

RELEASE

CAMPAIGN REACHES NEW HEIGHTS

★ From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA, October 8: The campaign demanding the release of political prisoners reached a new height in the state when a huge mass deputation went to meet the Chief Minister on October 7, asking for the immediate release of all detenues.

THE call for this deputation was given by the district council of the CPI and supported by the Provincial Organising Committee of the Party.

Several thousands of men and women joined the procession and noteworthy was the participation of the organised section of the working class, particularly from Khidderpur, Metiaburj, East Calcutta, Batanagar, Barrackpur, Howrah, Hooghly. There were other processions which came from North and South Calcutta which joined the main procession at the Maidan.

There were festoons and placards in large numbers demanding release of prisoners and full throated

slogans reverberated in the streets as the procession wended its way through the crowded thoroughfares.

There were tram workers at the head of the main body of the procession, followed by women workers and other batches. Top Party leaders led the procession. The procession was stopped by police near Raj Bhavan. A deputation consisting of Indrajit Gupta, Narayan Roy, Panchugopal Bhaduri, Ila Mitra, Abdur Razzak Khan and Biren Roy went on behalf of the deputations, to meet the Chief Minister.

After the meeting, they returned to the deputations and reported on the discussions they had with the Chief

Minister. They reported that the Chief Minister said that there could be no release now but there would be a review again in November. The cases of women detenues and of those who are sick would be separately considered.

West Bengal

They added that they had also raised the question of the food situation with the Chief Minister but he declined to take any step and boasted that "if the people disliked the present ministers, they could democratically remove them."

Bhowani Sen addressing the meeting announced that in view of the existing conditions the struggle for securing the release of the detenues and for easing the food problem should continue unabated till such time as the demands are adequately met. He also said that if results would not be forthcoming earlier, then there would be a general strike in November.

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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Indrajit Gupta addressing the processionists in Calcutta.

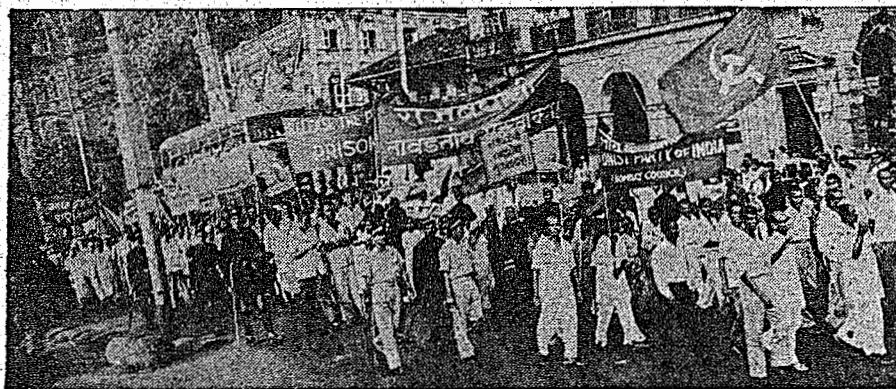
Bombay Demonstrates

BOMBAY: A large procession and rally were organised jointly by the Bombay City Council of the Communist Party and a number of trade unions on October 1, on the demand of immediate release of all political detenues held under the DIR.

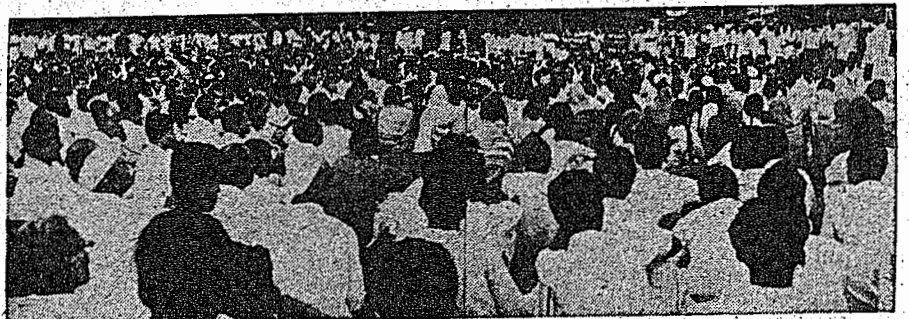
the unions, Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union, General Engineering Employees Union, Dock Workers Union, Press Workers Union and Municipal Workers Union took prominent part in the demonstration.

The procession marched towards the Council Hall but was stopped by police at Kalaghoda. A meeting was held at the spot and later a deputation met the Maharashtra Home Minister, P. K. Sawant and submitted a memorandum demanding release of all detenues.

S. G. Sardesai, Dr. G. Adhikari, P. B. Vaidya, S. G. Patkar, S. S. Mirajkar and other Communist leaders headed the procession and addressed the rally. Among



Top: A view of the Bombay Demonstration. Right: A section of the Rally.—Photo: Sharad Pawar.



THE Communist Party has taken the movement for the release of the Communist detenues to new heights following the Great March. The Party will continue the struggle with ever-increasing zeal until every single detenu is released and is back in the service of the people.

DETENUS

Question Of Nationalisation Rattles All Tycoons

THE democratic demand for the nationalisation of banks seems to have had a telling effect on the tycoons. They have rushed in with their case against nationalisation to show that the demand is motivated by doctrinaireism and hence fit only to be summarily rejected.

The main plank of their case is the assumption that nearly one-third of the country's banking system is controlled and managed by the state, and that in case the rest was also made to walk into the state's parlour, the net gain to the exchequer will not be much. But is it really so?

The latest banking statistics, released by the Reserve Bank — relating to 1962 — make it clear that the increase in the banks' deposits during the year was double the increase in the previous year, while the rise in their credits was 60 per cent. And if this was the situation in a year in which the markets were supposed to be "depressed," the growth in normal years should definitely be more.

The banking circles have made much of a nominal decline of Rs. 11 lakhs in the banks' net profits last year, but the fact is that the increase in current expenses — which has given rise to this decline — has been mainly due to a rise in the interest paid on the deposits, which, at their increased level, will add to the banks' earnings in future.

The banks thus enjoyed prosperity all round, in relation to deposits as well as advances, proving their worth as the key mobiliser and disbursor of the people's savings. How can such a

key lever be left to be handled by a few tycoons, who use its vantage position to mould the country's economy to their advantage?

Dr. Raj K. Nigam of the Department of Company Law Administration has made some startling disclosures about the way this is done. In an article in the Annual Number of his department's *Company News and Notes*, he has shown that a total of 188 persons, serving on the boards of twenty leading banks, held a total of 1452 directorships in other non-banking companies. The number of these companies was 1309. The average holding of directorships of the "bank directors" in India, according to Dr. Nigam, is even higher than that of the directors of the big ten banks in Britain. And yet, it was once claimed by a Union minister that we should not talk of "big business."

The interests which the banks' directors have in other non-banking companies create the link through which other people's hard earnings are made to flow to feed the tycoons' self-aggrandisement. And it is a narrowing circle of these tycoons which derives the maximum advantage in this respect.

The directorships of the first five banks — the Bank of India, the Central Bank, the Bank of Baroda, the United Commercial Bank and the Punjab National Bank — form 45 per cent of the total directorships of all the 20 banks, whereas their directors constitute 29 per cent of the total number of directors, that is, 188.

It is these gentlemen who, through common directorships, control 33 insurance, 6 financial and 25 investment trusts, besides a host of manufacturing and trading companies. The financial institutions, themselves a key factor in spreading in-

dustrial empires, are in turn connected with other companies, resulting in a wide complex of industries in diverse lines under the control of a handful of individuals.

Dr. Nigam, being an official, cannot evidently be much concerned with the political implications of this phenomenon. But even he is constrained to point out that "it consolidates corporate power against the state and the society" and that with our programme to achieve "social justice and equality," it has to be kept "under control and observation."

This is a government official's verdict against the existing pattern of ownership of the banks, and as such something which even TTK cannot dismiss off hand. As for the "banking circles," should it not be like a writing on the wall and a signal that what stands in the way of their institutions' nationalisation is not economic misgivings, but merely the ideological antipathy of certain high-ups?

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THE State Trading Corporation (STC) has been bifurcated to form a separate Metals and Minerals Trading Corporation. The new body will be concerned with the exports of minerals and imports of certain scarce non-ferrous metals.

With the exports of mineral ores at a low ebb — the returns for manganese ore being particularly so — the establishment of the new body to infuse new zest into their export drive is particularly

Economic notes

welcome. It is also a heartening index of the acceptability of state trading as a major factor in the country's foreign trade. But its formation should also provide an occasion for the Government to ask itself whether its approach to state trading has not been inhibited by an anxiety to soothe the nerves of the private traders.

The government's accent has been on making the STC a complementary body to private trading. This has resulted in its confining the STC's activities only to sectors like ores, in which the private traders have found it difficult to make any headway. The well established lines where the difficulties have been few and the returns imposing have been left to be handled by the private trade.

In quite a few lines its role is merely that of "coordinator" which reduces its importance as an actual trader. Its hands are thus tied, and its initiative hamstrung. If in spite of these handicaps it has been able to show good results, it is only because it alone provides a suitable mechanism to handle bulk trading.

It is high time that the STC is freed of these inhibitions and allowed to enter every sphere. For, in a buyer's market that we face today it is bad business to let the exports be handled by scattered traders. As for imports, the evils associated with established importers — an institution now working from behind the smoke-screen of actual users — are too obvious to permit the continuance of private trading without detriment to the country's interests. Uninhibited growth of state trading to cover the whole gamut of trading has thus become the need of the hour which the Government cannot ignore for long.

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with it are the black memories of its former president Eugene Black's gratuitous advice to our country to abandon our basic plan postulates, and of periodic counsels doled out by its missions to provide a larger share to private sector in our development. But has Black's supplanting by Woods meant any change? Not, if the results of the latest Bank meeting are any index.

Woods, the new president of the World Bank, is supposed to be a special friend of our country. According to him, India is one of the "deserving poor". But all he could promise us, or other developing countries, was a "new dimension" to the Bank's aid programme, that is, extension of this aid to agriculture, secondary industries and education. As for the Bank's strict standards of judging the creditworthiness of projects or its exorbitant rates of interest, he had nothing to offer.

The World Bank has an affiliate: the International Development Association, which is supposed to lend soft loans. But such is the reluctance of the advanced capitalist countries to augment its resources, that all it will be able to lend in the next three years is about 300 million dollars a year. The same countries are, however, quite enthusiastic in replenishing the reserves of the Bank, because it brings them immense profits.

The venter of the Western countries' "philanthropy" is wearing thin, and it is high time that the United Nations, through its forthcoming conference on Trade and Development, projects some new organisation, capable of safeguarding the less developed countries' trade interests, and providing them funds for their growth in line they deem fit.

—ESSEN
October 8

Reports about the ill-treatment of the Communist detainees in the Nagpur jail and the miserable conditions in which they are compelled to languish, under an enactment which has been held to be bad in law by the Supreme Court, have been causing considerable anxiety among the public in Nagpur and Vidarbha.

THE legacy of the British imperialist traditions in classifying political prisoners is still continued after sixteen years of independence. Political and trade union leaders, who are held in "preventive custody" are treated as third class criminals and lumped together with bootleggers and ordinary thieves in the Nagpur jail.

Among the leaders who are suffering such humiliation merely because of the fact that they happened to be Communists and leaders of mass movements are S. A. Chauthmal, prominent trade union leader, S. T. Masurkar, secretary of the Nagpur district council of the Communist Party, B. M. Samudre, president of the Nagpur municipal workers' union, B. P. Kashyap, secretary of the Communist Party, S. K. Sanyal, secretary of the Indian Mine Workers' Federation, Rana Pratap

Singh Bhandara, Communist leader etc. R. M. Girgaonkar, Communist leader from Amraoti, has given up the higher class treatment given to him in protest against the treatment of the other detainees and his solitary confinement for months together in the Akola and Amraoti jails.

In 1960, the then Chief Minister, Y. B. CHAVAN, had promised in the Assembly to improve the quality of diet given to prisoners. But, in December 1962, government stopped even the weekly non-vegetarian dish which was given to the prisoners before.

The condition and quality of the food given to these detainees are not fit for human consumption. Though the detainees asked permission to have a kitchen of their own, it was refused and they were compelled to eat from the

CONDITION OF DETENUS IN NAGPUR JAIL

neral kitchen catering to thousands of convicts.

The family allowance provided by the Maharashtra government is just Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 — which would not sustain even a single person in these days of exorbitant cost of living.

In other states like Tamilnad, West Bengal and Punjab, pocket allowances are given to the detainees so that they might purchase some basic necessities like toilet articles, tobacco and reading and writing materials. But in the Nagpur jail even these are refused to the Communist detainees.

tion of the Nagpur University for which he was due to appear.

Censorship of letters is provided an unavoidable business in the present set up of jails. In the Nagpur jail, however, letters to the detainees are not delivered to them even after days of their receipt and in some cases they are not delivered at all. Progressive periodicals (including *New Age*) are completely banned from the jails, and to get even such papers as the *Hitavada*, *Patrit* and *Navbharat*, individual and special permission is needed.

The detainees are denied even such elementary necessities as mosquito nets, cots and proper bedding so as to protect them from the insects. The detainees were not allowed to sleep outside the closed barracks even in the oppressive summer. They were allowed to move

around in the closed yard during day time, but never allowed to sleep there in the night.

On top of all these privations and restrictions put on the detainees, the authorities often transfer them to distant places. This has the result of denying them the facility to see their families or get food from homes occasionally.

The authorities have also put an additional restriction on the detainees by insisting that prior permission of the detaining authority, in this case the government, should be secured for even legal interviews. Before, this could be done with intimation to the jail superintendent. The new regulation has resulted in undue delay in arranging legal interviews, sometimes the delay being of many months.

Kerala Land Reforms Bill

A PIECE OF ANTI-PEASANT LEGISLATION

THE Land Reforms Bill introduced by Revenue Minister P. T. Chacko is facing stiff opposition inside and outside the Kerala Legislature.

The Communist and Praja Socialist legislators opposed the motion to introduce the Bill in the Assembly and staged a walkout. The Communist legislators are boycotting the Select Committee to which the Bill has been referred to, while the PSP and Independent MLAs are opposing the retrograde provisions of the bill in the Select Committee.

The Kerala Karshaka Niyama Raksha Samiti (Kerala Agrarian Relations Act Protection Committee), in which all peasant organisations are represented, submitted a memorandum to the Governor last week

asking to drop the Bill and implement the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1961.

When the President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, visited Travandrum, C. Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party, called on him and presented a memorandum protesting against the introduction of the Bill.

Similar representations have been made to the Union Planning Minister and the Planning Commission by various kisan organisations in the State.

The Karshaka Niyama Raksha Samiti has announced its decision to stage a token satyagraha of 1,000 volunteers at the gates of the Kerala Legislature on October 21 when it begins its special session to discuss the Bill.

★
The purpose of the new Land Reforms Bill introduced in the state Legislature, last week, and referred to a Select Committee is not only to have a land legislation of the "pure Congress government," but is mainly to safeguard the landed interests. The Bill is anti-tenant, pro-landlord and as such against all the tenets of the Indian Planning Commission and the policies of the Indian National Congress on Land Reforms," stated K. R. Gowri, MLA and former Minister of Revenue in an exclusive interview to *New Age*.

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THE State Revenue Minister P. T. Chacko has claimed that his Land Bill gives protection to the widest sections of peasantry in Kerala. Gowri pointed out that this claim is baseless. From 1929 onwards and with the latest amendment to the Malabar tenancy Act, all the tenants in Malabar except the licensees have the right to pay fair rent.

In Cochin area too, the tenants have been enjoying these rights. As for Travancore area, there was no land legislation worth the name before 1957. There was only an anti-eviction legislation. The Communist government introduced their Bill which was passed on June 12, 1959. It was further amended in the successive Assembly and passed on March 21, 1961. In this Bill, the definition of "tenant" is as wide as can be and protection from threat of eviction is ensured to all the tenants. And all the loopholes found in the various land legislations of other states, wherein anti-eviction provisions were sabotaged by landlords, have been plugged in the Act of 1961.

The proposed Land Reforms Bill gives the landlord the right to evict the tenant on non-payment of arrears of two years of rent; with provision for increasing rates of rent and with the right given to the landlord also to apply for revision of rent, the tenant is facing the threat of eviction all the time. This amounts to taking away even the rights enjoyed by the tenants of Malabar and Cochin for decades.

Enhancement Of Rent

The most vital part of the Act of 1961 was that it ensured a substantial reduction of rent to the cultivating tenant. Section 14 of the Act laid down that rates of normal rent shall not be less than the minimum or greater than the maximum prescribed for different kinds of lands and for different crops fixed by the Government. Normal rent was defined as a portion of the gross produce. In accordance with these provisions,

the state government had notified in 1961 the rates applicable to different areas in the State. The rates notified were neither the maximum nor the minimum prescribed in the Schedule but somewhere in between.

For instance, in the case of ordinary wet land, the rates laid down in the Schedule ranged between 1/4 and 1/6 of the gross produce. The rate notified by the government was 1/5 in the majority of cases. This enabled the vast majority of cultivating tenants to get substantial rent reduction.

In the New Bill, this benefit is taken away from the tenants. There is no maximum or minimum rate fixed by the government but only a uniform rate and this uniform rate in majority of cases is identical with the maximum prescribed in the Act of 1961. For instance, the net fixed for ordinary class of wet land is 1/4 of gross produce.

Further, the Act of 1961 had also provided, that wherever the rent calculated on the basis of provisions of the Act happened to be higher than the existing rent, only the existing rent need be paid.

In addition, the normal produce was defined in such a way that in the case of double crop wet lands, the second crop was to be regarded as equivalent to 50% of the principal crop and if the productivity of the land had been increased on account of any irrigation facility provided by the government, the benefit of it was to go wholly to the tenant and no enhancement of rent was to be allowed. And these provisions were nothing new but were in the Malabar tenancy Amendment Act of 1954 and had been bodily lifted and incorporated in the Act of 1961.

In the new Bill, all these provisions have been left out, with the result that when fair rent is fixed in accordance with the provisions of the new Act, it is likely to result in enhancement of rent in the vast majority of cases. That must be why the framers of the Bill thought it necessary to lay down that in no case shall the fair rent fixed under the Act be more than double the existing rent!

Thus instead of rent reduction

and sixty of fair rent and freedom from eviction — all principles enunciated in the First Plan — we have the phenomenon of the new Land Reform Bill throwing the gates wide open for the landlords to exact 100% more rent; and all the rent of the tenant have been snatched off and handed back to the landlords.

How in this context will the majority of tenants go in for exercising the right to purchase the land since they will have to pay an increased price fixed on the basis of the increased rent, how the class of peasant-proprietors will come into being, and how the tiller will have the incentive to increase agricultural production (all the objectives of the Planning Commission) all these pass one's comprehension.

Resumption

At the first glance, it might appear that there is no substantial difference between the old Act and the New Bill so far as provisions for resumption are concerned. This however is not so.

By a small trick, as it were, by a little change, that is, by the introduction of the concept of the "standard acre" the definition of "small holder" has been widened to such an extent that the small holder is no longer small but big.

In the peculiar conditions existing in Kerala, where density of population depending upon land is so high and land is so scarce (the per capita availability of cultivable land is about 30 cent) where according to the census of landholdings of 1954 only 5% of the holders of land in Travancore-Cochin area have holdings above 5 acres, the only reasonable course is to regard any one with more than 5 acres as a big landholder. This was the concept enshrined in the Act of 1961.

But this definition was amended under instructions from the President so as to include all persons owning less than 10 acres in the category of small holders and that was the form in which it was passed into Law as Act IV of 1961. But that Act retained the old equation so far as different kinds of lands were concerned. Thus 1 acre of double crop land was declared equivalent to 1 1/2 acres of single crop land or 2 acres of dry land or 2 1/2 acres of waste land or 1 acre of coconut or arecca garden.

Thus the effect of the provisions of the Act of 1961 was that the maximum extent of land, even of the worst type a small holder could own was 25 acres. But in the new Bill a new scientific concept of "standard acre" is introduced by the magic of which a small holder can have upto 40 acres!

Provision Regarding Ceiling

The patent absurdity underlying this is clear when it is pointed out that the authors of the new Bill have themselves provided in another part of the Bill that the maximum extent of land a man can possess is 36 acres! So every holder of land upto and beyond the ceiling area is a small holder. And small holders can resume ownership of lands from their tenants for personal cultivation to a certain extent except from tenants who had fifty of

tenure on or before January 21, 1961. The provision in the new Bill with regard to ceiling on land makes a mockery of the very conception of fixation of ceiling on ownership of land. Over and above the exemption to ceiling provided in Act IV of 1961, all of which have been retained in the new Bill, the following have been added:

- Lands mortgaged to the government or a co-operative society, Kerala Financial Corporation, Kerala Industrial Development Corporation, State Small Industries Corporation etc.
- Lands purchased by the Kerala Cooperative Central Mortgage Bank or a primary land mortgage bank.
- Lands belonging to or held by an industrial or commercial undertaking at the commencement of the Act and set apart for such an undertaking.
- Kayal lands of Kuttanad area over an extent of 19000 acres.
- Pepper and areccanut gardens above 10 acres.

In addition to all these, the government has been empowered to exempt any land required by any person bonafide for any industrial or commercial purpose which government considers to be in public interest! The mischief does not stop here. It is well known that landlords have tried all means to defeat the provisions of the ceiling Acts all over India. The Planning Commission had therefore been at pains to point out that land legislation must provide for making all transfers of land effected with a view to defeat ceiling provisions null and void. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1961 had made such a provision by which all voluntary transfers effected after July 27, 1960 shall be deemed to be transfers calculated to defeat the provisions of the Act and therefore invalid.

But where it was necessary to make use of the house sites of such people for public purposes such as town improvement schemes or sometimes also for building a house for the owner, Act IV of 1961 laid down that the hutment dweller could then be removed from the site only after he has been provided with an alternative site which must be a minimum of five cents if it is

Analysis by
K. R. GOWRI, MLA

This provision has been retained almost verbatim in the new Bill but with a small change and that small change makes a big difference — the date of July 27, 1960, has been altered and the date of publication in the gazette of the New Bill, August 15, 1963, has been inserted instead. Thus a period of 3 years, and more have been given to all land speculators and the legislature is called upon to ratify all their immoral black deeds done in clear violation of the existing law. To talk of ceiling and distribution of excess land and all that after this is sheer hypocrisy.

Hutment Dwellers

Owing to the extreme scarcity of lands in Kerala there is called the system of Kudikidappukars, that is the system whereby an absolutely landless person, in the literal sense of the term, is permitted to live in a hut in a corner of compound belonging to a landlord. The Legislature thought it necessary to provide that such people should be protected from eviction even by the small landholder.

But where it was necessary to make use of the house sites of such people for public purposes such as town improvement schemes or sometimes also for building a house for the owner, Act IV of 1961 laid down that the hutment dweller could then be removed from the site only after he has been provided with an alternative site which must be a minimum of five cents if it is

ON PAGE 14

NEW AGE ANNIVERSARY

Next week's issue of *NEW AGE* will be a special number, on the occasion of its Tenth Anniversary, dedicated to the Communist Press in India and the world.

ALREADY heart warming messages have been received by us from the editors and editorial boards of several Communist Parties. Together with these messages have come from some short articles on the Communist press in their countries.

PLEASE MAKE SURE OF YOUR COPY

We propose to intensify the drive to push up the sales of *NEW AGE* from this anniversary number. New features, more material, better and brighter journalism — these we hope will help in this drive.

WILL YOU HELP?

A meeting in honour of the Tenth Anniversary of *NEW AGE* is being organised on Friday, October 18 at 6 P.M. at the Constitution Club, New Delhi.

Comrade S. A. Dange will be the principal speaker. All readers and friends are cordially invited.

NEW AGE

THE GREAT RECRUITMENT

Editorial THE GREAT PETITION and March have shown the strength of the Communist Party, its mass following, its capacity for organisation, its discipline.

As the campaign came to a close, the chairman of the Party, Comrade S. A. Dange, gave a call for the mass recruitment into the Party of the tens of thousands of militants and activists who have stood by the Party all these years and particularly helped to make the Petition campaign such a resounding success.

As a result of the correct policies pursued by the Party, as a result of the mass agitation and struggles carried out under the leadership of the Party in defence of the people's interests, as a result of the work done among the toiling people during the Petition campaign, the Party has grown in strength and influence.

This growth has taken place despite the setback caused as a consequence of the Chinese aggression last year and the continued blows struck at the progressive and democratic forces, through the refusal of the Chinese leadership to accept the Colombo proposals.

The Communist Party seeks today to give this growth in its influence an organisational shape by a mass recruitment drive. The Party must be able to exert its weight and strength in helping to give the national situation a turn in the progressive direction, in favour of the exploited masses — a turn against the reactionary forces, who have been strengthened as a result of the Chinese leadership's perilous, dogmatic adventurism.

For this it is necessary to make the membership of the Party far larger than it is today, to make the organisation far more effective, to undertake mass education of Party members and supporters, and to activate the entire Party ranks on the basis of a concrete programme of work.

Already reports are coming from state after state of decisions by the state committees of the Party to concentrate their attention on precisely such efforts to build the Party, and above all on the Great Recruitment campaign decided upon at the time of the Great March.

The Party executive in Uttar Pradesh has decided to recruit five thousand new Party members. The Party in Delhi has announced that it will raise its membership from 1200 to 5000. Similar reports are coming from all states.

In Delhi, within the next two months a five-day Party school will be held covering 2000 cadres, a quarter of whom will be old Party members, and the rest those who are to be recruited into the Party at the end of the school. Similar mass education programmes, to be completed by the middle of January are being prepared for all the states.

The Great Recruitment will not only mean fresh blood flowing into the Party to make it stronger and fitter for the immense tasks and responsibilities which face it today; it will be accompanied by an educational drive which will make each individual Communist a more effective fighter for the working people.

The Great Recruitment must mean equally the strengthening of the organisation of the Party, and above all, the cementing of its unity.

Tens of thousands of sons and daughters of the toiling people will now be entering the gates of our Party. We extend a warm welcome to them. We, who already have the privilege and honour of belonging to the Communist Party, of calling ourselves by the great title of Communists, pledge ourselves to be worthy of the trust and the faith of the new recruits to our Party's ranks.

BATTLE FOR D.A. AND BONUS

The Great Petition and the Great March were only the beginning—the bugle call for the battles which are to come in the coming weeks.

At a mass meeting on October 6 in Bombay, Communist Party chairman S. A. Dange pinpointed the urgent demands on which the working class all over the country has already begun to go into action: the demand for the linking of dearness allowance with the actual, real cost of living—by revising the bogus cost of living indices which at present prevail on the basis of "facts" and figures which are totally false today and equally the demand for bonus (a minimum of one month's bonus) in every industry as has been insisted upon by workers' representatives on the Bonus Commission. (The last meetings of the Commission are taking place this week.)

In Calcutta, on October 7, Communist Party leader Bhowani Sen warned the government that the working class would be forced to go on a general strike in November, if cheap foodgrains shops were not opened as had been repeatedly promised by the government.

The spirit of the BOMBAY BANDA (the Bombay general strike of August 20) is spreading, as the burden of high prices and taxes is increasingly felt.

The modifications in the compulsory deposit scheme and the gold control order and the annulment of certain agricultural surcharges as in Madhya Pradesh, will certainly mean some relief. But the other demands of the Great Petition are still to be met.

New chief ministers who took office last week are making promises of better days to come. The people of the states concerned are prepared to give them a chance to implement their promises.

Meanwhile the working class all over India is preparing itself for the struggles ahead.

The government would be well advised to revise the false cost of living indices without further delay, and enforce the linking of dearness allowance with the correct indices. Similarly, even if the employers' representatives on the Bonus Commission vote against the reasonable demand of bonus for all industries, government should act to compel employers everywhere to meet the just demands of the working class.

If government fails, the masses will act themselves. The victories over the compulsory deposit scheme and the gold control order inspires the working people to still fiercer struggles in the days to come.

HOW HIGH IS HIGH COMMAND?

THE Congress High Command is meeting this weekend. What will it do to clip the wings of the vultures who have openly declared that they care nothing for its commands?

notes of the week

★ by ROMESH CHANDRA

will not forgive those who compromise with Reaction, with the pro-Imperialist gang and give them a free run.

UAR-GHANA INITIATIVE

PRESIDENT NASSER meets Mrs. BANDARNAIKE this week at Cairo. He has announced that he will seek her cooperation in seeing that the Colombo powers act to ensure the acceptance of their proposals by China.

Meanwhile President Nkrumah of Ghana is reported to be in touch with the heads of all the other Colombo governments with a view to taking concerted action in this regard.

All who desire a peaceful solution of the India-China dispute will welcome these initiatives, if they can help to put pressure on the Chinese government to accept the Colombo proposals. There is no doubt that the Colombo proposals have today the backing of millions of peace-loving people all over the world.

The Colombo powers can appeal for support to all other nonaligned governments, and indeed to all governments and peoples, for support for their efforts to make the Chinese government accept these proposals.

The force of world opinion must be brought into play to end the Chinese intransigence and create the climate for fruitful negotiations.



—Courtesy: PATRIOT

The basic sources of modern finance-capital are banking and insurance industries. The money kept in trust with the banks and insurance companies in the form of deposits and insurance premia when pooled together runs into crores of rupees which the proprietors of these industries invest in the manner they think most profitable.

THUS the investment of the capital derived from the banks and the former privately-owned insurance companies set a pattern which was more concerned with netting in immediate profits for the capitalists than harnessing such resources to the general good of the community as a whole.

In the post-independence period of the country, such haphazard utilisation of finance-capital gradually came to be realised as incompatible with the industrial policy resolution of the government and also with the social objectives the country undertook to attain.

It was thus decided not to leave the direction of industrial process to the initiative and will of the capitalists; instead, bring it under the control and supervision of the government so that after considering the varying degrees of needs of every sphere of the economic life of the nation, a coordinated and planned development would be initiated. Thus the idea of nationalisation of privately-owned life insurance companies was mooted and the creation of a public-sector envisaged.

When the life insurance business was nationalised, the reasons given for such take over by the government were such noble sentiments. On the day when an ordinance was promulgated transferring the ownership of the life

business to the government, C. D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister, declared in a radio broadcast:

"In the course of their observations on the organisation of the credit system of the country in connection with the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission drew attention to the necessity of fitting increasingly into the scheme of development visualised for the economy as a whole the banking system and, in fact, the whole mechanism of finance, including insurance, the stock exchanges and other institutions connected with investment.

"For, it is only thus, they said, that the process of mobilising savings and utilising them to the best advantage become socially purposive. Principally with a view to ensuring the spread of banking and credit facilities to the rural areas, the Imperial Bank of India was nationalised last year. The nationalisation of the insurance is a further step in the direction of more effective mobilisation of the people's savings."

Thus the main objective of nationalisation of life insurance was described by the government itself as "mobilisation of the people's savings" to utilise them in "socially purposive" projects. In the life-business, people's savings come in the form of

Whither L.I.C. Investments?

★ by SUNIL MAITRA

Looking back in retrospect, C. D. Deshmukh may feel ashamed of the promise he held out to the country. The course and the direction the LIC has adopted in the matter of investment is anything but 'socially purposive.'

It will only help the illusion of a socialistic pattern of society turn into a mirage. It will accentuate the process of the rich becoming richer. The growth of the economic power of the monopoly will inevitably help the withering away of the much expected and often vaunted blossoming of a democratic way of life.

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The following chart of percentage of investment will speak for itself:

	Public Sector	Private Sector
1958	84.1	15.9
1959	80	20
1960	81.9	18.1
1961	70.8	29.2
1962	64.5	35.5

Source: The greatest good to the largest number—a LIC publication.

Not only the diversion of investible funds in the private sector at such an increasing pace is alarming, but also the choice of the industries picked up for investment is, to say the least, shocking. The major portion of the funds diverted to the private sector has nothing to do with the basic industries which in reality create a stable and reliable industrial base.

Helping Monopolists

Moreover, most of the industries chosen are in the firm grip of the monopolists of the country. Plantation, managing agencies, paper, jute, cement, cotton, etc. have nothing to do with the creation of a basic industrial structure of the country. In all of these industries the hold of the monopolists is firm.

That apart shipping, coal, bank, iron & steel, engineering, electricity etc., also are the industries which, in the private sector, are the personal domains of the monopolists, but where the LIC has invested huge funds. Not only that, with the passing of each year, the volume of such investments is on the increase as the following chart will show:*

	DISTRIBUTION OF INVESTIBLE FUNDS*									
	Industrywise					In lakhs of rupees				
	Plantation	Shipping	Managing Agencies	Coal	Jute	Cement	Iron & Steel	Cotton	Engineering	Electricity
1958	142	149	170	197	286	311	419	431	567	759
1959	166	160	170	224	299	324	425	448	684	759
1960	200	96	177	236	297	409	432	534	767	857
1961	227	84	174	271	355	442	435	582	855	917

Source: LIC Report & Accounts for the year 1958-1961.

Foreign Trade Of Developing Countries

★ by K. B. PANIKKAR
Permanent Representative of WFTU in ECAFE

The Working Party on Economic Development and Planning of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) held a meeting in Bangkok (Thailand), from September 16 to 23 to discuss the important issue of Foreign Trade in Relation to Economic Development Planning.

IT is now generally recognised that foreign trade programmes should be integrated with overall national plans, especially in developing countries, in order to maintain the planned rate of growth by channelling imports and exports to vitally needed development demands. But such integration cannot be achieved if import and export trade is left in the hands of foreign monopolists and local private interests.

The declining position of primary exports in world trade, reinforced by the monopolistic hold of traditional operators of the United States, Britain and other western countries imposes unequal terms of trade on developing countries. The continuously worsening terms of trade is one of the important sources of exploitation today of the less developed countries by the western monopoly interests. As a result, the balance of trade position of the ECAFE countries is becoming worse and worse every year.

Mere dependence of a few primary commodities cannot give today any satisfactory solution for constant expansion of the export trade and

big efforts are needed for planned diversification of economy as well as increasing the number of items and volume of manufactured and semi-manufactured export items. To achieve this, nationally strict overall planning, efficient and economic utilisation of limited resources in industry and agriculture are highly necessary, together with an integrated approach to foreign trade. This is not possible in the developing countries without increasing the activities and responsibilities by the state or the public sector.

Recognition of this fact is slowly asserting in some countries. For instance, import and export trade is being nationalised in Burma. Steps are being taken in Ceylon for the government to take increased responsibilities in import trade. A limited form of state trading is in operation in India, too.

While the results achieved are encouraging, the

*ON CENTRE PAGES

Result Of Decline

The constant decline in the price of rubber for the last few years is reflected in the adverse balance of trade of that country. Whereas in 1960, Malaya had a favourable balance of trade to the tune of 308 million Malayan dollars, in 1962 the adverse balance of trade amounted to 203 million Malayan dollars. Most of the countries in the ECAFE region could tell similar bitter experiences.

Under these circumstances,

Military Trainees for MRA Show: Official Patronage and Pomp

★ From S. Sharma

TRIVANDRUM: October 8: Does training for our jawans include marching with the MRA? The question may seem outrageous, but not as outrageous as what happened last week in this capital city of the Kerala State. Over one thousand military trainees with their instructors were made to march here in an MRA procession on October 3 and participate in the reception accorded to visiting MRA leaders.

Nearly 75 MRA leaders from various countries arrived here from Cape Comorin on October 2 on the first lap of what is described as a "March across the nation".

Organised propaganda by way of loud speakers and big posters on the "significance" of this March had been going on under the auspices of a committee of hosts headed by Alexander Parambithara, Speaker of the Kerala Assembly and including the NSS leader Mannath Padmanabhan and over a dozen Congress legislators.

The 'Euchman boys' travel in two buses and starting from Cape Comorin on October 2 they are to reach New Delhi on November 17. In Trivandrum they were taken in a procession through the city to the police stadium where the Corporation's specially erected pandal for the Rashtrapati's reception was made use of for their reception.

Ministerial and official patronage was freely extended to this MRA show in the capital. In fact all the paraphernalia put up for the Rashtrapati's visit like the special arches on the way, and the decorated pandal in the stadium were openly used for the MRA reception, though the Rashtrapati himself had left the state thirtysix hours earlier.

It was in addition to this shameful misuse of public funds and state apparatus for boosting the MRA that over a thousand trainees from the nearby Pangode Military Camp were made to march in the MRA procession in the scorching sun. Many of the trainees did not know where they were being taken and were under the impression that they were going to receive the Rashtrapati!

None other than a Havildar Major in uniform marched at the head of the MRA procession and the Military Band

the function, though not in uniform.

Legislators belonging to various parties, including the Congress, who were eye-witnesses to the participation of the Military personnel in the MRA March have addressed letters to the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister protesting against this highly objectionable conduct of Military officers and local authorities and asking for an enquiry into the incident. It is learnt that they have also demanded an enquiry into the affairs of the MRA in Kerala and the sources of its funds.

Such an enquiry, it is believed here, would reveal a good deal of foreign underground activity through the MRA against the interests of the nation. It is an open

secret that these self-styled saviours of the moral conscience of the world get money for their activities from abroad.

Though local leaders of the MRA, some of them Congress MLAs, claim that they have been able to collect large amounts for the movement from within the state, it is also known that money from West Germany and United States had been pouring in for organising and publicising MRA in Kerala. It is time the Central Government woke up to what is going on under the cover of the MRA here.

Is it a Congress government or a MRA government in power in this state? People ask after the October 3 show in the capital.

Socialist Policies Reiterated

New Chief Minister's Welcome Move in M. P.

★ From Our Correspondent

BHOPAL, October 7. New Chief Minister D. P. Mishra's firm declaration to fight communal forces and to make genuine efforts for giving a socialist orientation to the government's policies and administration has created a healthy political atmosphere in Madhya Pradesh.

It is for the first time that a Chief Minister of this state since its formation in 1956 has come out so forthrightly in support of the policies long before laid down by his own party. Dr. Katju and Mandloi, former Chief Ministers, never committed themselves so openly. They in-

variably followed a policy of vacillation.

Although Mishra's past was such that nobody took him seriously when he or his friends used to claim that he had completely changed in the last twelve years, which he spent in wilderness, his pronouncements after he became Chief Minister have earned for him a large measure of goodwill.

Communalism is one of the biggest problems faced by this state. Since the formation of new Madhya Pradesh this state had witnessed many ghastly communal riots. The Jana Sanghis benefited by creating communal tension and bitterness.

Aided and abetted by many Congressmen they succeeded in capturing over 40 Assembly seats in the third general elections. Even after this crushing defeat at the hands of Jana Sanghis Congressmen continued to indulge in group rivalries and did not take any concrete steps to put their house in order.

One group of Congressmen, the Deshlahra group, has political links with the Jana Sangh. This group openly took the help of the Jana Sangh for defeating Dr. Katju and many of his supporters. They continued their ties with the Jana Sangh even after their leader Mandloi was made the Chief Minister.

Not only for the rehabilitation of the Congress but from the point of view of creating healthy democratic political life in this state, it is necessary to destroy this virus of communalism. In this context Mishra's decision to crush the communal elements is of much political significance.

On the other hand, his step to get the M.P. Rationalisation of Revenue Act repealed is regarded here as a victory of the people. The peasantry supported by the workers had fought long against this Act which enhanced the revenue burden on the kisans.

The Communist Party organised a big satyagraha in front of the Assembly hall last year in the month of August when this legislation was being dis-

cussed in the House. Over one thousand volunteers of the Party courted arrest.

During the Great Petition campaign also the Party collected signatures against the Act on a separate form. The Party was planning more intensive agitation against this hated law when Mishra after his election as Chief Minister announced his intention to get the law repealed.

He has kept his word by moving a government bill and getting it passed on October 3, the opening day of the Autumn session of the state Vidhan Sabha.

The state's administration has been notorious for its corruption and red tapism. Mishra's declarations of his resolve to root out corruption and to rid the administration of red-tapism are therefore welcomed here.

The rice policy in particular and food policy in general pursued by the former governments were utter failures. The people of Chattisgarh had to face much hardships due to scarcity of rice. That Chattisgarh which is regarded as the rice bowl of the state should face scarcity was in itself a sad commentary on the efficiency of the administration.

Almost all the opposition parties including the Communist Party had persistently demanded ban on the rice export. Even many Congress leaders supported this demand. But the Mandloi government did not pay any attention to this popular demand.

They did not ban the export of rice because Deshlahra group was patronised by Rice Kings who were against a ban. Mishra has now come out with a clear declaration that he would formulate the state's food policy keeping in view the interests of the state.

How Mishra is going to keep his assurances will be watched by the whole state because Mishra belongs to a party in which the vested interests are very deeply entrenched. How far he would succeed in overcoming these elements, future alone can tell.

The way the election campaign for the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party was conducted by the two groups—the interest which the big business showed in both the groups, the use of threats, offers of ministerial posts and in some cases even big amounts in exchange for votes—reflects the real state of affairs in the Congress Party.

Mishra has gone to the extent of describing himself as a Marxist "of course, minus materialism" How he is going to maintain the purity of his Marxism in the company of Bidi magnets and Rajas and Maharajas will be watched carefully.

Still it must be said in fairness to him that his pronouncements have roused the hopes of the people who have yearned for years for a clean, efficient, and democratic administration.

Consultative Machinery for Central Government Employees:

NEED FOR SOME VITAL CHANGES

★ BY SADHAN MUKHERJEE

A scheme for "Joint Consultative Machinery and Compulsory Arbitration for Central Government Employees" has at long last been announced. It may be recalled that the Second Pay Commission, in its report submitted to government in August 1959, had recommended the setting up of an "adequate machinery for negotiation, redress of grievances and settlement of disputes; and there should, further, be provision for arbitration..."

AND, government has now, after four years, come forward with a scheme. Though belated, the scheme is a welcome measure breaking as it does fresh grounds in labour relations so far as the central government employees are concerned. So long there was no such machinery at all.

Queer Position

This seems to be a queer position. The scheme, as such, does not contain any reference to strikes but surprisingly the bulletin released by the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India does specifically mention the question of abjuring the strike as a precondition of the scheme. The situation therefore is highly doubtful, particularly in view of the statement of Union Labour Minister G. L. NANDA, who propounded sometime back an idea of a condition in labour relations in which strikes will become superfluous. The scheme, as the P.I.B. bulletin shows, makes the question of giving up the right to strike a matter of compulsion.

The present scheme is an improvement upon these earlier stands of the government but nevertheless contains measures which are not wholly satisfactory to the employees.

As regards strikes, the press has carried the news in such a manner which gives the clear impression that the application of the scheme depends on a kingpin of undertaking which requires the employees' organisations to "abjure strikes", and unless the organisations completely repudiate strikes, the benefit

As regards the merits of the scheme, it leaves much to be desired.

For example, the scope of the council has been sufficiently narrowed down by excluding the cases of individual employees from being taken up in the council. This means that even the cases of victimisation, which frequently constitute a cause of friction

between the employees and the government, will be left to the sweet will of the officers as before.

This will unnecessarily keep alive an element of mistrust which the employees will invariably harbour towards the officialdom because, victimisation, more than anything else is a factor which creates dangerous breaches in the harmony of labour relations. By keeping the question of victimisation of employees beyond the scope of the council, the same position is being maintained where an employer considers the question of taking disciplinary action against an employee as his sole right. It could certainly create a more amicable and trusting atmosphere if the question of victimisation could also be made a subject of discussion and review of the council.

Then comes the question of composition and representation in the council. The scheme envisages a three-tier machinery at the national, departmental and regional levels. But these councils would be constituted from among members, apart from government representatives, nominated by "recognised associations".

As is well known, the present rules for recognition are inadequate and hardly

meet the requirements of a proper representation. It is therefore incumbent that to ensure proper representation of employees on the councils, these rules will have to be amended. Unless that is done, the very purpose of representation of employees on the council will not be fully realised.

Secondly, there is no provision for a right of recall of the representatives of the staff associations from the council. Once they are taken on the council, they will continue to be in office for three years, irrespective of the fact whether they properly discharge the responsibilities entrusted to them by the employees. This is rather an unhappy position.

Thirdly, the employees who have been victimised by government for trade union activities have been debarred from appointment on the councils. There is thus no question of the government recanting on that score particularly when a large number of employees were victimised in the last strike. When government has decided not to allow any outsider to be appointed as a member of the council, it is only fair that at least those employees who have become outsiders by virtue of their victimisation for trade union activities should be allowed to be taken on the council.

The scheme limits compulsory arbitration to pay and allowances, weekly hours of work and leave of a class or grade of employees. Cases of individuals are not to be subject of arbitration.

There are other points in the scheme about the duration of an arbitration and the decisions of the National Council. These are matters of detail but prima facie it appears that a five year period for the continued operation of recommendations of an arbitration and one year period for a decision of the National Council, may not be practical proposition. More so, when there is hardly any guarantee that there will be no inroads made into the incomes of employees by rising prices.

Victimisation For T. U. Activity

Here again, the question of victimisation for trade union activities has been kept out of the purview of the scheme and this will continue to remain as a bone of contention between the employees and the government. It may be recalled that government has, in principle, agreed in a meeting of the Standing Labour Committee that where the trade unions challenge the bona fides of the cases of victimisation, arbitration should ordinarily be allowed.

The present scope of the scheme as regards arbitration runs counter to the principle accepted by government.

Secondly, the compulsory arbitration, perhaps in line with the compulsory deposits scheme, is also another misnomer, because the choice of whether to refer a dispute to arbitration or not ultimately rests with the government, in 1961, when such a proposal was brought forward, it was outright rejected by the employees. The present scheme is only a little improvement on that inasmuch as it provides that government will have to lay before Parliament the

reasons for its refusal to refer the dispute to arbitration.

Here again the position is not very clear. The Service Conduct Rules, a legacy of British regime, scrupulously debar a government employee from approaching any social forum for ventilating his grievances. Under these rules, government employees are even debarred from briefing the members of Parliament about their disputes.

Service Conduct Rule

Now, while it has been provided that the reasons for refusing a reference to arbitration will be placed before Parliament by the government, the Service Conduct Rules remain unaltered. Therefore when such a matter is taken up for discussion in Parliament, the employees will have no alternative except to brief the members of Parliament clandestinely as before.

Is it not possible in a democracy like ours to relax the rigidity of Service Conduct Rules and allow the government employees to enjoy the privilege of directly putting their case before the supreme body of the country? It is necessary that such relaxations should be made immediately in the interest of all concerned.

It is good to know that the Union Labour Minister has already been approached for making certain changes in the scheme and he is reported to be considering them. It will be good if the drawbacks of the scheme are removed.

And lastly, one has to mention the fact that though the scheme propounds the need for the promotion of "harmonious relations and of securing the greatest measure of cooperation" between the employees and the government, it is surprising that no government employees' organisation was consulted for formulating the present scheme. It has come as a fait accompli.

All the same, the government's decision to call the organisation of central government employees to discuss the details of the working of the scheme is a welcome step and in the right direction.

Punjab CPI Council Demands:

Release Detenus

★ From Our Correspondent

AMRITSAR: The Executive of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India concluded its three-day session on October 3. It was attended by Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, member of the Central Secretariat who reported on the decisions of the recent meeting of the Central Executive. Vimla Dang presided.

The state Party secretary Avtar Singh Malhotra reviewed the work done in the state in connection with the Great Petition to Parliament and Delhi March in which Punjab made an outstanding contribution. District secretaries gave their reports and after discussion the review report was adopted.

The Executive expressed satisfaction over the results achieved and the fact that so soon after the Delhi March, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme was given up for all except income-tax payers and Gold Control Order modified. The Executive thanked all those lakhs of people of all political views who participated in public meetings, rallies, in the signature campaigns and all those thousands who made financial contributions or reached Delhi to participate in the March.

The Executive decided to protest vigorously against the banning of the Films Division's newsreel on the Delhi March and characterised it as a most undemocratic and discriminatory

step. "If the ruling party is permitted to have a monopoly of the use of newsreel films or to exclude any one particular party or events associated with it then it will be a mockery of democracy," it said.

By another resolution the Executive approved the Secretariat decision to move the no-confidence motion against the Kairon Ministry in the Assembly Session and expressed its view that the demand of the people in the State that after the Supreme Court judgement in Dr. Parthap Singh's case the Chief Minister should resign and if he does not, the Prime Minister should relieve him is entirely justified.

It also demanded a high-powered probe into the charges of corruption against the Chief Minister by a judge of the Supreme Court. The Executive also made it clear that its charge-sheet against the Kairon Ministry differed fundamentally from that of the rest of the Opposition and there was no question of a united front.

It characterised the demand for President's rule in the State as undemocratic and reactionary. The Executive considered that the Communist MLAs should have stayed in the House and voted for their motion at the end of the debate.

By another resolution the Executive welcomed the holding of the All-India Peace Congress in Amritsar and directed its members and friends to give the fullest co-operation to make the session a big success.

The Executive condemned the dilatory and undemocratic attitude of the State Government in connection with the release of Communist detenus and demanded immediate release of all of them. It decided that in order to mobilise public opinion in support of this demand public meetings should be organised all over the state on October 19 and 20 and the last week of November should be celebrated as Detenus Release Demand Week and public rallies and demonstrations should be organised on a big scale in all districts.

By another resolution the Executive supported the demands of the sugar-cane growers and promised the kisans full support for their just demands.

The Executive also condemned the attitude of the local authorities in failing to protect the tenants of Murtzapur (Karnal) from the attacks of the landlords, goondas who were trying to drive away the tenants from their land by brutal assaults and demanded that this connivance be put an end to and the tenants protected.

WARSAW: Venue Of Next Peace Council

decisions of the vienna meeting of presidential committee

There is indeed "a new climate all over the world, created by the partial nuclear test ban treaty as was emphasised in the main resolution adopted by the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Vienna from September 27 to 29 1963. This was the dominant impression left on all those who attended the meeting, after they heard and read reports of the developments in the peace movements in various countries and regions of the world.

The treaty "marks a change in international relations"; these words which were incorporated in the key resolution (see column 8) summed up the international



Those attending represented a very large number of countries of all the continents, including USA, Great Britain, Soviet Union, France, Italy, Belgium, Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Spain, both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, Canada, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, India, China, Japan, Lebanon, South Africa, Kenya, Ghana and Australia.

Unanimous & Business-Like

All were unanimous that it was a most business-like session, with plenty of written reports of the work done by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, as well as by delegations of the World Council sent out to Africa and Latin America and to international meetings and conferences.

These reports reflected, in the first place, the new spirit which had been engendered in all continents

by the nuclear test-ban treaty, the support to the World Council of Peace from circles and movements which had remained aloof from it till now, and equally, the complete isolation everywhere of the opponents of the test ban treaty.

Africa Responds

From Africa, came news of the successful visit of a World Peace Council delegation to several countries; cordial meetings with African heads of Governments like President Nkrumah, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta and President Ben Bella; and most encouraging of all, the actual establishment of Peace Committees—branches of the World Council of Peace itself—in Ghana, Kenya and other countries, where no Peace committees had existed till now. And here at this meeting were representatives of committees present for the first time at a Presidential Committee Session.

A World Council of Peace delegation which had visited Latin America, reported on the reception accorded to it by the Presidents and leading Ministers of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Mexico and Cuba. The delegation had gone to give a message of support to the Latin American governments which had called

for a nuclear free zone in Latin America.

The prestige which the World Council of Peace enjoys in Latin America had obviously grown following the nuclear test ban treaty, and this was proved not only by the official notice taken of the delegation, but also by the wide popular receptions given to it everywhere.

There was also the report of the World Council of Peace delegation, which had attended the Nicosia meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation. Close bonds have developed over the years between the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement.

All the reports presented were a fitting factual reply to the slanderous attacks on the World Council of Peace and particularly its Secretariat, made by the Chinese leaders, through the Chinese Peace Committee and other organisations.



Prof. J. D. Bernal

riat, made by the Chinese leaders, through the Chinese Peace Committee and other organisations.

The Chinese leaders and press and radio had repeatedly attacked the World Council of Peace in the period immediately preceding the Vienna meeting, as "an agency of US imperialism", as a body which works at the dictates of a "gang" led by certain Soviet individuals, and so on.

Answer To Chinese

This slander campaign had been particularly intense in Asia, Africa and Latin America—for the Chinese leaders have deluded themselves into the belief that they are the bosses of the three continents.

The peoples and the anti-imperialist governments of the three continents were giving the Chinese leaders the answer they deserved, not only by support to the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty (already over 160 governments have signed the treaty, despite the ever louder screeches of protest by the Chinese bosses), but especially by honouring the World Council of Peace as never before, by setting up new Peace Committees, just when the Chinese attack was at its height.

The reports presented to the Vienna meeting all



spoke of the complete isolation of the Chinese dogmatic viewpoint at every international meeting held recently. The Vienna meeting hailed particularly the Nicosia meeting of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and endorsed its decisions and resolutions.

Splendid Isolation

The Vienna session actually began with the reading out of a report on behalf of Professor J. D. Bernal, the Chairman of the World Council of Peace Presidential Committee. The Professor was not well enough to make the journey to Vienna, but sent a penetrating analysis of the international situation for discussion by the committee.

There was complete unanimity in accepting Prof. Bernal's report as a basis for work, and when a resolution was moved to approve it only one vote was cast against—that of the Chinese delegate Chen Shen-yu.

The isolation of the Chinese delegate was overwhelming. He voted alone again against the resolution calling for a session of World Council of Peace at Warsaw from November 28 to December 2.

On all issues, the whole world, all the continents stood together against the Chinese dogmatists. What was even more distressing was the manner in which the Chinese delegate sought to use the occasion to vomit poison both against the Soviet Union and India. But these attacks only served to make the isolation of the Chinese delegate more complete.

The speeches of the Soviet delegates—the world renowned writers Ilya Ehrenburg and A. Kornelchuk—were remarkable for their patience and calmness in the face of the worst provocations by the Chinese delegate.

The Indian delegates taking part in the meeting—Diwan Chaman Lal, MP and Romesh Chandra—presented India's case for the acceptance of the

Colombo proposals by China, in a way which won universal support. The Chinese reply was a series of abusive lying, attacks, which refused to answer why the Chinese Government would not accept the Colombo proposals. The result was complete isolation for the Chinese on this issue as well.

There is now considerable awareness among all of the danger of the position taken by the Chinese leaders in regard to India. And even those who were misled by Chinese propaganda in the early days after the aggression, are now able to see the truth more clearly. The facts presented by the Indian delegates helped to remove the doubts which may have remained. The speech made by the Chinese delegate only made the vast majority of delegates more certain of the weakness and falsehood of the Chinese case.

Apart from resolutions of solidarity with the people of South Africa, Cuba and South Vietnam, the main decisions were in regard to the preparations for the Warsaw Session of the World Council of Peace. The session will bring together not only the members of the World Council, not only those who have for so many years been active participants in the World Council's work—but also representatives of peace organisations and others, interested in the possibilities of joint action for disarmament and easing of tensions—above all, representatives of new committees and the new forces which have come forward to support the movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

No Veto For Them

The Chinese leaders had sought different ways to suggest that no session of the world Council should be held till "differences" were resolved. The Vienna meeting decisively rejected this argument, which really aims at killing the peace movement through inactivity.

The test ban treaty is the signal for redoubled efforts,

Amritsar Chalo

★ By Jagjit Singh Anand

After Delhi Chalo, it is now Amritsar Chalo in the towns and villages of Punjab. The All India Peace Congress meets in Amritsar from November 1 to 3, and all peace workers, trade unionists, kisan sabhais, youth and women organisers are determined to make it a memorable occasion. Over 1,000 delegates are expected to attend.

THE Amritsar Peace Congress is meeting one year after the Chinese attack, which provided a fertile ground to the enemies of our foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. The Punjab has been a hot-bed of those reactionaries, who had advocated the lining up of the country with the American block, the sell-out of Kashmir and "joint defence" with Ayub's Pakistan.

The peace workers in Punjab are determined to make the Amritsar Congress the biggest rally of all those who are devoted to international cooperation, peace and non-alignment. Though only three weeks are left, brisk preparations are going ahead in all districts.

About two dozen conventions, four hundred public meetings and many more bathak meetings are planned to be held all over Punjab, in preparation for the Congress.

The mass organisations are making a special effort to popularise the objectives of the Peace Congress and send large representative delegations.

The Punjab Peace Council brought out its first poster two weeks ago, and now the Punjab Trade Union Congress has issued a large poster of its own.

More than 250 delegates from twenty trade union centres in Punjab will participate in the Congress, and every trade union centre is bringing out its own poster or folder on the issues facing the congress. Ten thousand peace badges will be sold among the workers at five nP each.

From nearby centres of Dhariwal, Batala, Jullundur and Phagwara, more than two thousand workers will participate in the rally and the procession to be held at the conclusion of the Congress.

The Kisan Sabha has planned more work than ever before for disarmament, for national independence, for peace. And it is on this that the Warsaw session will focus its attention.

As for the 'differences', the Chinese leaders can ponder over the fact that NOT ONE other delegate voted with them at Vienna. The Indian Peace Movement prepares for Warsaw through the holding of the giant All India Peace Congress at Amritsar on November 1, 2 and 3. The Amritsar Congress will be the most powerful demonstration in support of the world peace movement and its unity, and against those who seek to slander and split it.

All who attended the Vienna meeting returned to their countries, inspired with the new spirit, the new climate—to work harder than ever before for the common cause of the world movement for peace.

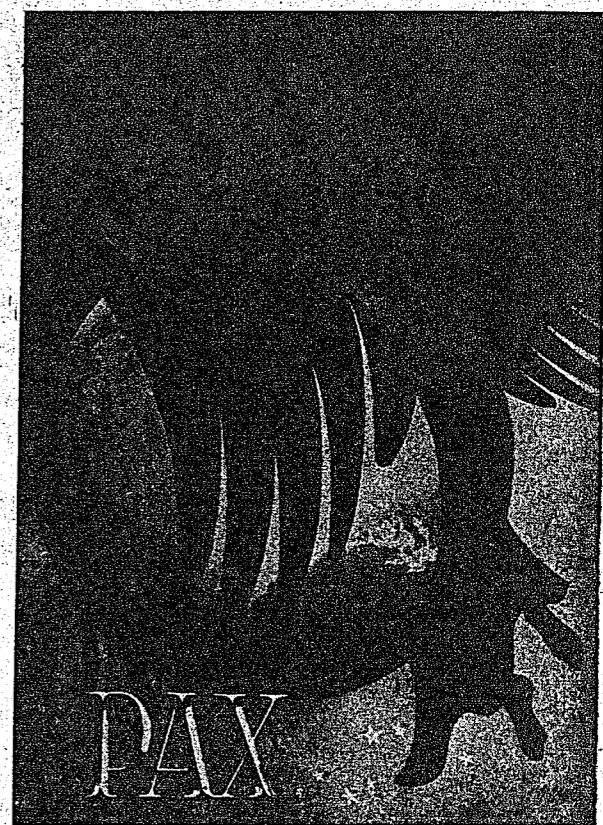
Women To The Fore

The women's organisations are showing great interest and at least one hundred women delegates will participate from all over Punjab.

The youth organisations will elect an equal number of delegates and raise at least Rs. 500 for the Congress.

A broad based Reception Committee has been set up in Amritsar and has decided to provide free accommodation and meals to all the delegates from outside Punjab.

A feast of culture has been arranged for November 2 and



tion and meals to all the delegates from outside Punjab. A feast of culture has been arranged for November 2 and

3, and famous artistes and cultural leaders from all over India are expected to participate.

W.P.C. Presidential Committee

RESOLUTION ON TEST BAN TREATY

Below is given the text of the key resolution adopted at the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, which met at Vienna (Austria) from September 27 to 29, 1963.

The World Council of Peace will hold a session in Warsaw from November 28 to December 2, 1963. The session is especially important in view of the new climate created by the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

This treaty marks a change in international relations. It is a first step towards easing international tension and towards general and controlled disarmament.

A HUNDRED governments have signed it and public opinion has given it a warm welcome.

The determination and joint action of all who want peace can ensure that further steps follow.

To avoid any backward step, to counter the opponents of peaceful coexistence and to make further progress, redoubled action and more agreements are necessary.

The coming session of the World Council of Peace will pay special attention to the following subjects:

—conversion of the partial ban

on nuclear tests into a complete ban;

—measures to prevent aggression, stop surprise attack and war by accident;

—a start on measures of controlled disarmament, in particular the creation of nuclear-free zones on land and sea;

—recognition of national independence, respect for sovereignty and the abolition of all forms of colonialism;

—international cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields.



Invitations to attend this special session of the World Council of Peace will be extended to representatives of peace organisations, and to others, interested in the possibilities of joint action for disarmament and the easing of tension.

Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace
Vienna, Sept. 29, 1963

Foreign Trade . . .

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limited and partial nature of these activities, as is being taken in India, is extremely inadequate to achieve significant results. A rapid expansion of state activities in import-export trade will naturally constitute an important step towards national economic development.

The economic development plans of most of the countries of the ECAFE region envisage greater actions and responsibilities by the governments. In order to achieve practical implementation of development plans, new and additional resources are necessary. Apart from the possibility of increasing the volume as well as efficiency of foreign trade, nationalisation will provide additional resources readily at the hands of the governmental agencies who could effectively use them for development purposes.

Realising this, the workers and the people in the developing countries are demanding adequate institutional changes, and nationalisation of foreign trade is envisaged as an important step in this direction. An outstanding example of this is provided by the People's Petition and Great March on New Delhi a few weeks back, where the important demand was,

among others, nationalisation of foreign trade.

Bilateral long-term trade agreements have proved their usefulness in the expansion of trade as well as the fluctuation of prices. Though their importance is more pronounced, their share in the total trade being small, the impact on the whole trade position is not yet visibly pronounced. Hence, there is the urgent need for its expansion.

Internationally, there is the urgent need for a change in world trade arrangements. The problems of the less developed countries cannot be solved without a basic change in the whole world trade pattern. Thus development of new trade patterns based on mutual economic advantage, as against the traditional unequal relationships and limitations, are called for. In particular, the following steps are to be taken:

- measures to promote the diversification and enrichment of the trade of the developing countries and promotion of trade between countries with different economic systems;
- measures to help the establishment of a stable reasonable relationship between the price of raw materials and industrial products;
- removal of discriminatory measures and artificial obstacles to trade;

- steps to enable developing countries to obtain capital equipment for industrialisation on acceptable price and credit terms;
- drawing up principles to govern trade relationships between all countries;
- encouraging the conclusion of long-term trade agreements; and
- expansion and adjustment of trade parallel to disarmament.

These are some of the problems which the World Federation of Trade Unions had emphasised in the Preparatory Committee for the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development during May and June and again in the July session of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

These issues can be tackled satisfactorily only by a general organisation with wide powers in the field of trade and economic relations, and open to all countries. It is to be hoped that the scheduled U.N. Conference on Trade and Development will pave the way for such an organisation.

Since the workers and peasants in the developing countries are the worst sufferers from cyclical and long-term slumps in the raw material prices, and purchases, the activities of the trade unions in improving the working and living conditions of the workers are also directed towards the solution of the basic problems of trade and development.

The Punjab Peasant

Afro-Asian Writers' Movement And Its Present Problems

by SAJJAD ZAHEER

Vice-President, Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity

The Afro-Asian writers' movement owes its origin to the initiative of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Indian progressive writers associated with that committee.

THE first conference of Asian writers was held in Delhi in 1956. Delegations of writers from twenty six Asian countries including USSR, China, Japan, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, etc., participated in this conference. More than 300 Indian writers of all the major languages of India holding diverse views attended the conference.

The Delhi Conference was also attended by many writers from Europe, America and Africa, who were invited as observers. Prime Minister Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan (then Vice-President of India) also addressed the Conference.

The historic gathering at Delhi was a splendid manifestation of the new spirit of resurgent Asia. It was made possible only because most of the Asian countries, had by this time, thrown off the yoke of imperialism and colonial exploitation and were free and engaged in building a new life for their peoples. Literature imbued with the spirit of freedom and democracy, asserting the equality and dignity of man and permeated with a modern scientific outlook had grown in the countries of Asia, in the course of the struggle of the Asian peoples against their imperialist oppressors and their reactionary henchmen.

And now when Asia was free, it was felt that the solidarity of Asian writers, a greater knowledge and understanding of each other's culture and literature, would help the growth and development of the literatures of newly liberated countries of Asia.

Basing itself on the rich cultural heritage of our ancient peoples—a heritage which was sought to be destroyed or distorted by the imperialists—the writers of liberated Asia, would endeavour to create a new humanist literature, expressing the hopes and aspirations of their peoples. They would combat the anti-national, anti-humanist and decadent ideologies still sought to be spread among their peoples by imperialists and their agents or those reactionary elements in their societies which sought to prevent their onward march towards the reconstruction of their life along democratic or socialist lines.

It was made clear from the very inception of our movement that it was not exclusive or racial. No modern Asian writer can forget or overlook the enormous debt which our literatures owe to the great humanist, freedom-loving and progressive literature of Europe and America. The presence in our Conference of fraternal European and American writers as observers was a visible proof of this.

Tashkent Conference

The major and probably the most important decision of the Delhi Asian Writers' Conference was to accept the invitation of the Soviet Writers' delegation, to

hold the next Conference at Tashkent in Uzbekistan.

Later the organising committee of the Tashkent Conference, in which India was also represented, decided to widen the scope of the Conference by including in it African writers also. Accordingly the First Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was held at Tashkent in October 1958.

A large delegation of Indian writers, consisting of about thirty delegates led by Tarashukar Bamerji and Dr. Mulk Raj Anand attended the Tashkent Conference. Among the other delegates were Yashpal, Acharya, P. K. Atre, Gurbaksh Singh, Gopal Halder, K. Damodaran, Prabodh Kumar Sanjay, G. R. Tabam, S. S. Chaulian, Rajindar Singh Bedi etc.

While the Asian Writers' Conference held at Delhi was organised unofficially by a Writers' Committee, the one held at Tashkent had the support not only of Soviet Asian Writers and the Union of Soviet Writers but also of the Soviet government. The whole city of Tashkent was illuminated and festooned for the duration of the conference (one week) and wore a festive appearance. Flags of forty-two Asian and African countries whose delegates had come to Tashkent flew over the streets and squares of Tashkent.

Sharaf Rashidov, an eminent Uzbek writer, also at that time President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, presided over the conference held in the beautiful Navoi Theatre. In his presidential address Sharaf Rashidov spoke these memorable words:

"The sign of our times is that the peoples of Asia and Africa have entered the spring time of their development. After a spring storm the earth fills with life giving moisture. Young shoots of fresh greenery break through the soil to the surface. They stretch towards the brightening sky, towards the sun that emerges out of the dispersing clouds. Everything comes to life, grows and blossoms.

"Like a spring storm the national liberation movement of the Eastern peoples disperses the clouds of imperialism over the boundless horizon of Asia and Africa. Their just and noble struggle sweeps all the filth of imperialist slavery and oppression off the earth and gives vitality to everything that is new, young, healthy and cheerful."

These words truly expressed the spirit of the Tashkent Conference, the spirit of liberty and humanism, of unity and solidarity among the writers of Asia and Africa. For the first time in human history, the earth had met and expressed its determination to devote all its literary abilities to serve the great cause of freedom, of peace and of constructing a rich life of beauty and plenty, equality and brotherhood for millions and millions of hitherto oppressed and down-trodden humanity of Asia and Africa.

The Tashkent Conference went a step further than the Delhi

Conference. It decided to set up a Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers in Ceylon consisting of writers' representatives from ten Afro-Asian countries namely, China, India, USSR, Japan, Indonesia, UAR, Sudan, Ghana, Camerouns and Ceylon. The Ceylon writers' representative on the Bureau was to act as Secretary General of the Bureau.

The Conference also accepted the invitation of UAR delegates to hold the next, second conference of Afro-Asian writers in Cairo.

The Permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers held its first meeting in Colombo in January 1961. An important decision of the Permanent Bureau was to set up an International Preparatory Committee for the Second Afro-Asian Conference, consisting of representatives of twenty Afro-Asian countries.

Beginning Of Differences

The first meeting of this preparatory committee was held in Cairo from February 27 to March 2, 1961 and was attended by representative writers from fourteen member countries.

Hitherto, in all the gatherings of Afro-Asian writers, in spite of the fact that they consisted of writers holding differing views and ideologies, no serious differences had arisen and all the decisions were unanimous. The common bonds of anti-imperialism, democracy and striving for world peace united us all.

However, in the meetings of the preparatory committee as well as later at the Cairo Conference of Afro-Asian Writers (held in February 1962) the Chinese delegates and some of their supporters exhibited a rigid and doctrinaire attitude towards many problems, reflecting the new Chinese understanding of political and social problems facing the world.

For example, the Chinese delegates opposed the proposal to invite progressive European and American writers, including writers from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe to attend the Cairo conference as observers—thus reversing the practice of Delhi and Cairo conferences.

However, their tactics were defeated by the UAR Writers' Committee, which said that they would invite writers from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe as their guests. And this was done. But these writers were not allowed to speak from the forum of the Cairo conference owing to Chinese opposition.

Here it is well to remember that the Chinese representatives in the preparatory committees of the Delhi or the Tashkent conferences had not opposed the sending of invitations to European writers and had put down their signature to the Tashkent Conference statement which inter alia said:

"While we the writers of Asia and Africa wish to strengthen our cultural contacts with all countries in the world including the western countries, we reject the division of culture into superior and inferior.

Eastern and Western. We shall strive, therefore, for the interrelation of all cultures and for the preservation of the entire precious store of world culture."

And yet the Chinese delegates objected to the presence of even such European and American writers at the Cairo conference whose love of freedom, humanism were beyond all doubt. This attitude of the Chinese was probably the first manifestation of that anti-white racialism, which later led them to oppose the inclusion of Soviet delegates in the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference held in Jakarta this year (1963).

Another and perhaps a more serious manifestation of Chinese dogmatism was their attempt at the Cairo conference to underplay the importance of the struggle for world peace and general disarmament and to pose it as if it was the anti-thesis of the struggle for national liberation and against imperialism.

No one present at the Cairo conference, or at the Tashkent or Delhi conferences, had denied the supreme importance of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In fact that was the very basis of our solidarity. The Indian delegation at any rate consisted of writers who had spent all their lives fighting for the freedom of their country. And who could doubt the anti-imperialism of the Soviet writers; the very basis of whose state is anti-imperialism and socialism?

Yet if, at the Cairo Conference, one put forward the view that the struggle for world peace and disarmament in this nuclear age is a struggle for the survival of human civilisation; that it does not contradict, but is complementary to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America to anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, it was promptly dubbed as pro-imperialist, as one who has abandoned the path of anti-imperialism!

Chinese Attitude

Similar was the attitude of the Chinese towards those delegates who insisted that the main job of a writers' conference was to discuss the problems of literature and culture and not merely the affirmation of political attitude of writers. The progressive anti-imperialist writers of Asia and Africa who had gathered in their hundreds in Cairo know what their duty was towards the freedom struggles of their peoples or of other Afro-Asian peoples. Their solidarity with these struggles and their peoples' lives was their very *raison d'être*.

But the task of the writers' movement was to examine the existing literary and cultural situation in the countries of Asia and Africa, to devise ways and means of improving the quality and effectiveness of contemporary literature—so that it might help in improving the spiritual, moral and aesthetic sensibility of the newly liberated peoples of Asia and Africa, so that it might be used as a weapon in their struggle for freedom and for a better, fuller and more joyous life.

Yet the Chinese in their narrow-mindedness and sectarianism attempted to make the Cairo conference just a platform for the shouting of political slogans. And it was only after long and protracted and sometimes bitter discussions in the commissions of the conference that it was possible to incorporate the other point of view in the statements and documents adopted by the conference.

The next (third) conference of

Afro-Asian writers is scheduled to be held in Indonesia in the first half of 1964. Undoubtedly the overwhelming majority of writers in Afro-Asian countries, wish this conference to be a success. But certain alarming manifestations even before this conference make one apprehensive.

A meeting of the Permanent Bureau and Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian writers' movement was held at Bali in Indonesia in July 1963. Unfortunately the Indian Association of Writers for Afro-Asian Solidarity could not send its representative to attend this meeting. But it seems that many irregularities were committed at these meetings.

Irregularities Noticed

For example, the President of Sudanese Writers' Association Hamid Abdullah El-Amin, who went all the way from Khartoum to represent his country on the Bureau and the Executive Committee meeting was not allowed to attend this meeting, because, it was said, another representative of Sudanese writers was already in Indonesia and was allowed to sit in the meeting as Sudan's representative. When the UAR delegates Saaduddin Mursi and the leader of the Soviet delegate Kirghiz Writers Union protested against the exclusion of El-Amin, their objections were brushed aside by the Secretary-General of the Permanent Bureau, Deshpriya Senanayake.

When one takes into consideration the fact that the other Sudanese gentleman Mohammed Kheir, who was allowed to represent Sudan at the two meetings is an exile, who has been living in Peking for the last seven years it becomes quite clear that this manoeuvre was done at the instance of the Chinese, who wanted one more voice in their support in the Bureau and the Executive Committee.

The Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity has received a statement of protest from El-Amin and we have asked for an explanation from the Secretary-General Senanayake.

Another such instance has come to our notice. It seems that a certain Mr. Anou spoke at a recently held Hiroshima Conference against the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (August 1963). He claimed to represent the Permanent Bureau of the Afro-Asian writers. At the conference reports the Peking Review (August 16, 1963) Mr. Anou speaking about the recent Test Ban Treaty said: "The tripartite treaty was a fraud. That treaty is a betrayal of the peoples of the world who are fighting US imperialism. The task of prohibiting nuclear weapons cannot be entrusted to certain big powers, but should be negotiated by all countries, regardless of their size and the colour of their people."

Now India, USSR, UAR, Ghana etc., are all members of the Permanent Bureau. We know what is the attitude of writers of these countries towards the Test Ban Treaty. In any case, we did not know who he is to speak on our behalf and to express his hysterical disapproval of the test ban treaty.

In this matter also we have asked for an explanation from Senanayake and demanded that he publicly disowns Mr. Anou. He had no right to speak on behalf of the Bureau which has not met since the signing of the Test Ban Treaty.

These instances prove that in order to carry through their

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It is the substance of our doctrine—which states that the development of the objective forces and the struggles of the working class aim at and lead to the creation of a new social order—to drive from power the present, capitalist ruling classes and to lead the working class to power and, together with it, those social groups of manual and intellectual workers of the city and the countryside who do not exploit anybody's labour and as a matter of fact are the great majority of the population.

ALSO a part of the substance of our doctrine is the knowledge that this end cannot be achieved except through a whole lot of economic and political struggles; advances and setbacks, victories and defeats, sudden revolutionary ruptures and even slower processes of evolution. The object of our struggles cannot be achieved immediately with one single, conclusive frontal attack. Neither must it be thought that the path followed to reach it in a determined country, in a determined situation, is to be followed and will be followed in the same way in every country and in every situation.

Different Backgrounds

Let us consider today the countries and the states where the working class and the people's forces are already in power. We shall note the existence of two, three, four or more different examples of achieving this object. The victorious Russian October is to be seen in the background of the collapse of a great imperialist state in the course of a world war. A particular disposition of class forces and, therefore, a particular strategy and a particular set of tactics, correspond to it.

To those who reprove the present communist movement of the Western countries for not repeating the Russian October (this reproach can be found in some of the documents issued by Peking!), one can only answer that to have such a "repetition" one should, in the first place, have analogous subjective and objective conditions.

The revolutionary victory in China, however, took place in conditions and circumstances very different from those in Russia. The social groupings which made it possible—and therefore the strategy of those who achieved it—were far different from those in the case of the October Revolution.

The same must be said of the manner in which the new democracies were established after the anti-fascist victory of the Second World War: of the way in which the present political and social regime in Cuba was achieved.

Afro-Asian Writers

*FROM FACING PAGE

particular political line certain elements in the Afro-Asian writers' movement are violating its organisational rules and procedure. If the movement is to grow and develop, this must be prevented.

It is certain that an overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian writers and their organisations disapprove of these blatant irregularities. But in India and all the other countries of Asia and Africa writers and their organisations must be made aware of these facts. They must insist that honest and democratic procedure is followed in the working of the permanent Bureau of Afro-Asian

OCTOBER 13, 1963

Chinese Dogmatism is Negation of Marxist-Leninist Method

Further, I believe the absence of a systematic research and study of these differences, to be a serious fault of our movement. To be satisfied to call one thing a synonym of the other, means giving up that historical and political analysis of situations which is the heart of Marxism, without which we are left in the dark, we repeat formulas and idioms and do not acquire the capacity of influencing and directing the revolutionary movement of the working class and the masses from one concrete situation to the other, from one stage and conquest to the other, to its aims.

The adherence of the communist policy, of its inclinations and slogans to the definite conditions of every country and to the international situation, and therefore the research of concrete, partial objectives and the best manner to achieve them, is for us compulsory and essential. To this we owe the inexhaustible freshness and newness of Marxist thought and the action it inspires.

Inadequate Research

These are the elements which attract new groups of workers to our movement—scholars, young people, women and men who live in the present conditions and cannot detach themselves from them, and must start off from these in the course of the whole of their action as they determine the conditions of their existence and their consciousness.

In this field, however, we must admit that the progress of our investigation and of our action has been inadequate in the Western capitalist countries. The forms of capitalistic exploitation are now, and particularly in the areas where capitalism is highly developed, very different from those of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries. They take form in new fields and invest new aspects to man's life. The struggle must therefore develop on a new basis; it must assume contents and amplitudes never achieved before.

Let us think, for instance, of the tasks facing those states where the historical circumstances are such that the

Squalid and Barren

In the face of this exciting, but at the same time worrying, picture which our judgement and action cannot always grasp and justly dominate, the answer given by the documents of the present-day Peking dogmatism to the questions of the moment is squalid, barren, empty. The method which inspires them is the most extraneous to Marxism and Leninism.

It is the method according to which the only true things are those which have been said and repeated numberless times and if one rejects this scholastic repetition, one is a "revisionist". But it means doing Lenin a wrong. If we consider that to judge the present situation of an advanced capitalist country or that of a newly free ex-colonial country, he would have repeated his judgements of the czarist regime or of Kerensky's.

The truth of Marxism or Leninism can be found neither in a dead repetition nor in a series of bungled quotations. Truth is to be found through the method of analysis and conclusions, it can be found in the last imperative advice "to study" given by Lenin to the Communists of the whole world

October 3, 1963

NEW AGE

and to which Chinese dogmatism is resolutely hostile. Study, research, careful investigation are always lacking in the Peking documents. After the tiring and stale repetition of commonplace, what we find in them is the unrestrainable tendency to attack with big words, which gradually degenerate into sheer distortion of reality and inadmissible insult.

In a writing dedicated to the questions of our country and our Party, the "enormous" number of magistrates and prisons existing in our country is mentioned with horror. Certainly, the penal system as at present organised in our country in a manner which, under many aspects, is anti-democratic and barbarous and which will have to be fundamentally renewed.

But for the moment, while the struggle for this renewal is still being organised and led, we would like many more magistrates so as to avoid so many poor people having to pass months and sometimes years in prison before being tried and sometimes proved innocent. And a greater number of modern prisons would, if nothing else, erase the shame of the Ucciarone and of other places of equal corruption and degeneracy.

Also this is an example of the manner in which a general advanced aim cannot prevent us from seeing or leading us to despise a reasonable partial demand.

But it is a very limited example. The necessity for partial objectives today, for us, means the possibility of an advance towards socialism—democratically and relatively peacefully. It is a necessity which could not be conceived before as we can nowadays.

Socialism had not yet garnered those great victories which have now enabled it to succeed in one-third of the world. Economy had not yet developed up to today's phase or monopolistic capitalism on the part of the state those conditions, according to which some definitively socialist principles, such as that concerning economic planning, can no longer be rejected without discussion, but have to be accepted even by those who later try to distort and counterfeit them in practice.

The heavy control of the monopolies had not yet created the possibilities, which today exist, of new alliances of the working class in its struggle for socialism with vast strata of small and medium bourgeoisie and of intellectuals. Even the small and medium peasants who owned their land could in the past be considered an inextinguishable class for our ideas, reluctant to having any contacts with the working class. But today this situation is changing.

And is it not in one of our classics (I am sorry that, given the circumstances in which I today write, I cannot give the exact quotation) that we find the statement according to which the conquest of a collaboration with decisive strata of the petit-bourgeoisie and of the peasants and tillers, enables the very same problem of proletarian dictatorship to be stated in a different manner?

Lastly, do not let us forget the wideness and depth achieved by the organised movement of workers and labourers, the democratic conquests of our country, the impossibility for the bourgeois classes of destroying these conquests without facing a struggle in which probably they would be defeated.

Do not let us even forget that the very same experience of socialist construction while enormously enriching our doctrine and increasing our strength, has also shown with the serious negative aspects of the "cult of personality" that the democratic movement must assume and maintain a decisive value not only in the struggle for socialism, but in the organisation and development of a socialist society.

Capacity Lost

All these—which are the conditions in which our political action has formed and developed itself—are totally ignored by the criticism and inconsiderate attacks of Peking's dogmatism. Therefore this criticism and these attacks are free of effectiveness. They only furnish us the proof that those who inspire them have today lost the capacity which, however, they had in the past, i.e., of judging and reasoning like Marxists.

We, instead—workers, peasants, scholars and young people—work and fight so that our militants may fully grasp this Marxist way of judging and reasoning so that they may really become the revolutionary yeast of the Italian society.

It is obvious that, stated this general character, mistakes and opportunistic deviations are neither impossible nor automatically avoided. These also, however, must be singled out and fought against not with pseudo-revolutionary commonplaces, but on today's basis, on the basis of the political struggle of today's party recalling the principles and the continuous presence of our final socialist aims, recalling the necessity that the working class remain united both for these aims and partial conquests and achievements.

(Rinascita, August 31, 1963)

by PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

General Secretary, Communist Party of Italy

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PAGE TEN

PEACE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

★ by W. E. Gollan

Executive Member, Australian Peace Movement

Australians are deeply involved in the struggle against nuclear war. For a number of years Australia's rocket range at Woomera has been used by British and United States military authorities for testing of means of delivery of nuclear weapons.

RECENTLY the Menzies government involved Australia still more deeply by granting to the United States a lease of 25 square miles of Australian territory at Exmouth Gulf for the establishment of a telecommunications base to direct the movements of Polaris-carrying atom-powered submarines.

It is the only base of this type outside the United States and it brings the Indian Ocean into the area of nuclear danger. Each of these submarines is, in fact, a mobile nuclear base carrying weapons many times more powerful than those used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the same time, the Menzies government has supplied armed forces for the Commonwealth strategic reserve in Malaya and has pledged military support to British imperialism to maintain the neo-colonialist establishment of Malaysia. Australian military observers are also assisting the Diem forces in the undeclared war in South Vietnam, whilst as a SEATO power, the Menzies government claims the right of military intervention practically anywhere in S. E. Asia.

Trade Unions For Peace

These policies of the Australian government have brought strong resistance from the forces for peace. The Australian peace organisations have led the way in protest actions by marches and demonstrations in all of the capital cities involving tens of thousands of participants from all classes, deputations to members of Parliament and petitions with hundreds of thousands of signatures.

Within the last twelve months deputations to the national capital, Canberra

have come from all over Australia, some on foot, walking over 150 miles from Sydney, others in motorcades, holding meetings in the towns through which they passed, others by special train decorated with peace slogans. Some of the delegates from as far away as Perth, have travelled almost 3,000 miles to present their petitions and interview members of Parliament.

The great movement of the people for peace has had a powerful effect on the trade union movement. Under the slogan "Peace is Trade Union Business" Communist and other progressive trade union leaders have rallied the trade unions.

Strong Resistance

Some trade unions have appointed special peace officials whose task it is to keep the question of peace as well as economic demands before the workers. Others have established regular weekly levies which are paid into the peace movement; whilst others again conduct regular peace bulletins and distribute "Peace Action", the journal of the Peace Movement to the members.

As a result of this work amongst the masses, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the national trade union centre, has adopted an advanced peace policy calling for peaceful coexistence, complete and general world disarmament, cessation of nuclear testing, and the diversion of the resources devoted to war to peaceful purposes. At the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions held last month a strong resolution was adopted calling for opposition to the proposed nuclear tests by the French government in the Pacific region.

These developments in the mass movement in turn affected the Labour Party which through its leader A. A. CALWELL has called for a nuclear free Southern Hemisphere along the lines of the Antarctic Treaty which by international agreement established all land and ocean below 60° South latitude as an area in which all nuclear explosions were prohibited. The Labour Party has also called for total world disarmament and a ban on all nuclear weapon tests.

This strengthening of the position of the Labour Party which commands the support of approximately 50 per cent of the electorate and is likely to succeed the Menzies government in office, is an important development in the whole struggle for peace, and against nuclear war.

independent campaign by the Communist Party to carry on a constant ideological and political struggle against imperialism in all its forms.

The Communists in the trade unions, peace organisations and other sections of the mass movement constantly seek the appropriate forms to bring home to the masses the reality of imperialism as the breeding ground of war; they combat the false propaganda concerning the peace policy of the Soviet Union and they explain the role of the socialist camp in the struggle for peace.

Such activities help to arm the peace movement ideologically and strengthen it against the vacillations and uncertainty that could arise from its character as an association of diverse social forces.

As a result of these activities, the peace movement has been able to take up an advanced position. It is united and unites all the varied forces that make up its membership in the policy of peaceful coexistence, the campaign for disarmament, for a foreign policy independent of U.S. imperialism, for the recall of Australian armed forces from Asia, for the ending of colonialism and for peace and friendship with Australia's Asian neighbours, for the removal of all foreign bases from Australian soil and the



The Author

ending of all regional war pacts such as SEATO. Such a policy makes possible ever widening activity in defence of peace.

A great national campaign has commenced against the French test explosions in the Pacific area. It is our conviction now that the Test Ban Treaty has made the first practical step towards ending the cold-war, that the struggle against French tests in association with all the peoples of South-East Asia and Latin America, can lead to the next important stage—an atom-free region in this part of the world. To achieve this will need a mighty united struggle of all our peoples, but it is a struggle that for the sake of humanity we can and must win.



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

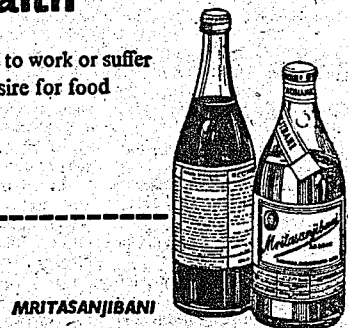
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose, M.A., Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London), M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, P.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.

LUCKNOW, October 8: With the triple slogans of "Withdraw the twenty-five per cent emergency levy on land revenue", "Fix the sugar-cane price at least at Rs. 2 per maund", and "Increase dearness allowance by 25 per cent and give bonus equal to one month's wages", the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh has decided to launch a powerful state-wide agitation forthwith.

THE Party has already launched a campaign for the release of about twenty comrades who are still in detention. A state-wide signature campaign is continuing, on a prescribed form. The executive committee of the state council of the Party which is meeting currently, has further decided to observe a Release Detenus Week in November, when hundreds of local and district rallies will be held to reinforce the demand.

This campaign will be combined with all the other mass campaigns which the Party has decided to launch jointly with mass organisations of kisans, workers and students.

The state executive has appealed to all democrats, socialists and others in the state who wish well of the state's peasantry to observe October 24 as "Withdraw the twenty-five per cent emergency levy on land revenue Day."

This demand is widely supported. Even a large section of Congressmen is in favour of the emergency levy's withdrawal.

As a matter of fact, last winter when this heavy burden was additionally imposed on the state's rack-rented peasantry, the then Chief Minister, C. B. Gupta, and Revenue Minister, Hukum Singh, had given a solemn assurance to the opposition leaders, both in the legislature and privately, that it was only for one year and would be withdrawn after that.

But, in the last ill-fated session of the State Assembly, when Communist members raised this question, the concerned ministers tried to deny they had given any assurance. Such an uproar followed this brazen denial that the Speaker found it expedient to adjourn the session suddenly sine die.

However, neither the people nor the legislators are in a mood to let the issue go by default. Hence, along with a strong agitation outside, inside the legislature too the issue is going to be taken up again whenever it reassembles.

What forms this struggle on an issue on which the state's

Uttar Pradesh

★ From Ramesh Sinha

Three Slogans for Mass Action

entire peasantry is deeply exercised, will assume, it is too premature yet to forecast. But there is little doubt that, unless the Ministry — whatever it is — decides to take a more understanding and farsighted view on this question, a great upheaval (of course, peaceful) is likely to follow.

The sugar-cane growers in the state have already begun to gird up their loins for the battle with the pampered, super-profit eaters of the state's nearly eighty sugar mills.

A zonal meeting of cane growers' representatives in the western districts has already taken place in Meerut last week. Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Moradabad, Bijnor and some other areas of western UP were represented in this meeting.

The meeting has decided to organise action committees of the cane growers in every area, with the help of the Kisan Sabha, Mazdoor Sabha and other mass organisations of the people. Later, on November 20, when a zonal conference of cane growers is held at Amroha, a Zonal Action Committee will be elected to conduct the struggle which appears to be inevitable.

The western zone meeting has further decided to raise a fighting fund of one lakh rupees for the struggle. It is also going to organise a volunteer corps to assist in the struggle.

Similar meetings are scheduled to take place immediately in the eastern and central zones of the state.

The success of the Great March movement has created an enthusiasm the like of which had not been seen for quite a while. Hence there is no doubt that the score board of struggle in UP is going to register many more successes in the future.

A Correction

THE Public Relations Officer to the President has sent us a contradiction of an item which appeared in Whispering Gallery in our issue dated October 2. The PRO writes:

"With reference to the comments appearing in the NEW AGE of October 2 on a supposed birthday celebration of the President for the second time at Rashtrapati Bhavan on September 20, I have to point out that these comments are entirely baseless. No one in Rashtrapati Bhavan is aware of the alleged invitation nor was anybody authorised to issue any such invitation."

The struggle for realisation of the demand that the cane growers be given at least Rs. 2 per maund for their produce is expected to take place in December.

In the same manner, a trade union convention is to be held to take up the cudgels for the workers' demand for 25 per cent increase in DA and bonus equivalent to a month's wages. This convention is also likely to be held towards the end of next month.

This struggle of the state's workers and middle class employees will be part of the all India struggle for linking DA with cost of living index and for bonus.

There is a ferment among the toiling section of our pro-

CARRY FORWARD GAINS OF SEPTEMBER 13 Delhi to Raise Party Membership to 5,000

★ From Our Correspondent

DELHI, October 7: In pursuance of the directives of the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India (held soon after the "Great March") the provincial council of the Party in its meeting held on September 29, reviewed the campaign for the "Great Petition" and the "Great March" in Delhi.

THE meeting of the provincial council held under the presidency of B. D. Joshi, heard a report on the campaign by M. Farooqi, secretary of the provincial council. The report had been earlier discussed by the provincial executive committee.

The report expressed satisfaction at the results achieved in the campaign for the "Great Petition" and the "Great March" and the support which the campaign received from the common people of Delhi in general and the organised working class movement in particular.

Enumerating the lessons of the campaign, the report stated: "More than 90 per cent of the people who were approached signed the Great Petition." The Petition was signed by a large number of people holding political views different from those of the Communist Party. A number of non party people actively participated in the signature campaign. "These facts showed the correctness as well as the non-partisan character of the demands and slogans of the campaign," added the report.

Speaking on the report, Farooqi said: "Never before have so many people, particularly the organised working class, in Delhi participated in a Red-flag demonstration as they did on September 13."

This, he added, was a slap on the face of all those parties and organisations in Delhi (e.g. Jan Sanah, Swatantra Party, PSP, INTUC) who had frantically asked for the boycott of the demonstration by the people of Delhi.

The progressive movement in the capital and the Communist Party in particular, had gained

tremendously by the "Great Petition" and the "Great March." It has given a new self-confidence to Communists and their friends. The parties of Right reaction have received a setback to their plans. These were some of the other points of the report.

The report called for carrying forward the gains of the campaign — by increasing the membership of the Party, widening the base of the mass organisations of the working class, and intensifying the struggles of the people for their immediate demands.

The provincial council, after a thorough discussion of the report, adopted it. It called for doubling and trebling the membership of the Party and fixed a target of 5000 members for the Party by the next Party Congress.

The Council also called for organising a movement against high prices, for correction of cost of living index, for increased dearness allowance and one month's bonus in all industries.

The Council also gave a call for the organisation of a "Volunteers' Corps."

The decisions of the provincial council were reported by Farooqi to a general body meeting of Party members and sympathisers held on October 6, under the presidency of state Secretariat member Madan Mohan. The decisions were enthusiastically received by the comrades.

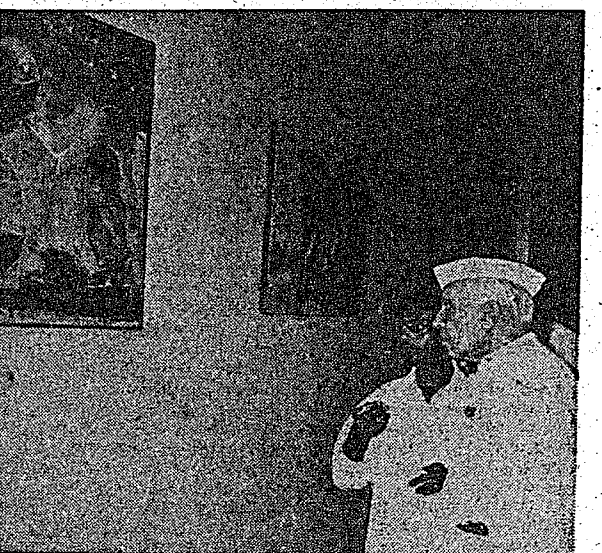
Yogindra Sharma and Ramesh Chandra, members of the Central Secretariat of the Party, also spoke on this occasion. Yogindra Sharma congratulated the Delhi Party comrades for the work they did in connection with the campaign and for making good arrangements for the Marches

Musleh Ahmed's Paintings

MODERN Indian painting, since Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher Gill emancipated it alike from the insipid and soulless limitation of Moghul miniatures and the Ajanta preserves and also the garish, cheap realism borrowed from Victorian England, has been developing rapidly.

Absorbing the impressionist and post-impressionist styles and modes of Western Europe, straying often into sterile abstractionism, it seeks, nevertheless, to express the soul of New India — at once modern and ancient, striving to establish a new social and cultural equilibrium, amid clashes and conflicts.

But there are others who strive to catch in their works the great music of the marching feet of Indian people, the resonance of the harmony which develops through the struggle of the obsolete and the crumbling with the new and the fresh; of good with evil; of the ugly with the beautiful. Musleh Ahmed's exhibition of eighteen of his latest paintings is significant because, precisely we find in many of them deep feeling about the fate of man — his noblest joy



Prime Minister, Nehru with the artist at the exhibition.

"The Joy of Creation"; his holiest anger ("Exploitation of Man by Man"); his most intense conflict ("Victory and Defeat"); his most ecstatic expression of happiness ("Rhythm") — expressed with passion in colours and designs, which are both unique and pleasing.

There is no confusion of ideas here, yet there is subtlety and originality — the hallmark of a good artist. A quality which struck me particularly about Musleh's work is his Indianness combined with larger humanism. He is, of course, not always successful, not always fully satisfying. But the main thing is growth and new and incessant striving. And of this there is ample evidence in his work.

— S. SAJJAD ZAHEER

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Why Is Latin America "BACKWARD"?

★ by Lajpat Rai

"Why is there so much wretchedness, so much poverty, in this fabulous land...? Ah, says one—it is the priests' fault; another blames it on the military; still others on the Indian; on the foreigner; on democracy; on dictatorship; on ignorance; or finally on divine punishment."

—Daniel Casio Villegas.

IN the nineteenth century, some believed that the cause of Latin American backwardness lay in the "Latin character", which was moulded after the Spanish model. All that the Spaniards brought to Latin America was the priests, bull-fights, a language and headaches.

According to this argument, Spaniards were a mystical not a practical people, who transplanted their monarchical, ecclesiastical military and the feudal system in the New World, where its caste features were aggravated because of Indians and Negro slavery. "The Spaniards brought us a lot of tinsel show, the idea that honest labour is degrading, fanaticism, the subjection of women, arrogance and political absolutism"—they said. (quoted from Carleton Beals' America South).

Many well-known works by eminent Latin American writers and historians appeared at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, associating such traits as laziness, sadness or excessive joy, arrogance, lack of initiative and perseverance, inability to cooperate, ostentatiousness etc. with the Latin American character.

Some other writers and politicians blamed the Indian for Latin American backwardness. According to them such countries in Latin America as do not have Indian populations, like Costa Rica and Argentina, had developed fast, while where the Indian had predominated, they had stagnated. The Indian they said, was incapable of sustained effort, incapable of embracing civilization; he was a dead weight. "We try to rise, to progress, to be great, but ever the Indian dragging" on the chain holds us back." (John P. Blane, American Indian)

National Resources

Lack of natural resources was also given as an explanation of Latin America's backward status. The 19th century, they argued, was an iron and coal century. England and United States had both and they forged ahead. Latin America was deficient in these vital materials and hence lagged behind.

Climate, it was argued, was also an important factor. The United States had a climate "which kindled men's energies", while the climate of equatorial Latin America militated against sustained effort and hard work.

Monoculture (one-crop agriculture) was also blamed for the "backwardness" of most of the Latin American countries. No country, they argued, could be progressive, prosper-

ous or secure when its economy depended on one crop. As a result whole countries were subjected to the whims of speculators. One-crop prosperity meant dependence upon the outside world, upon capricious price fluctuations, and it resulted—despite short boom periods—in misery at home.

Another group of writers blamed the Church for all Latin American ills. In the United States, there was freedom of worship and competition among numerous denominations. In Latin America, there was the monopoly of one Church—the Catholic Church. It acquired all the vices of the medium. Allied always with the feudal oligarchy of the Creole classes, it traded in fanaticism, ignorance and superstition. All during the colonial period the Church prevented the shipment of European literature to the New World.

Militarism

Militarism was another important "explanation" given for Latin American backwardness. "All our governments are fundamentally militaristic. Anyone who tells you that democracy in the North American sense exists anywhere in Latin America is a scoundrel or a hypocrite. Even our mass uprisings for liberty have merely played into the hands of the generals. One day the general steps forth as the re-vindicator of popular rights; the next he is their destroyer." (Carleton Beals; America South)

The lack of a middle class in Latin American countries is another reason advanced to explain the region's backward position. Latin America has two extremes, a small feudal clique of wealthy landlords, ecclesiastics, militarists and the people they exploit—the great masses of illiterate workers. Hence Latin America had continuous tyrannies punctuated by mass revolts, which resulted in many promises which always remained unfulfilled. A literate conscious middle-class with some property rights it was suggested by some would have given stability, expanded the market, and broadened the basis of economic and political power.

The above thinking has been the thinking of writers, historians and philosophers of 19th and the first quarter of the 20th century. This period is a period of self-incrimination—trying to find out reasons of backwardness in Latin societies themselves.

It is also a period when the Latin American people were asked to follow the lead of the

Big Brothers—the United States of the North. They were asked to imitate the U.S. model. Sarmento wrote: "Let us achieve the state of development of the United States. Let us be united States."

Another important Argentinian writer J. B. Alberdi wrote:

"In economics even more than in politics, the best example for Americans is to follow America herself. In economics, North America is a great model for South America."

Real Causes

But the thirties of the 20th century saw other people groping towards finding the real causes of Latin American under-development, social as well as economic and political. The myth of the United States had been exploded by the Great Depression. United States—the "example" to be followed by the South American—lay prostrate—her economic life paralysed and social and political life disrupted.

The old explanations of Latin American backwardness, sometime containing a little element of truth, now satisfied nobody. The period of self-incrimination and breast-beating was over. New studies were made of Latin American life, its social, economic and political institutions, which brought out new conclusions.

It was found that the elements of decay and degeneration lay inside the body politic of Latin societies. Also powerful outside factors were noticed, which were holding Latin America in perpetual backwardness.

How was this "sick continent" and this "ill people" to be cured? The first correct diagnosis began to be made.

In the backward Peru, an eminent intellectual Hays de la Torre brought out forcefully the factor of North American imperialist exploitation as the greatest cause of Latin American backwardness.

Hays analysed the exploitative role of imperialism in Latin America in collaboration with the local landed hierarchy. He, however, recognised the need for foreign capital for the poor Latin American countries but wanted to be assured that foreign capital did not exploit the natural resources of these countries for its own advantage. For this, he wanted strict control over foreign capital, by the local governments. He argued that if Latin American countries stopped competing for foreign capital and were united in an anti-imperialist coalition they could obtain it under far more favourable conditions, since imperialist countries had a compelling need to export capital.

Attribution of backwardness to imperialism was now projected in the thinking of the people, and more and more writers began to study this aspect of the problem.

Also looking inwards, people found the rigid feudal agrarian structure an important cause of holding back the development of Latin American countries. The land monopoly of the few latifundist families led to inefficiency and waste in agriculture, deprived millions of cultivators of land and a decent income and deprived the nation of a growing market for industrial goods, thereby holding up industrial development as well.

The post depression period also saw the rise of economic nationalism in Latin America. The real face of United States began to be revealed to the people of the South. "The map of South America forms a head, the sombrero of which is that of Uncle Sam. This sombrero casts deep shadows on the sun-lit lands of South America"

The Chilean writer Jose Larot Mariategui blamed the United States for the backwardness of Latin American countries. "Our northern neighbour has his greedy eyes on our wealth," wrote Alberdi Jose Batista, a well-known economic writer from Argentina.

In United States itself, eminent writers on Latin America exposed this aspect of U.S.-Latin American relations. Hubert Herring, the well-known writer on Latin America, writing in Harper's magazine, observed:

"Pan Americanism is a trade term, made in United States. It means buy from us and not from England... It is freely used at dinners for visiting Latin Americans sponsored by sales managers of Cable Companies, shipping interests and automobile concerns... the twenty-one flags of the free and more or less sovereign republics of America draped together over speaker's table and several speeches in which the name of Simon Bolivar and George Washington are gracefully coupled... to keep the Pan-American article of faith glowing warmly in the soul of several hundred New Yorkers who have goods to sell to Latin America."

Carlton Beals, another eminent authority on Latin America characterises the U.S.-Latin America relations as "symbolising big business, loans, Big Brother patronage

idea—a drapery for Monroe doctrine".

Writing in his book "America South", Beals brings out with brutal frankness the basis of U.S.-Latin American relations and the slogan of Pan-Americanism:

"Our good Latin American Department Professors such as Chester Lloyd Jones and Frank Tennenbaum hasten to write books to prove that Latin America can never develop industries, can never become relatively self-sufficient, and hence must remain in the twilight role of purveyors of unfinished products and hence subordinate to the industrialized nations... This system of mutual trade interest breaks down as soon as we attempt, as we customarily do, to make it a closed system with Latin America as the appendage of United States."

The American Marxist Victor Perle made a scathing study of American imperialism in 1942 in which he showed Latin America had already become an empire of the United States monopolies. According to him, the rate and intensity of exploitation by United States, was the highest in Latin America, as compared with other world regions.

A host of other writers, both Latin American as well as North American reached the same conclusion.

Thus it came to be recognized that there are two main causes of the ills of "backward" Latin American societies. They are:

★ Imperialist economic exploitation of Latin America, drawing away its wealth and reducing it to the status of a vast colonial empire of the United States.

★ The feudal land structure, resulting in concentration of land in the hands of a few landed oligarchs, leaving the mass of the people without any land whatsoever. The land maldistribution which exists in Latin America today has no parallel in any other region of the world.

Thus any solution for Latin American problems, that does not consider these two factors, and seeks to eliminate them, in fact, is no remedy for the ills of Latin America. All other ills flow from these two fundamental causes which have kept and continue to keep Latin America in its present state.

Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill

★ FROM PAGE THREE

within Municipal limits and a minimum of 10 cents if outside the Municipal limits, together with the expenses of putting up a new house in the new site.

In the new Bill it has been provided that the landlord need provide alternate site only up to the extent of 5 cents if within municipal limits or 10 cents if outside or the actual extent of the Kudikidappu, whichever is less.

This would mean that lakhs and lakhs of Kudikidappukars would be deprived of an ele-

mentary right provided in the Act of 1961. Majority of them possess only far less than 5 cents and they will not only be driven away from the present sites but will be forced to have only an equal extent at landlords' choice.

The Communist party and its legislature wing cannot be party to this cold-blooded butchery of all the rights of the tenant, the principles of agrarian reforms and even the sanctity of continuity of progressive legislations and that is why the Party decided to boycott the Select Committee.

Developments at the United Nations since the 18th General Assembly opened on September 17 have kept hope of further detente alive, though nothing spectacular has happened so far.

PRESIDENT Kennedy, when he addressed the UN at the beginning outlined the U.S. position. He suggested agreement on further steps to curb the nuclear arms race by "controlling the transfer of nuclear weapons, converting fissionable materials to peaceful purposes and banning underground testing with adequate inspection and enforcement".

The world, he said, needs "a much better weapon than the H-bomb—a weapon better than ballistic missiles or nuclear submarines—and that better weapon is peaceful cooperation."

Since then, the US Senate has ratified by an overwhelming majority the test ban treaty despite all the antics of the "wild men" that had preceded the ratification.

The foreign ministers of the USA, UK and the USSR have had long consultations in New York and have agreed in principle to outlawing nuclear weapons being placed in

space. The pace of developments however continues to be far too slow, compared to what is needed to cope with the threat of nuclear war that persists and continues to grow even now in the form of stockpiles of atom and hydrogen bombs. Purposeful, vigorous and energetic action is needed to meet the situation and that is what the Soviet Union is urging the West and the whole world to realise even while the Chinese dogmatists continue to do their damndest to distract the world's attention from the real issues.

There is no doubt that the test-ban treaty has made the present "favourable wind" possible at the U.N. Assembly. Nevertheless an under-current of feeling that is unmistakable at the Assembly points to the fact that adequate advantage is not being taken of the "favourable wind".

To achieve a break-through in the disarmament talks, the Soviet Union has suggested

AT THE U.N.

Good Atmosphere But A Cloud Persists

★ by Zia-ul Haq

that the heads of states and governments take part in a meeting of the eighteen nation disarmament committee, to be held in the first or second quarter of 1964.

The Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in making this suggestion called upon the United Nations not to look on placidly at the present unsettled state of Europe which is due to the absence of a German peace treaty. Such placidity would only be playing into the hands of those who speculate on the prospects of a nuclear war.

The concrete measures proposed by the Soviet gov-

ernment consist of a non-aggression pact between Warsaw Treaty and NATO nations, measures to prevent surprise attack and reduce foreign troops in West Germany and the GDR, reduction of military budgets, establishment of atom-free zones in various parts of the world.

As a measure to reduce the threat of nuclear war, even before all nuclear weapons are destroyed, the Soviet Union has suggested agreement on non-dissimulation of nuclear weapons.

Gromyko also reminded the General Assembly of the resolution it had adopted at an earlier session to secure the complete abolition of colonialism. He proposed concrete measures for the implementation of that resolution.

Meanwhile the negative trend has taken the form of an imminent danger of the multilateral nuclear force coming into existence, which would constitute dissemination of the nuclear weapon in a camouflaged form. Surrendering to West German blackmail U.S. has bullied the British Tory government into accepting the plan. Playing U.S. against France, the West German government on the eve of being taken over by "miracle maker" Erhard, has come much nearer its goal of acquiring nuclear weapons.

In the bargain, with the departure of the abominable no-man, Adenauer, the West German regime is being played up by the Anglo-U.S. powers as having changed qualitatively or at least of having acquired "flexibility". The whole game is given away when it is stated that this "new" West German attitude has the approval of the departing old fox as well.

For instance a Sunday

Times dispatch from New York says:

"The American desire to promote greater flexibility while retaining western unity is not shared by General de Gaulle, but his power of obstruction is being weakened by the new attitude in Bonn which the foreign minister, Dr. Schroeder, this week explained in his private talks in Washington which is said to have Dr. Adenauer's approval."

This new pose has been necessitated by the palpable failure of the earlier rigid stand. As the Sunday Times New York man explains:

"The new line is based on the belief that past policies have hardened rather than alleviated the division of Germany. I remember Dr. Adenauer explaining to me some ten years ago how the political, military and economic strength of West Germany would act like an irresistible magnet on East Germany."

"But this was an illusion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the successor regime favours experimenting with a different approach. According to Dr. Schroeder, for West Germany to insist on a rigid status quo is to her disadvantage because it only leads to its erosion and only the Communists profit from it."

It is clear that whatever "new look" West German policy may acquire, its basic purpose of obstructing the East-West detente has not changed and will not change. Hidden behind it are the expansionist ambitions of West Germany which would not hesitate to gamble with the very existence of Europe when the time comes.

So the U.S. plan for a multilateral nuclear force, at which the Kennedy administration seems to have set its heart, is threatening to wreck the detente even as far as it has advanced.

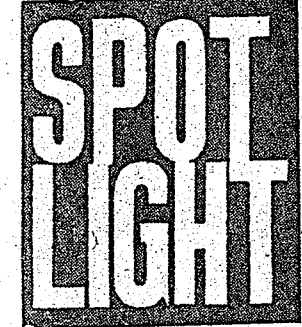
G. D. R. CELEBRATES 14TH ANNIVERSARY

★ From P. Kunhanadan

BERLIN, October 7: The working people of German Democratic Republic celebrated today the 14th anniversary of founding of historic first German Peace State.

TODAY in Berlin, spring is back again to rejoicing Germans. A fine sunny day with leaves still green and plenty of flowers, people in their best costumes are thronging streets in thousands with music and laughter. In the gaily decorated streets with huge portraits of ordinary workers and peasants who are labour heroes and innovators, of Karl Marx and Engels and Lenin, young people are dancing with joy full of confidence in the future. Walter Ulbricht sat on the flower bedecked stage flank-

CRY OF THE SCARED



Some Congress members have also supported this Communist demand. (The "Communist demand" to mention the latest, has been reinforced by a similar plea from the PSP in Punjab.)

Karaka's Current has let out a louder wail. It has announced: "The news is bad. With Mr. Morarji Desai out of the way, the Prime Minister thinks the way is clear for bringing the banks of the country into the Public Sector. The ground is being secretly prepared for it. Dr. V. K. R. Rao, has been working on this idea at the Prime Minister's instance."

"Dr. Rao, it is learnt, has prepared a 'covert argument' for the nationalisation of banks and he has also prepared a scheme for implementing it in the least offensive way."

After saying the above, this despicable servitor of foreign and Indian moneybags has tried blustering. It has declared: "If Mr. Nehru persists with his idea and carries it out, he is likely to meet with a great deal of opposition in the country, because the Private Sector, in India, if it unites, can offer a very strong resistance to Mr. Nehru and it is now in the mood to do so."

The above words are significant. Firstly, they show up Morarji as the fifth column of the "man-eaters" and reveal how the latter are feeling disturbed over his departure from the Cabinet. Secondly, they show that the sharks are upto any game. From trying to use the Communist bugbear to direct threats of resistance, anything will pass muster with them.

Last but not the least, they show that the "man-eater" is at bay. The just movement for the nationalisation of banks has already brought the beast of prey to the wall. One more push, and it will be down. The "Great March" and the Great Petition are yielding rich dividends for the toilers. Organiser — mouth-piece of the RSS — which spent six columns of its space seeking to

prove that the Great March was a "top" and succeeded only in proving its own singular lack of intelligence, has again devoted one column of space to the great event. This, time it is a whimpering rejoinder to what I wrote showing how it had made a laughing stock of itself. Fitously, it cries:

"Organiser is stupid because it does not have the self-seeking intelligence of licking foreign boots."

As I pointed out, it is precisely such self-seeking intelligence which landed the Dollarland-trained editor, into a six-column blower. It turns out that self-seeking intelligence is no intelligence; actually it is the reverse of it.

The poor editor pretends not to have read what I wrote about his self-seeking motive, a motive which was so blinding that he failed to see the significance of even his own leader Vajpayee's remarks on the great event. One more thing. While Organiser had earlier talked of a "team of staffers" (actually non-existent) specially deputed to "count every single head" and the "team" arriving at the "exact figure of 19,306", now it talks of calculating on the basis of "averages." What a pipe-down!

The echoes of the Great March reverberate the four corners of the country. The latest to record the impact is the above-mentioned mercenary, the Current, which writes:

"The Communist 'Great March' to Parliament House at New Delhi has generally earned encomiums for its discipline and organisation, though many have questioned its purpose." (Oct. 5)

RSS megaphones only stultify themselves when they seek to denigrate the mammoth march by resort to spurious arithmetic.

How true is their Delhi weekly's inadvertently uttered quip—"Organiser is 'stupid'..."

—GARUDA



DR. SAIFUD-DIN KITCHLEW is no more with us. Another of the giants of the national movement has passed away. The hero of Jallianwala Bagh is dead. The first President of the All-India Peace Council has left us for ever.

THE name of Dr. Kitchlew was a household word in every part of our motherland. And the tears that are being shed as he is laid to rest are the tears of men and women in all walks of life, transcending the barriers of party and political affiliations.

To pay homage to his memory, as he lay in state, came Prime Minister **NEHRU**, Vice-President **Dr. ZAKIR HUSAIN** and the leaders of government, the Congress president and general secretaries, the members of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party and representatives of other parties, his closest colleagues of the Peace movement and a number of political and social workers of all shades of opinion, who had gained inspiration from him at one time or the other.

Dr. Kitchlew's life was one of dedication to the

cause of his motherland and humanity as a whole. Who does not know of his unparalleled contribution to the struggle for independence, his 14 years in British prisons, his death sentence during the martial law in Punjab, the inspiration he gave to the people in the dark days of Jallianwala Bagh, his contribution to the Khilafat movement, to the building of the Congress in the Punjab and in the country as a whole? In the story of the struggle for our independence, Dr. Kitchlew's contribution will be found on every page.

After freedom was won, many of Dr. Kitchlew's colleagues in the Congress joined the bandwagon of power-seekers and money-grabbers. But that path was not for Dr. Kitchlew. For him, as always, the battle went on for the defence of India's independence and for the creation

Saifud-din Kitchlew

of the India of his dreams, in which all men may eat and be clothed and have roofs over their heads.

It was inevitable that Dr. Kitchlew should throw in his lot with the Indian Peace Movement, which carried forward the best traditions of the united democratic national movement in defence of India's freedom. Humanist above all, he made up his mind to give the rest of the days of his life to build the greatest mass movement of all continents ever known.

Who in the international Peace movement does not recall with gratitude the contributions which the veteran Indian patriot made again and again, from 1951 onwards at so many world meetings and conferences. First president of the All-India Peace Council, Dr. Kitchlew was the first Indian laureate of the Lenin Peace Prize.

All those who worked with him all these years will always be proud of their association with a man simple and kind of heart, with a burning passion for independence and peace.

During the last years of his life, ill-health prevented him from being active. But his thoughts were ever with the progressive movement. He remained to his dying day one of the members of the Presidential Committee—the chief executive body—of the World Council of Peace. The signing of the test ban treaty was a source of joy to him—he had begun to see the fruits of his untiring labours for peace.

A staunch Congressman all his life, Dr. Kitchlew had no use for the narrow sectarian methods of some

of his colleagues. Among those whom he liked best were men and women of all parties and points of view. For the Communist Party, Dr. Kitchlew had a special affection, and Communists of all generations have always loved and respected him.

The Communist Party

today salutes the memory of a great son of our people. Our heartfelt condolences go to Begum Kitchlew and the family.

India, the world, all of us have lost a jewel which can never be replaced.

—Romesh Chandra



Prime Minister Nehru standing near Dr. Kitchlew's body.

Delhi Corporation Affair

COLONISING A LA CONGRESS

★ by Our Staff Correspondent

Like all other capital cities of the world, Delhi has also a municipal corporation but with the difference that, although only five years old, it has already gained notoriety for maladministration. It has been called a pigsty of corruption and nepotism. The stink from its scandals rises above the foul smell emitted by its open sewers and uncleared garbage piles.

THE story of the Jhabul colony is not a scandal, but an instance of the Congress leadership in the corporation misusing its majority to further its own interests. It is a case of favouritism where sanction was accorded for the colony without even having the jurisdiction to do so.

The layout plan of the Jhabul colony was sanctioned by the standing committee of the corporation against the provisions of Delhi's Master Plan. The area earmarked for residential land use in the Master Plan has been now converted into residential-cum-commercial land use, for which the committee has no power.

The standing committee okayed the layout plan of this colony, though 1,160 square yards of land included in it did not belong to the coloniser on the date of the sanction. The land had been leased out to the corporation by the Delhi Development Authority for the specific purpose of constructing a school. Obviously, the piece of land was not the property of the corporation, but that did not deter the Congress leadership from exchanging it with the coloniser's land without prior reference to and approval of the DDA.

In the bargain, the corporation decided to shift the school from

its original site — not for the convenience of the children, or some such reason but only to suit the coloniser's plans to reap larger profits.

The layout plan of the Jhabul colony had come up before the standing committee of the last corporation also, but it was withdrawn because it was considered to be patently irregular. The Congress, it may be recalled, did not have at that time the brute majority it has now in the corporation. The sanction to the layout plan of the colony was given by the standing committee on the recommendation of a sub-committee consisting of three Congress councillors.

Another interesting aspect of the deal is that the exchange of land earmarked for the school was approved by the Congress majority of the corporation, in the face of the combined opposition of other councillors, only about an year after the sanction of the layout plan. The standing committee sanctioned the layout

plan on August 22, 1962, but the corporation approved the land exchange only on July 25, 1963.

The irregularity of this case was brought to the notice of the Home Minister by independent councillor **RAM-CHARAN AGGARWAL**, a former deputy mayor of Delhi. But no action has yet been reported on the part of the Home Ministry which was prompt enough to ban the Films Division newsreel on the CPI's Great March within hours of the protest made by some Congress MPs. One wonders whether post facto sanction for this irregular exchange of land would be given to the corporation by the DDA as a face-saving device for the Congress leadership.

The sanction given to the Vir Nagar colony is another case of action without jurisdiction, the sole purpose being the furthering of interests of the favoured ones. The land for which the Displaced Jains Cooperative Society sub-

mitted a layout plan had already been finally acquired by the government as part of its schemes to implement the Master Plan.

This fact was brought to the notice of the standing committee by the commissioner in his letter dated June 20, 1963. The legal adviser of the corporation also advised it against sanctioning the layout plan of the Vir Nagar colony.

The standing committee, however, preferred to ignore these because it did not suit the Congress leaders' commitments, and sanctioned the layout plan on July 31, 1963. And for this strange behaviour of bestowing favours on colonisers they had the lame excuse of helping a cooperative society to build a housing colony.

It seems that the Kamaraj Plan is not the only plan to strengthen the Congress. At least in Delhi, there are layout plans to serve the same cause.