialism, but also weakened considerably by its own internal strifes and inherent contradictions and with the unseemly fight for the booty.

STRIKES ROCK SPAIN

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

THE heroic struggle of the working class of Spain is shaking the very foundations of the Franco fascist regime. Never before had the Spanish dictator to deal with such a large-scale strike movement as the one he faces today.

The unity of all the anti-fascist forces in Spain is being forged in this movement as if in a crucible. The strike of the Asturian miners has been on now for more than three weeks and has acted as a spark which has lighted up the whole country.

The Franco satraps and the puppet fascist "syndicates" could not influence the scope of the strike movement of the working people. Visits of the fascist functionaries and threats over the radio have had no effect and only embittered the miners of Asturias.

On the contrary the strike wave engulfed a number of new enterprises in Asturias like an iron and steel works and a motor cycle plant. Reports here indicate that the situation in Bilbao area in the mines of Leon province has not changed either. The workers at number of mines to the South of Villablino also downed tools.

In Catalonia the workers of a textile plant in Manresa and a plastic factory in Moncada called a strike.

The strikes still paralyse a large number of enterprises in the industrial area of Barcelona.

Despite the attempts of

the Franco propaganda to conceal the number of workers involved, it has become known that the strike wave has also spread to Southern Spain where not less than thirty thousand workers are on strike.

The total number of workers involved in strike actions is believed to be a few hundred thousand.

Antonio Mije, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party speaking over Moscow television said that 15 provinces of Spain are on strike. Solidarity movement with the workers has been taken up by the intelligentsia. There have been student actions in Madrid and Barcelona. The women of Madrid organised demonstrations in the streets in which leading artists also took part.

The heroism of the workers can be judged from the fact that in Franco Spain workers' strike is considered equal to armed uprising and persons involved can be declared state criminals and sentenced to death. The strike wave shows the high class consciousness of the Spanish workers in spite of their hatred of the Franco tyranny.

Antonio Mije said that the Spanish Communist Party was in the front rank of the struggle and set before it the task of creating a united front that would topple the Franco regime.

And Dolores Ibarruri, the famous La Pasionaria, Chairman of the Spanish Commu-

nist Party in a moving article in Pravda declared, "Striking Asturias is calling to the conscience of Spain and Spain is bravely answering the call. For Asturias today is symbol of a people who refuse to languish any more in the chains of Francoism. It is the symbol of the Spain which refuses to live on its knees, a Spain which is striving to regain its national dignity and the grandeur of the nation in a just, free and democratic system."

"Spain has been set in motion on the road to tomorrow which its struggle of today is blazing. People and political forces which were still divided and even hostile yesterday are now drawing together and marching side by side.

"Let us forge the weapon that can smash the hateful edifice of Francoism to smithereens and open the way for Spain to a peaceful life to security and national independence", declares La Pasionaria in her moving appeal.

The struggle is spreading and from neighbouring Portugal too, comes the news of demonstrations and unrest. On May 18 hundreds of students of the Coimbra university organised a procession in the centre of town and in Lisbon the university students demonstrated in solidarity.

The students fighting for their demands are being supported by prominent writers, architects and other representatives of Portuguese intelligentsia. The struggle against Salazar's dictatorship too is being joined by the broadest national forces.

Laos Intervention Will Recoil

SOVIET WARNING

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Moscow, May 21.

The Soviet press continues to devote considerable attention to the dangerous situation in South East Asia that has arisen as a result of the American landings in Thailand and continued U. S. intervention in Laos. Pravda in an article headlined "Dangerous gamble with fire in Laos" warns of the explosive situation that exists due to American provocations.

LAOS as is well-known has never been a member of the aggressive SEATO pact but nevertheless the U. S. President speaks of the "need to fulfil rapidly the obligations" precisely with respect to this pact. He has asked other SEATO countries to send their troops to the borders of Laos.

"It is thus admitted quite openly that the Pentagon wants to cover up its aggressive actions in Laos with the State flags of SEATO countries. Such actions of the United States are bound to expand the armed conflict and increase the danger of war not only on the borders of Laos but in the whole area of South East Asia.

"In such a case the military intervention of the United States will turn into collective intervention and inevitably evoke retaliatory actions of the other side. Much will depend on whether the Governments of the SEATO countries realise this or succumb to the pressure of the U. S. military quarters".

The Pravda commentator points out that already a year

ago at the Geneva conference agreement was reached on it being necessary and entirely possible to stop the armed conflict in Laos and to form a Coalition Government without interference from outside. But U. S. encouragement of the separatist and hostile actions of the Phoumi Nosavan group and American financial and military assistance are

the only obstacle to the ending of military conflict in Laos.

The Pentagon is banking on using its puppets Phoumi Nosavan and Boun Oum to turn Laos into another military base in South-East Asia, the article declares.

"We believe in the peaceful solution of the problem of Laos. But one cannot act like an ostrich and close one's eyes to the policy certain elements are bent on pursuing with the help of warships, bombs and worst still, atomic weapons. Short-sighted instigating acts may provoke counteraction. The implementation of the Laos Agreements depends primarily on the United States" the article declares.

The position of the Soviet Union has remained clear and

unchanged since the very outset and it was stated once again by Khrushchov in a speech in Bulgaria on May 18: "The Soviet Government considers as before that the most reasonable thing would be to keep to the already agreed way of solving the Laotian problem, i.e., to establish a coalition government headed by prince Souvanna Phouma".

The Pravda article declares that the only thing the Laotians need is full freedom without outside interference to solve their domestic problems the way they think fit. The Soviet Union is convinced that the early turning of Laos into an independent united peace-loving neutral state is in the interest of both the Laotian people and the whole of South-East Asia in the in-

terest of strengthening international security.

And Khrushchov in the above-mentioned speech in Bulgaria further declared, "the American imperialists have got into Thailand and landed their marines. Well let them try to fight in the jungles. The peoples of South-East Asia will show how they will fight.

"The United States would have done well to give up the functions of international gendarmes. The Frenchmen have fought in Vietnam for seven years. And the Americans will perhaps have to fight still longer. But one thing can be said: They will have to leave and the people will become the masters of the situation. We are firmly convinced of this".

OPPOSE U. S. WAR IN S. VIETNAM

Press reports allege that India which is Chairman of the International Commission in Vietnam is on the point of putting its seal of approval on the oft-repeated U.S. slander of the patriotic struggle in South Vietnam as "subversion from the North".

If there is truth in these reports and if such a thing happens, it will bring terrible lot of discredit to India's name. It is difficult to imagine how in face of the volume of evidence to the contrary, India can take such a step. It is massive U.S. intervention—multiplied manifold by the latest landings in Thailand—that is afflicting South Vietnam. It is not "subversion from the north", but a patriotic struggle of the local people that is going on there.

WHY has the U.S. been so insistently mouthing this slander? And what would India's joining Canada to give its approval to that charge

mean? It is high time the realities of the South Vietnam situation are examined once again so that such fatefully wrong decision can be prevented from being taken by India.

U.S. intervention is no longer a charge made by Communist quarters, it is a fact admitted by official U.S. spokesmen, confirmed by hundreds of reports in the American Press itself, and by the daily pouring in of U.S. personnel, arms and equipment into South Vietnam. One has only to look up Time magazine of May 11.

We will here refer to one such report, that of AP Correspondent Malcolm Browne, who says "about 6,000 Americans are believed to be in Vietnam." Since December last U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara has held in Honolulu four conferences of U.S. Generals and diplomats in the area and the fifth conference on May 10 was held in South Vietnam itself. "Since December, U.S. intervention has reached dangerous heights. It was in this period that the U.S. openly set up its military assistance command in south Vietnam.

U.S. army adviser's support has reached nearly every level on which the fight was being waged, said Browne in his dispatch from Saigon. "U.S. navy advisers accompany the armed junks" patrolling South Vietnam's coast, "U.S. air force pilots are in the cockpits" of combat planes, "U.S. army advisers are in jungles, forests and marshes, working with Vietnamese commanders down to the company level.

"More than 80 U.S. army and marine helicopters are flying out almost daily troops carrying missions, landing Vietnamese troops practically on top of their targets. Somewhere in the South China Sea elements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet are patrolling."

Here are some facts and figu-

res which the AP Correspondent gives in his dispatch:

● Several hundred U.S. army "special forces" troops (so-called experts in jungle warfare) are scattered over the countryside.

● U.S. army advisers are assigned to the headquarters of corps, division and battalion and some have begun working at the company level.

● About 500 U.S. airforce personnel are believed to be in South Vietnam, a squadron of specially modified U.S. air force C-123 transport planes is being used.

● U.S. airforce activities are kept under tight wraps, presumably because American

pilots often serve in combat roles while instructing Dienhieu pilots, they are often at the controls in air strikes, they also fly transport and leaflet-dropping missions.

● The largest force of U.S. marines is the helicopter company stationed at Soc Trang, having about 400 men and twentythree 53.34 troop-carrying helicopters. U.S. navy advisers, several hundreds altogether, are assisting in Dienhieu coastal defence all the way from Phu Quoc island near the Cambodian frontier in the West to the 17th Parallel in the North.

*SEE PAGE 13

INTERFERENCE IN INDIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

*FROM FRONT PAGE

of the U.S.A. and Britain is, however, hardly surprising. Over the past several years, the USA is pouring in all types of military equipment worth hundreds of crores into Pakistan and only recently Pakistan has been supplied with supersonic U. S. military planes.

Besides, Pakistan and some other Asian countries have been drawn into military alliances like the SEATO and CENTO the aggressive designs of which are notoriously well-known.

"The SEATO and CENTO powers are being lavishly equipped with modern weapons as they are instigated against the peace and freedom-loving countries like our own. It is no longer any secret that one of the objects of the military build-up in these countries is to establish military superiority against India and other freedom-loving Afro-Asian countries, to threaten their peace and security.

Aid As Means Of Subversion

"We are entirely in agreement with the stand of the Government that India is free to buy military equipments from any country she likes. What, however, the Government should take serious note of is that the U. S. and British actions over these reported negotiations amount to a gross interference in the internal affairs of our country

and with India's sovereign rights.

"The episode has also once again brought to light how the U. S. Government want to utilise their economic aid for such interference as well as for subversion of national sovereignty.

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party is convinced that no self-respecting Indian who has the interests of the nation and its security at heart will put up with such insolence on the part of the U.S. and the British Governments. National interests demand that these negotiations be not only carried on but be fruitfully concluded.

"In this connection mention must be made of the fact that whereas India is buying defence equipment worth crores of rupees every year from the U. K. and other countries of the West, the Soviet Union has never sought to interfere with India's decision in the matter. This respect for India's sovereign right stands in sharp contrast with the U. S. and British interference and pressure.

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party of India would urge upon the Government to take the public into confidence about the attitude of the U.S. and British Governments and go forward with all measures necessary to strengthen our national defence and overcome its dependence on the Western powers in matters of supplies."

Support For Algeria

A resolution urging "full and formal" recognition to Algerian People's Government led by Yusuf Ben Khedda was passed at a public meeting held in New Delhi on May 17 under the auspices of Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

The full text of the resolution is given below:

"This meeting of the citizens of the Capital of India greets with pride the Algerian people and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic headed by Prime Minister Yusuf Ben Khedda.

"The Algerian people's persistent and dogged fight against terrible odds, the deathless heroism of the Algerian martyrs, have roused the admiration of the whole world and have forced President de Gaulle to enter into the Evian Agreement.

"This meeting, however, shares the widely expressed feelings of anger against the O.A.S. and their accomplices in the French Army for the acts of terrorism and violence even after signing of the cease-fire agreement and calls upon the French Government to take stern and effective measures for the total liquidation of this fascist organisation.

"It condemns the murder of innocent Algerian men, women and children and urges all peace-loving peoples to protest against these criminal acts.

"Unless enlightened opinion and all anti-imperial-

ist forces unitedly put pressure on the French Government, the implementation of the Evian Agreement will not be easily accomplished.

"In view of this threat to their hard-won freedom the Algerian people and their Government expect greater support on the part of friendly countries and Governments.

"It welcomes the declaration of all political parties in India that the Algerian Government be recognised forthwith and once again appeals to Prime Minister Nehru to give the Government of India's full and formal recognition to the Algerian people's Government led by Yusuf Ben Khedda."

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Layashi Yaker, Representative of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in India, underlined the gravity of the situation prevailing in Algeria today, which could not continue without serious consequences. Smt. Rameshwari Nehru presided over the meeting and Aruna Asaf Ali was among the speakers.