

PAK CRISIS MOUNTS

From Our Political Correspondent

THE new United States administration's game of running with the hare and hunting with the hound over Indo-Pakistan relations has run into rough weather. Outbursts of anti-U. S. feeling in the controlled press of Pakistan have impelled the advancement of the date of military dictator Ayub's U. S. visit from November to July.

A long list of Pakistani grievances against the U. S. has been drawn up as agenda for his talks with Kennedy. All these grievances boil down to one single complaint—that the new U. S. administration has been showing dangerous signs of bestowing greater favours on neutralist India rather than on its consistently faithful military ally that is Pakistan.

Threats of "going neutral", of securing aid from "the other side", have been hurled at the United States from quarters that have been most abjectly servile throughout their long career towards imperialism. Unfortunately for them, the other side far from showing any positive response has publicly ruled out the possibility of Pakistan getting any aid from those quarters.

SOVIET STATEMENT

While the U.S. Ambassador Rountree publicly assured the Pakistani rulers that there was no question of a change in U. S. policy towards them and the U. S. continued to regard Pakistan as "one of its closest friends, a friend and ally with whom we are associated in many mutual efforts" the Soviet Ambassador Kapitsa scotched the talk of the Soviet Union giving assistance "wherever it is asked for".

Kapitsa declared that the question of the Soviet Union giving aid to countries which had tied themselves to military pacts with the West did not arise. It is only peace-loving countries whether non-aligned or in the socialist camp whom the Soviet Union aids, the Soviet Ambassador is reported to have told the Pakistan Times.

It is in this background that Ayub will be going to Washington to find out exactly the role that he is expected to play and the price he can get. The worthlessness of "allies" like Pakistan in the United States' global strategy against the Soviet Union had been sharply revealed last year after the exposure of the U-2 flight from Peshwar and the way Pakistan's generals shook in their shoes at Soviet warnings.

Their real worth always consisted in holding down their own people and acting as U. S. pawns and levers of pressure against peace-loving neighbours like India and Afghanistan. No basic change in that role is envisaged under the new dispensation.

While Dulles used those levers so crudely as to provoke bitter and determined opposition from a country like India, the present U. S. rulers seek to use them in a more clever way. The change has not been so sudden. In fact, it had been

coming for some time. Ayub's "friendship offensive" against India and his campaign for joint Indo-Pak Defence in course of 1959-60—ably supported by his Jan Sangh, PSP and Swatantra friends in India—was one such attempt.

Another link of the same chain is U. S. Vice-President Johnson's feelers for a conference of "like-minded" States of Southeast Asia and the Pacific region where both Pakistan and India would be represented as members of the "free world" community and where, under U. S. sponsorship, leadership (and responsibility to hold back the tide of change!) would be bestowed on India.

A further link seems to be the bait thrown out recently offering U. S. military aid "without strings". It is to be welcomed that an official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry has clarified India's attitude towards such offers.

INDIA REJECTS ARMS OFFER

It has been stated that there is no change in the policy of the Government of India in regard to obtaining military aid. The Government of India it is explained has always been against getting military aid for its needs and has believed in treating purchases of military equipment purely as business transactions.

It means that even if the USA generously offers to India a free gift of arms the gift would be declined.

That the military regime in Pakistan becomes more and more oppressive and unpopular becomes clear from the new wave of repression that started with the re-arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in April and the desperate attempts to provide diversions for popular discontent by staging provocations against Afghanistan and preparing similar moves against Kashmir.

The put up show of anti-Americanism attempts to utilise the healthy anti-imperialist sentiments of the people for strengthening the very regime which is inexorably tied to the U. S. imperialist chariot. The convenient weapon to achieve this miracle is whipping up higher and higher the hatred of India that is the corner stone of Pakistan.

Meanwhile the people of Pakistan sink deeper and deeper in the mire of frustration and helplessness. No boosting of prestige by meetings with Kennedy is going to lift them out of that. A total change of Government is required.

The recent bellicosity of

the Pak rulers and their frantic attempts to "threaten" the United States underline some conclusions which we in India would do well to draw.

AYUB REGIME FAILS PEOPLE

We had been told that Ayub's regime proved the point that democracy was not suitable for Asian countries, that dictatorship alone could solve the people's problems. The current crisis in Pakistan, however, proves the opposite. The military dictatorship has not been able to solve a single problem and now seek to divert the attention of the people by recourse to chauvinism.

We had been told that India's foreign policy of non-alignment had lost us all our "friends" and that Pakistan with its very aligned policy was sitting pretty. Our border dispute with China had been utilised to try to rub in this point. Now these Rightwing politicians and pressmen are having to eat their words and to hang their heads in shame.

The leaders of the democratic movement in India must take these conclusions to the people and make it a part of their consciousness. They must strive for Indo-Pakistan friendship and yet rouse vigilance against possible provocations.

Nilkantha Conquered

One more virgin summit of that majestic splendour that are the Himalayas has yielded to the onslaughts of our intrepid young mountaineers.

An Indian school teacher, the youngest member of the team, in his very first expedition has succeeded in scaling what is considered as the most beautiful and most elusive peak in the Central Himalayas—the 21,640 foot high summit of the Nilkantha.

New Age sends its hearty congratulations to the successful climbers, for their fine job of heroism and team-work.

Soon after the Annapurna III achievement the present victory of our mountaineers is indeed a brilliant tribute to Indian mountaineering.

These feats of courage and daring will give to our entire youth new hopes and fresh inspiration.

NEW AGE

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CONGRATULATIONS GOPALAN !

Editorial

IT DOES THE HEART OF every decent person good to know that A. K. Gopalan has come through his ordeal. His iron will and great stamina pulled him through the dozen days of his fast, despite his years and his ill-health. This feat of endurance is a testimony to the quality of the man, to the great love he has for the people which enables him to go to Calvary and return.

The Kerala Government has agreed to enhance the lump-sum paid to each family as rehabilitation from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25. They have undertaken to give free medical aid to the refugees, to open an additional temporary dispensary at Amaravati, to offer employment to those capable of doing work and to start relief work for the purpose.

As a result of Gopalan's fast, they have further agreed to give free rations at one quarter measure per day per person for one month and to supply bamboo and other materials for putting up houses free of cost. Every family will be provided with one acre of cultivable land. The Government have also agreed to give alternate land suitable for cultivation to those refugees who were sought to be settled on land which could be scarcely utilised for agriculture.

Even more important is the agreement by the Government to hold prior consultations with all parties concerned before effecting evictions in the future so that the hardship of the displaced persons are minimised.

These are significant gains and are a standing proof of the terrible plight to which the displaced persons had been reduced by the callous obstinacy of the Kerala Government. Had the Government taken the step it has now agreed to a few days earlier, much of the difficulty created by the Amaravati situation could have been avoided. However, even a belated change is to be welcomed, though it does also convey the important lesson that no concessions can be won by the people except through arduous struggles in various forms.

As Gopalan has wisely stated: "I am not so foolish as to think that a fast alone would solve all the problems of the Amaravati settlers. It is only by united and organised agitation and work of the evicted peasants themselves with the widest support and sympathy of the people that the problems of Amravati would be finally resolved".

He has drawn attention to the belligerent and scandalous statement of the Kerala Chief Minister, which could be taken to mean that Pattom Thanu Pillai is seeking to repudiate the agreement entered into on behalf of the Government by P. T. Chacko. He has warned the Chief Minister that any such repudiation would only serve to further unite the people and compel them to launch even bigger struggles, to administer even bigger rebuffs to the Alliance Ministry.

All democrats in India, all to whom the cause of alleviating the lot of our suffering millions is still the aim of life, will offer A. K. Gopalan the heartiest congratulations and wish him the speediest return to full vigour. The people in their work and their struggle know him as their friend and guide. They want him back as soon as possible in their midst so that they may take counsel from his wisdom and inspiration from his abounding zest.

June 21

BIHAR CONGRESS FACTIONS CLASH

Ever since the death of Dr. S. K. Sinha, the struggle for power inside the ruling party has been growing in new dimensions. No single Congress leader enjoys that confidence in the Bihar Pradesh Congress which the late Dr. S. K. Sinha had acquired.

GROUP rivalry is much more intense today. The battle for power is being fought by Congress leaders belonging to different caste-ridden factions both inside the legislature Congress Party as well as outside it. Another immediate reason is to be seen in the fast approaching General Elections.

As a matter of fact it would not be wrong to say that the battle for succession to the post of Chief Ministership has not yet ended in Bihar. If anything, it has been joined by some new aspirants.

The two old timers and aspirants for Chief Ministership K. B. Sahay and M. P. Sinha, who have been both rivals and colleagues, are out of the legislature, having been defeated in the last General Elections. The new entrant in the battle for succession is S. N. Sinha, son of the late Dr. A. N. Sinha, who gave up his obligations in the Central Government to join as a Minister in the present Cabinet headed by B. N. Jha. The present Chief Minister himself is not shy of continuing as the boss.

Loyalties Change

The Jha Ministry came to power with the support of K. B. Sahay's group. Thus, the dissident group was led by M. P. Sinha. Who are in the dissident group now? That is a question which in Bihar's politics should be answered with utmost caution. It can be valid for a very short time. The reason is simple: in caste and faction ridden Congress loyalties change overnight. That precisely is the reason why one finds K. B. Sahay and M. P. Sinha both in one group today, demanding the re-constitution of Jha Ministry.

The reasons attributed for K. B.'s joining hands with M. P. Sinha are the growing importance of S. N. Sinha and adoption of "an astonishingly new line in organising the council of Ministers" by B. N. Jha.

At the meeting of the Bihar Congress Election Committee to appoint 18 district organisers for selecting Congress candidates the discord between B. N. Jha and K. B. became an open secret. The Chief Minister found that M. P. Sinha, till recently his supporter, was in complete agreement with the proposal of K. B. He "walked out" from the meeting with his supporters. The list of 18 observers was passed in the absence of the Chief Minister.

The K. B.-M. P. combination is regarded as a powerful element in the Bihar Congress. Although the Congress High Command did not like these developments it did not openly raise its voice against them. The BPC President was advised to convene the meeting of the election committee to reconsider the list of the observers.

Later the list was finalised in consultation with representatives of the AICC and Pradesh Congress Committee. Twelve other names, mostly belonging to the Ministerial group, have been added thus bringing the total to 30. After these dramatic events the K. B.-M. P. group openly demanded the re-constitution of the Ministry.

Open Conflicts

The open conflict between the Ministerialists and anti-Ministerialists was reflected even in the by-election which S. N. Sinha won by a margin of more than 16,000 votes. It is said that the K. B.-M. P. group assured full support to the PSC candidate against S. N.

KISAN NEWS

Tripura Kisan Meet

THE Fourth Session of the Tripura Kisan Sabha has underlined the urgency of some tasks which include resistance to all kinds of eviction and agitation for the suitable amendments of the Forest Act.

The Session which was held at Kanchanbari, in the Division of Kailashahar from June 4 to 6, was attended by 115 delegates from 19 Divisions. Jagjit Singh Lyallpur, the General Secretary of the AIKS attended the Session. It has decided to enrol 50,000 members to the Kisan Sabha from Tripura this year.

The General Secretary of the Tripura Kisan Sabha in his report to the Session dealt with the general economic situation in the State such as food crisis, increase of unemployment and rural indebtedness. The report analysed the causes of the failure of co-operatives and Community Project to provide benefit to the poorer sections of the people.

Sixty-three per cent of the total area of 26,34,000 acres of land in Tripura is under forests. During the rule of the Maharaja the population of Tripura was less than two lakhs. Now it has increased, mostly due to the growing influx of refugees from East Pakistan, to 12 lakhs.

The land problem in Tripura has become acute. Soon after integration, in 1951, a notification was gazetted declaring almost the whole of Tripura either as protected forest or as Reserve Forest area. Plantations were started near homesteads and populated areas.

The Administration enlisted most of the trees as prohibited and collected huge

Sinha. The PSC itself is divided on caste basis in Bihar. Among its ranks too the same rivalry exists. Some observers believe that S. N. Sinha would not have won by such a big margin had the PSC not been divided on these lines.

Signature Campaign

In the meantime the K.B.-M. P. group started collecting signatures for requisitioning a meeting on June 15 with the aim of adopting a resolution forming a three-man committee consisting of A. Q. Ansari (President), K. B. and M. P. Sinha with the purpose of working for the victory of Congress in the coming General Elections. This was only a cover—the real aim was to bring home to B. N. Jha and others the strength of the group.

The Congress High Command, which has been cautiously watching these events

KISAN NEWS

Tripura Kisan Meet

taxes for grazing of cattle. People who had built huts and reclaimed land during the Maharaja's time were declared as encroachers and liable to be evicted.

Forest office and Beat offices were spread over the entire Territory and were manned by officers and staff who resorted to inhuman actions for enforcing the Forest Laws and regulations which they notified day after day.

The people were prevented from collecting forest products from their jote land and hundreds of court cases were filed. The Forest Officers were more terrorising to the people than the police stations. While resistance to the

PAD YATRA IN KARNATAKA

The campaign organised by the Karnataka Raitha Sangh demanding the modification of the Mysore Land Reforms Bill is gathering momentum. In the last April, two 'pad yatras' were organised covering more than 50 villages in Dharwar and Karwar districts.

GUBBI taluk Raitha Sangh organised another pad yatra which was inaugurated by A. K. Gopalan, M.P., President of the All India Kisan Sabha, at a largely attended public meeting at Gubbi on May 21.

The two squads of kisan volunteers covered about 50 villages in six days. They attended group meetings as well as public meetings explaining the anti-peasant nature of the Bill and asking the peasants to organise

and trying to have some patch-up, did not succeed in its aim. While coming back from the Durgapur session of the AICC, K. B. issued a press statement saying that he was prepared for rapprochement but the initiative should come from the other side, i.e., from the Chief Minister.

He made it clear that after the death of stalwarts like Sri Krishna Sinha and Anugraha Narayan Sinha only a composite Ministry could bring stability to Bihar. In plain words he insists on the demand for the re-constitution of the Ministry.

Appeals For Unity

The PCC meeting requisitioned by the K. B.-M. P. group took place on June 15. The resolution for the appointment of the three-man committee was introduced. But on the appeals from the PCC Chief Ansari and Dr.

oppression of the Forest Department was increasing throughout the Territory, the problem of finding land for the rehabilitation of the landless Zumis and refugees became a headache. It was found necessary to re-demarcate the Forest Reserves in such a way that the fallow cultivable land might be excluded, the land already reclaimed and occupied, within such reserves might escape from eviction.

The resistance to oppression yielded partial results. The Judicial Commissioner's Court held that the present Reserve Forests are not legally constituted. The Land Reforms Act provided that the ryots shall have full rights over the forest products of their jote land. The Administration was forced to reduce the grazing tax.

The Session underlined the urgency of resisting such evictions. The decision was taken to organise Territory-wide agitation for suitable amendment to the Forest Act.

A 51-member Kisan Council was elected with Dasrath Deb, M.P., as President and Nripin Chakravarti as General Secretary. Despite the heavy rains three big rallies were held at Agartala, Tellamura and Kanchanbari. The General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha also addressed these rallies.

INDIA TO SUFFER

The Commonwealth countries have thus to reconcile themselves to a position where their leading member will no longer be giving them the preferences which they had enjoyed since the Ottawa Pact. In fact, they will stand to lose much more, for, the preferences will cease to operate even in overseas dependencies of Britain in Africa and elsewhere, which too will become a part of the ECM.

India's tea and textiles—both cotton and jute—Ceylon's tea and rubber, and many commodities from other Commonwealth countries will find it hard to sell in these markets. India especially will now have to compete with advanced Western countries in her

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Ram Subhag Singh it was adjourned.

From the reports it looks likely that some sort of agreement is under way. With the General Elections approaching the various caste-ridden Congress factions are eager for a compromise because they know that the main battle for power is yet to be fought.

People Suffer

Even if some sort of a patch-up takes place at this moment it cannot remain for long. The warring factions will continue to engage themselves in headlong clashes. While the faction fight continues the administration becomes loose, corruption increases, castelism corrodes the administration and people suffer. But for how long? That is the question. People in Bihar are tired of Congress' misrule. The Congress must take note of it.

lous villages. Zumping could be banned only when the tribal Zumas have been fully rehabilitated.

During the Session the peasants from various Divisions reported that forceful evictions from Forest Land had not stopped, cases continue to be instituted against them for zumping, for collecting forest products from their jote land. Beating, harassment and torture by forest officials are almost daily occurrences.

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E.C.M. THREAT TO INDIA

WITH Britain well poised on the brink to take a plunge into the European Common Market (ECM) official circles in New Delhi and other Commonwealth capitals are busy at devising some way to salvage the little they can of the Commonwealth preferences. They, however, know full well that their task this time is not easy, for, Britain has already reached the tether of its resistance to joining the "European Community".

The apparent success of the ECM, and the new respect enjoyed by the French and West German currencies, combined with the hints thrown by the US President during his recent visit to London about the American patronage of this trade body, could not but demoralise a Britain whose own currency was in the doldrums. The heavy run on the sterling during the past fortnight, and the dim prospects of its regaining its solvency without the support of the West European countries have probably proved to be the last straw sinking Britain into the acceptance of the Rome Treaty.

BRITAIN JOINS E. C. M.

Britain has thus all but formally joined the ECM. In fact, a secret agreement, virtually putting it into the grouping, has already been in operation for quite some time. Under this agreement, which is yet a secret, France, West Germany and Italy have been buying sterling through the Central Bank of the ECM to keep up its price, which would have otherwise fallen in a way which, experts say, "might have been catastrophic".

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new lines of exports like light engineering goods. This will inevitably affect her earnings, and upset her programme to promote exports.

And yet, we find in India and some other Commonwealth countries some supporters of the ECM, who contend that it will expand the market for raw materials, which the developing and the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth produce. But they forget that the very fact that quite a few of these goods can as well be provided by the associated territories of the ECM makes this gain a doubtful one.

NEXT STEPS

It is in such a complicated situation that India and other Commonwealth countries have to decide their next step. No longer can they afford to be content now with merely invoking Britain's loyalty to her past pledges, nor can they rest on their oars and wait for the GATT to come to their rescue. They have found from their experience that this body—so fair in laying precepts—is powerless to make its members conform to them.

In fact, the very conception of the ECM and the other trade groupings is violative of its laudable principles, and yet, year after year, it has put up with them. The action will thus have to be taken in other directions and on other planes.

But before taking it the pretence about the "oneness" of the Commonwealth, and its resilience in face of differences, will have to be given up. Britain, the progenitor of the idea itself, has not thought twice before forsaking its colleagues when it came to safeguarding its own economic interests.

This fact alone should make it clear to the leaders of the Commonwealth countries that what had kept them bound together so far was not some mysterious spiritual kinship, nor political amity, but very mundane economic considerations on the part of their leading partner. The moment this partner found membership of another grouping more profitable, he ran away leaving them in the lurch. Why should they alone cling to a body which has lost all its rationale?

This does not mean that India, and other Commonwealth countries similarly placed, should not fight for whatever guarantees they can secure from Britain about the continuity of their trade with her. All it means is that henceforth they would essentially have to look to fresh pastures to get succour for their trade.

They have the entire new liberated and awakened Africa before them ready to buy their manufactured goods. They have the entire socialist world besides, whose potentiality for the import of their goods has to date

largely remained untapped. It is to these quarters that they have now to direct their efforts in ways which may be diverse, but which will all contribute to their mutual advantage.

Black's Black Deeds

THE World Bank President Eugene Black is no stranger to our readers. They know him from the days when he counselled India against undertaking locomotive manufacture in the public sector. Later, they came to know him still better when he wrote his infamous "Black letter" to the then Finance Minister Krishnamachari about three years back. Still later, he managed to catch their notice and imagination through his contrivance—the Aid India Club—which Pandora like keeps our leaders at tenterhooks till the last moment, since they know not what it contains in its mysterious box.

The same Eugene Black has received mouthfuls of praises from Finance Minister Morarji Desai who finds himself admirably attuned to play the tunes called by this wonderful benefactor.

W. BENGAL TEACHERS ON MOVE

FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

OVER 28,000 teachers of secondary schools in West Bengal will start direct action from September 11, their demands are the constitution of a co-ordinating committee for integrating the primary, secondary and higher stages of education, adequate salaries for teachers, security of service, setting up of a democratic and autonomous Board of Secondary Education and stoppage of the victimisation of teachers on the basis of secret police reports.

The decision to "declare a cease-work" from September 11 was taken sometime ago at the Jalpaiguri Conference of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association (ABTA), the most powerful mass organisation of secondary teachers, after the ABTA's repeated representations to the West Bengal Government over the past two years or so had been of no avail.

Although the Government had turned a deaf ear to the just and long-standing demands of the teachers, the ABTA was still hopeful of a reasonable settlement, and its representatives met the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy, on June 6 to discuss the teachers' demands. But, as was to be expected, Dr. Roy rejected most of these demands. He, however, came out with

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

What are these tunes, however? Are they in tune with the socialist pattern we are building, or our policy of building the public sector as its sheet anchor? Rather than give an answer for him we will let Black speak for himself.

Given below are a few gems picked from an article written recently by Black in the Danish Foreign Office Journal (reproduced from the Economic Times June 16):

"Both the fad of state ownership and the fury of nationalism in the less-developed countries are... severe hangovers from the past".

Further, "nationalism in the less developed lands today is made up of one part patriotism, one part xenophobia, and two parts inherited animosity against real or imagined subjugation in the past. It is more fear, than confidence, more a sense of inferiority than a sense of pride".

Black is not content with calling state ownership a fad, or with giving names to nationalism—by which he obviously means a determi-

nation to build one's country in a way he does not like. He even goes further to lay down the rules that "if democracy was the goal of free societies, it must be remembered that it has never been built except on a capitalist base. Today it functioned nowhere without the support of private enterprise".

Thus, according to Black, India, which has not opted for an all out freedom of enterprise, nor ostensibly from a capitalist base, cannot be called a democracy. Those who believe otherwise lack "political courage" according to him. But those who echo his voice give proof of this brand of "courage" in abundance, and for a good reason too, for it "usually pays political dividends in the end".

Who can win the palm for such courage in our country except our worthy Finance Minister, who has not infrequently "stood up for the foreigner rather than against him"? But then can we really assure him of any "political dividends" other than the presidentship of the Forum of Free Enterprise, that is if A. D. Shroff obliges?

—ESSEN

indispensable for their respective institutions.

The Government just refused to pay any heed to the opinions of the school authorities, because the police had adversely reported against the teachers. The most reprehensible part of this sordid affair was that the teachers were neither informed about the charges levelled against them nor given any opportunity to defend themselves.

The cases of eleven of these teachers were referred to the Chief Minister. He informed the ABTA that five of the teachers could be given "benefit of doubt". But the question of re-considering the Government's decision did not arise in the case of six others.

Disclosing these facts, Satyapriya Roy, MLC, General Secretary of the ABTA, stated at a Press conference that the Chief Minister had told them nothing about the evidence, on the basis of which he had made the distinction.

The ABTA, organised a convention of political parties, trade unions, students, youth and progressive individuals in Calcutta on May 18 to protest against the Government's undemocratic policy of victimising school teachers on police reports and to build up a mass campaign against it. The convention also appointed a broad-based committee to initiate and conduct the campaign.

Apart from the several urgent demands of the teachers, the most important question faced by them just now is the arbitrary removal of teachers on the basis of secret police reports. In recent months, 20 teachers of aided secondary schools were discharged on such reports despite the fact that the authorities of the schools concerned had insisted that these teachers were

NEW AGE

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U. P. CONGRESS CONFLICTS

From RAMESH SINHA

An unholy competition is going on these days between the newly-elected president of the U.P. State Congress Ajit Prasad Jain and C. B. Gupta, Chief Minister of the State in slandering the Communist Party. Hardly a day passes when one or the other of them, in some corner of the vast State, does not come out in an attack on the Communist Party.

If C. B. Gupta goes to some eastern districts and declares that the Communists are "not patriots" A. P. Jain goes to Nainital and does one better by calling them "traitors"! If Gupta goes to unrest-ridden industrial Kanpur, and indulges in a public harangue about some imaginary "selfish trade union leaders who want to create industrial unrest by employing Russian and Chinese methods so that the working classes may be attracted towards them..." (Nav Jeevan, 23 April), A. P. Jain pontificates at the Educational and Training Camp of the AICC that, "the Communist Party gets its orders from abroad..." (Pioneer, 21 May). And so on.

COMMUNIST BOGEY

Of course, both of them raise the bogey of the danger from the North and accuse the Communists of carrying on anti-Indian propaganda in the border districts of the State.

The two gentlemen agree on little else, but they are united in calling the Communist Party names and in warning the people against the "danger" posed by it.

It is, however, no secret that the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh is unfortunately not strong. It is the smallest of the six parties in the State legislature and poses little danger to the majority of the Congress. It is also known that the leaders of the State's Communist Party have more than once challenged the authorities to point out one single concrete case of activity which may even remotely be construed as anti-Indian.

They have offered—and the offer stands—to accompany anyone from the government to any of the hilly districts to check up on any activity which the government regards as unhelpful and to take action against concerned persons on the spot. But all such pleas have remained unanswered, and will perhaps always remain so, because there is absolutely no truth in the accusation.

Then why is this so? Why do they carry on this discredited propaganda even when, at least presently, their all-India leaders are not so vocal about it?

Is it because they want to tender their bona fides to those upon whom they must depend individually and collectively, for their dough in the forthcoming elections—the textile and sugar millionaires of the State? Is it because even six months have proved too long for the gliding of Gupta, ministry to wear off and it is not easy to go to the electorate with this unpalatable record and therefore they need to divert people's attention?

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after the huge funds being collected for the general elections.

Here a word about Charan Singh is necessary to show how this manoeuvre means a victory for Jain and his group. Though Charan Singh, in his own interests has identified himself with the Gupta group, is actually not with them. After Sampurnanand's resignation, Charan Singh had tried to utilise the opposition of different factions in the Congress to C. B. Gupta to get himself elected leader of the Congress Assembly Party.

Gupta supported by Nehru, however, proved too strong for him and his ambition to become Chief Minister of the State was thwarted. Since then he has not forgiven Gupta and has been rather vindictively licking his wounds. And, therefore, Ajit Prasad Jain finds it natural and not too difficult to woo him!

JAIN'S ASPIRATION

Ajit Prasad Jain has been conducting his campaign under the slogan of "eliminating groupism and partisanship from district congress committees" and "toning up the affairs of the provincial office which are in a really bad way..." While he is doing this, his supporters are assiduously spreading the legend that he is Nehru's nominee for the Chief Ministership of the State after the 1962 general elections.

Without the slightest blush on their face they show up their High Command as opportunist and say that Gupta has been installed into power at this time to get money from the capitalists for the general elections; after the elections his utility will be over and then Jain will be elected leader of the legislature party a la Bhojyanand Patnalki! There is no doubt that Jain himself has encouraged this sort of talk in conversations in his private circles.

Gupta is known as the "trusted man" of the State's capitalists. He is also Birla's confidant. Jain in this respect is an outsider and suffers from the same handicap from which all Rafites suffer: they have no base of their own among the people of the State.

Jain and his supporters are trying to make up for this with stories of Nehru's and the Congress High Command's support to him. And there is little doubt that he has got their support, though it is difficult to say to what degree and for what purpose. Over the years Jain himself has become a man of considerable assets; he is also trying to forge links with the propertied classes of the State and he hopes that ultimately he will be able to compete with Gupta in this field also.

But, for the time being, to counterbalance the millions that Gupta will be able to muster, he has got the UPCC to issue lakhs of coupons of denominations varying from ten to hundred rupees to raise funds for the Congress. This stratagem has the additional verisimilitude of making a mass appeal for the funds of the Congress! And

NEW AGE

KALOL HITS IT RICH

Editorial

INTO THE VEINS OF our young oil industry has flown yet another jet of its life-giving

fluid. Naharkatiya—Cambay—Ankleshwar, and now that small town near Ahmedabad, Kalol, all score the point that we can "very substantially become self-sufficient in oil" by the end of the Third Plan period. The Oil Minister, himself, has announced the possibility of this great development.

At Kalol, the drilling operations that were originally scheduled to be carried out up to a depth of 2,000 metres, had to be stopped at 600 metres only, because of high pressure. And the perforation tests undertaken on June 9 and 10, yielded oil, from the very first discovery well.

Our congratulations to everyone responsible for the success at Kalol—the Indian personnel, geophysicists, engineers, technicians, workers, and the Soviet experts whose technical assistance they had in abundance.

It was only about 14 months back, when the Prime Minister bathed in oil while visiting the Cambay oil field, and the Union Finance Minister looked on. And now comes the discovery of another oil-bearing structure at Kalol.

Luckiest indeed had been the Oil and National Gas Commission's experience in striking oil in our country. For, the general average is that only one in 44.48 wild-cat drillings discovers an oil pool.

Close on the heels of the success at Kalol, comes the news about the two oil refineries in the private sector in Bombay having reached an agreement in principle with the Government for refining the crude oil from Ankleshwar oil fields towards the end of this year. Announcing this news to the Pressmen in Bombay on June 17, K. D. Malaviya has stated that when the full stabilised production from Ankleshwar region in 90 oil wells would start in the next two years' time, there would be enough oil not only for the refinery to be set up in Gujarat with the Soviet assistance, but also for maintaining the supply to the refineries in the private sector.

There was a time when the foreign monopolies owning the two refineries had the audacity to flatly reject any suggestions for using Indian oil. There was a time when they had debunked even the idea of the existence of oil in that region, and some one had offered himself to drink every ounce of oil discovered there!

It is only by further intensification of the oil exploration work in the State sector, it is only by setting up the State sector refineries in time, and it is only by starting the oil distribution work through the State sector, that we will be able to curb the foreign monopolies, build up our oil industry and keep pace with "our speed of discovery".

What is, therefore, required is a bolder programme in this direction, more equipment, more technical personnel, and less vacillations. India may not get even those 90 oil wells in the Ankleshwar region in time, when only 16 wells have been drilled there so far, and all that there is at present are ten deep and three structural rigs all over the country.

Kalol has opened up a bright vista of an "oil city" springing up in Gujarat, with a number of industries around the new oil field. How soon will the Government realise this magnificent perspective? Kalol has underlined the urgency of expediting the refining and distribution tasks to which the Government has already committed itself. When will the oil from Kalol grease the elbows of the powers-that-be?

June 21

thus the battle is going on, most systematically, most determinedly and with no holds barred.

And to no one's regret (although few have got any sympathy for Jain), Gupta apparently is being worsted in this battle. The tenure of his ministry has been his chief un-making. Despite a number of spectacular things that he has done to meet the clamour of the State's people—things which have won for him some little sympathy—his ministry has become almost as unpopular as the one that demised six months ago.

ONE MAN MINISTRY

After his tiff with Charan Singh his has become a one-man ministry, consisting of men who are neither competent, nor respected for any other quality. Earlier, the de-

* SEE PAGE 13

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FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

W. BENGAL PARTIES DISCUSS ELECTIONS

With the Third General Elections due to take place in less than nine months, the political landscape in West Bengal is already beginning to change. Steps are being taken by the different political parties and groups in this State to gear their activities to fight this political battle. They are now formulating their electoral policies and making assessments of their respective strength and the number of seats they intend to contest.

SINCE the democratic forces of the Opposition in the State are quite powerful, one of the most vital questions that will occupy the centre of attention of the people as well as of left parties in the next few weeks will be the unity of these forces to defeat the Congress at the polls.

On present indications, exploratory talks with a view to forging a united front of the democratic forces and elements are expected to begin shortly among the left parties and progressive individuals.

Communist Plans

An extended meeting of the Executive Committee of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India, held from June 4 to 7, decided to work tirelessly for building up such a front.

Promode Das Gupta, Secretary of the State Council, stated in an interview that the Executive Committee had carefully considered the political influence and organisational strength of the Communist Party, other left parties and the Congress in different areas in the various districts. It also took note of the activities of reactionary parties and elements.

The Committee was of the opinion that negotiations should be held without delay among those left parties which had worked untidily in the different mass movements in West Bengal in the past few years, together with progressive personalities, for drawing up a common programme and for the distribution of seats. It, therefore, appointed a Committee, consisting of Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta and Niranjan Sen Gupta, to initiate the talks.

The Executive Committee reviewed the situation in all the 252 constituencies for the State Assembly. In the light of this preliminary assessment of the relative strength of different political parties, it came to the conclusion that the left parties which had taken part in mass movements and progressive individuals could contest the Congress in all the 252 seats.

The Committee was further of the opinion that it was possible as well as necessary for the Communist Party to set up its own candidates in 170 seats. The remaining 82 seats should be contested by the nominees of other left parties and progressive independents. The Committee also decided tentatively to set up Communist candidates in 24 out of 36 Lok Sabha seats from West Bengal.

The districtwise figures for the State Assembly seats which the Communist Party is likely to contest, are as

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plous wish of the party to "play its due role" in building up a united front of the forces which "believe in democracy and socialism". But that this so-called front is really meant to be an anti-Communist front was made perfectly clear when the Conference ruled out any possibility of an alliance with the Communist Party, the main opposition force in West Bengal.

Not only this. The resolution went on to draw the attention of the people to the "treasonable" activities of the Communist Party, which was "preparing for the liberation of the border in a truly communistic pattern!" It further "warned" the people against the "unprincipled" united front advocated by the Communist Party. The slogan was aimed at "confusing" them, the resolution added.

The people, are, however, intelligent enough to see through the PSP's disruptive game. It is the democratic consciousness of large sections of people and the influence and strength of the Communist Party in this State that have forced the PSP to mouth the slogan of a

united front for replacing the present Congress Government.

Shortly after the historic food movement in August-September, 1959, the West Bengal Forward Bloc (WBFB) decided against further joint work with the Communist Party in any mass movement or mass organisation.

Political developments inside the State, however, made the WBFB realise the necessity of toning down its attitude; and during the past one year or so it has worked jointly with the Communist Party in some mass campaigns. And now, with the approach of the General Elections, it has taken stock of its own independent strength and has naturally begun to think in terms of a broad-based left unity.

The resolution adopted at the WBFB's annual conference from May 26 to 28, emphasised the importance of forging a united front of all left parties to defeat the Congress in this State.

Pointing out that no opposition party could alone defeat the Congress, the resolution said that the task could be achieved only on the basis

of the broadest unity of the left forces.

This is, indeed, a significant change in the WBFB's attitude since 1959. But its conception of left unity is not based on firm principles. It seeks to paint the PSP as well as the Communist Party in the same colours.

Dealing with the obstacles in the way of left unity, the resolution said that the "conduct" of the Communist Party in relation to the India-China border question, on the one hand, and the participation of the PSP in the coalition Government in Kerala and its role in different mass movements in West Bengal, on the other, had created difficulties. Yet, despite "such differences", electoral alliances had been formed in the past. "It is, therefore, possible to forge it now", the resolution added.

It is really unfortunate that while appealing for unity, the resolution should, in the same breath, make slanderous observations against the Communist Party. Moreover, so far as the PSP is concerned, it is not merely a question of loyalty to the people, the supreme test of the bona fides of a political party.

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NEW AGE

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FOOD PRODUCTION AND THIRD PLAN PROSPECTS

During the Lok Sabha debate on demands for grants to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in April, 1961 the Minister for Food and Agriculture, S. K. Patil claimed with considerable pride that unlike past years when the food situation was tense and serious, there was now confidence on the food front. In fact, the Minister was not only satisfied with the present situation; he was confident that firm basis has been laid for the future.

REPLYING to the Lok Sabha debate he stated: "For the first time after many years we have found an atmosphere where we are not afraid that worse days are ahead. In fact, it is an atmosphere of self-confidence. I do not say that we have conquered in entirety this question. No doubt we have turned the corner and I may go a step further and say, we have laid a very stable foundation of a self-sustaining and self-developing agricultural economy".

Analysing earlier the causes behind the satisfactory performance in the present, the Deputy Minister, A. M. Thomas, remarked: "The present position of easiness and comfort has been the effect of several factors. The primary factor, is of course the record production of food grains this year. Although no firm figures are available, it has been estimated that the production will not be below 76 million tons, if at all, it will be only above 76 million tons.

"The rice production has been 33.7 million tons. The estimates of other crops have not yet come from all the States. From the available information it appears that wheat production may be about 10 million tons, as against 9.7 million tons last year. Looking back to the last 10 years we can legitimately be proud of our achievements.

"Nature has been kind, but all the same it also shows that the steps that have been taken by the Agriculture Ministry, by the Irrigation and Power Ministry, all these ministries, for increasing food production are bearing fruit".

CRITICAL COMMENTS

The above observations of the Minister and Deputy Minister followed sharp and critical comments by a number of members of Parliament both from the Congress as well as the opposition parties on the food problem and the policies adopted by the Government during the last decade to tackle it. The official replies did not fully carry conviction to all the sections of the House and the bold declaration about having turned the corner on the food front was received with considerable reservation.

It is necessary in the above background to assess the present situation against the experience of the last ten years of economic planning with a view to appraise how far the trends that have prevailed during this period provide a genuine basis for pride and self-confidence and how far they underline the need for caution and also for

radical reorientation and firm implementation of policies on the food front.

It is useful to recall that until about 1950, agricultural output in India (particularly the output of food grains) was in a state of chronic stagnation. It has been estimated by economists that in the forty five years following 1900, while the population increased by 37.9 per cent, the food output remained almost stationary. It was this phenomenon which was responsible for the chronic food scarcity, the starvation conditions for India's teeming millions, occasionally bursting into famines and thereby exacting a huge toll of human lives.

EXPERIENCE SO FAR

It is important to note that a break from this traditional stagnation in Indian agriculture has been effected for the first time since 1950. It is especially after the initiative of the First Five Year Plan that an upward trend of growth is initiated in Indian agriculture. During the 10 years period since 1951, while the population has registered an increase of about 21.5 per cent, the index of food grains production has shown an increase of about 30 per cent.

Thus, the rate of increase in food grains production during the last decade has been higher than that of the population. This is a fact which is of considerable significance and certainly cannot be ignored. It is this which is partly responsible for the tone of self-confidence in official declarations.

This is, however, only one side of the picture. It is equally important to see that the rate of increase in the food output in the country which has been of the order of about 2.5 per cent during the period of the First Plan and about 3.2 per cent during the Second Plan period has not been fully commensurate with the requirements of the country in the context of planned economic development.

The increase has been far from satisfactory in as much as it has not enabled the country to meet its food requirements, which have been increasing from year to year, on the basis of internal production and to eliminate or even to progressively diminish its dependence on foreign imports.

The following table showing the behaviour of food output during the last decade amply proves that while the basic trend of foodgrains production for the country as a whole has been upward, the fluctuations from year to year continue to be quite serious and we cannot yet

boast of a steady and sustained trend of increase in the production of food grains.

Index Numbers of Food Grains Production: All-India
(Agricultural year: 1949-50 = 100)

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1950-51 | 51-52 | 52-53 | 53-54 | 54-55 | 55-56 |
| Food Grains Production | 90.5 | 91.1 | 101.1 | 119.1 | 115.0 | 115.3 |
| | 56-57 | 57-58 | 58-59 | 59-60 | | |
| | 120.8 | 107.9 | 130.1 | 124.3 | | |

The fluctuations in the food output from year to year are an indication of the fact that Indian agriculture is still very largely subject to the adverse influences and repercussions of unpredictable factors like weather conditions, etc.

This is further borne out by the actual production of food grains during the five years of the Second Plan period.

ched a new record peak of 75.5 million tons (partially revised estimate). During

shown by the data presented in the following table. This table shows that the food grains output has increased at a rate higher than the all-India average of 3.2 per cent per annum in Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala and Union Territories; it has increased at a rate approximating the all-India average in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra; it has shown an increase somewhat lower than the all-India average in Madras and U.P. and markedly lower than the average in West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir; and finally, it has shown either no increase or positive decline in Assam and Mysore. Orissa, for which figures are not available, according to all indications is likely to be in the last category.

Again during 1960-61, the closing year of the Second Plan, there is a revival due

| Crops | Unit | 1955-56 | 1956-57 | 1957-58 (Partially revised) | 1958-59 (Partially revised) | 1959-60 (Final) | 1960-61 (Anticipated) | Second Plan Target |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Rice | (in Million tons) | 27.1 | 28.6 | 24.9 | 30.4 | 29.3 | 33.7 | |
| Wheat | | 8.6 | 9.3 | 7.7 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 10.0 | |
| Cereals | | 54.9 | 57.4 | 53.0 | 62.6 | 60.5 | — | |
| Pulses | | 10.9 | 11.4 | 9.5 | 12.9 | 11.3 | — | |
| Total Food Grains | | 65.8 | 68.8 | 62.5 | 75.5 | 71.8 | 76.1 | 80.5 |

For the Second Five Year Plan, the revised target of additional production of food grains was 15.5 million tons. In 1958-57 the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, the production of food grains was 68.75 million tons, exceeding the peak level of 68.63 million tons attained in 1953-54.

As a result of adverse weather conditions, however, there was a serious set-back during 1957-58 and production declined to 62.5 million tons. During 1958-59 the food output touched a new record peak of 75.5 million tons (partially revised estimate).

to favourable weather conditions, etc., and the output is expected to reach a record level of 76.1 million tons. Thus, the overall increase in food grains production for the country as a whole during the Second Plan period is likely to be of the order of 15.6 per cent (i.e., 3.2 per annum).

It is, however, important to note that the behaviour of food grains output is not in the upward direction in all the States. In fact the performance of individual States in this respect is characterised by great unevenness as is

Food Grains Production During The Second Plan in States

| State | 1955-56 | | 1960-61 Anticipated | | Percentage Increase | (Food grains production in lakh tons) | |
|---|---------|---------|---------------------|---------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| | 1955-56 | 1956-57 | 1960-61 | 1961-62 | | 1965-66 Target | 1966-67 Increase |
| A. Areas showing an increase higher than the All-India Average. | | | | | | | |
| 1. Punjab | 47.85 | 41.75 | 60.00 | 50.35 | 25.4 | 78.00 | 30.9 |
| 2. Rajasthan | 76.17 | 8.87 | 90.74 | 19.1 | 20.6 | 66.20 | 31.5 |
| 3. Madhya Pradesh | 8.87 | 10.42 | 17.5 | 14.42 | 19.1 | 107.42 | 18.4 |
| 4. Kerala | 5.54 | 7.15 | 29.1 | 8.20 | 17.5 | 14.42 | 38.4 |
| 5. Union Territories | | | | | 29.1 | 8.20 | 14.7 |
| B. Areas showing an increase approximating to the All-India Average. | | | | | | | |
| 1. Andhra Pradesh | 55.36 | 63.95 | 15.5 | 92.59 | 15.5 | 92.59 | 44.8 |
| 2. Bihar | 51.84 | 60.00 | 15.7 | 80.50 | 15.7 | 80.50 | 34.2 |
| 3. Maharashtra | 72.55 | 83.82 | 15.55 | 80.29 | 15.55 | 80.29 | 28.1 |
| C. Area showing an increase lower than the All-India Average. | | | | | | | |
| 1. Madras | 45.38 | 51.72 | 14.0 | 68.26 | 14.0 | 68.26 | 32.0 |
| 2. Uttar Pradesh | 118.86 | 135.39 | 13.9 | 182.69 | 13.9 | 182.69 | 35.1 |
| 3. West Bengal | 49.73 | 52.23 | 5.0 | 66.73 | 5.0 | 66.73 | 27.8 |
| 4. Jammu & Kashmir | 14.74 | 4.83 | 2.7 | 5.87 | 2.7 | 5.87 | 20.5 |
| D. Areas showing no increase or decline. | | | | | | | |
| 1. Assam | 17.06 | 17.0 | no increase | 21.20 | 17.0 | 21.20 | 24.7 |
| 2. Mysore | 37.83 | 35.00 | decline | 45.00 | 35.00 | 45.00 | 28.6 |
| 3. Orissa | n.a. | 38.00 | n.a. | 54.15 | n.a. | 54.15 | 42.5 |
| 4. Gujarat | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 29.18 | n.a. | 29.18 | 37.8 |

(Times of India, January 20, 1961).

of these areas in the increases in the foodgrains output during the last decade has been by and large nil or negligible.

Thus, in the most vital aspect of our economic life, i.e., the increase in the food output, regional disparities have continued to a considerable extent and the division between developing areas having a surplus of food grains and the stagnant or semi-stagnant areas having a deficit has remained.

It was pointed out during the Lok Sabha debate by the Deputy Minister, A. M. Thomas himself that in the eastern region comprising Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa while the population during the last decade had increased by 25 per cent the increase in food production had been only about 19 per cent.

It is highly important to note that even in those areas where foodgrains productions has shown a better rate of increase, there are certain special features which cannot be ignored while assessing both the present situation as well as the future prospects.

It may be pointed out here that so far scientific studies relating to different parts of the country on the causes of uneven performance of individual States in respect of agricultural production, are conspicuous by their absence. Certain tentative hypotheses have, however, been advanced by some economists engaged in the study of the economic growth in India during the last decade.

Increase On Big Farms

An important feature of the recent increases in agricultural production to which attention has often been drawn is that "these increases have tended to take place mainly in the holdings of the bigger farmers". This is very striking in the case of Punjab, for instance, which shows a high rate of growth of agricultural production and where at the same time "the big and medium sized farmers account for nearly three-fifths of the total area in this region, which is the highest for the whole of India".

We shall analyse the implications of this fact for the future prospects of agricultural production a little later. Suffice it to point out here, that even in those areas where the growth of the food grains output have been relatively higher, because of various limitations and handicaps the vast sections of small cultivators have had no opportunity to make their due contribution.

Thus, so far as the land area operated by the small farmers and also to some extent the medium farmers is considered the change over from the former conditions of stagnation has been rather insignificant.

The above are some of the major lacunae in the present situation as regards the performance of the individual States on the food front which

have not been taken cognizance of by the official circles.

It can be said without exaggeration that without a serious appraisal of the performance in the field of agricultural production during the last decade, along the lines indicated above, it is wellnigh impossible to chalk out any realistic plan for increasing agricultural production during the period of the Third Five Year Plan.

In fact, the relevant question to ask on the eve of the Third Five Year Plan is: while the necessity of accelerating the rate of growth of agricultural production is unquestioned, in the light of the trends of agricultural production which have prevailed during the last decade, and in view of the policies which have been outlined to increase agricultural production during the next five years, does it all appear sound and reasonable to expect that the target of increasing foodgrains output by about 33-40 per cent during the Third Plan period shall ever be reached?

It can be very definitely stated that there are serious hurdles on the way and the facile optimism of the Ministers as expressed during the Lok Sabha debate is the biggest of them.

It is certain that if the fulfilment of this target has to be taken seriously, an all-round appraisal is imperative which should become the basis of a radical reorientation of existing policies and their vigorous implementation.

The previous table also shows the 1965-66 targets for individual States based on the national target of 100 million tons of food grains and also the percentage increase in food grains output for each of the States necessary to realise these targets.

On a closer examination of the State-wise targets on the basis of the trends which have prevailed in each State during the Second Plan period, one is struck by the fantastic character of the targets fixed for the Third Plan period in a number of States. One wonders on what basis they have been fixed and how they are expected to be realised. One would like to know what new policies and programmes are being initiated during the Third Plan which would make the fulfilment of this uphill task possible.

Lip Service To Land Reforms

On the institutional side, i.e., in respect of land reform, the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan has only recommended that "the main task during the Third Plan will be to complete as early as possible the implementation of policies evolved during the Second Plan and embodied in the legislation which States have recently undertaken, in pursuance of the accepted policies".

Evidently, this amounts to paying only lip service to the importance of institutional changes in agriculture. One would have expected the planners to seriously examine why

the nationally accepted land reforms programme has been, by and large, frustrated both at the stage of legislation and implementation in the States and to chalk out a bold and serious approach to put it again on the agenda for legislation and implementation, after a serious and critical review of the existing situation.

In the absence of such a serious approach it would be cherishing an illusion to expect that any serious steps will be taken on the land reforms front by the Central as well as the State Governments. As we shall show later, this has very serious implications for the programme of increasing agricultural production.

Technical Aids Serves Whom?

On the technical side, the Draft Outline of the Third Plan has indicated that the major programmes around which intensive work has to be organised in each area are: (1) irrigation; (2) soil conservation, dry farming and land reclamation; (3) supply of fertilisers and manures and (4) better ploughs and improved implements.

A special feature of the Third Five Year Plan period is to be the Intensive Agricultural Districts Programme under which one district is being selected in each State for concentrated effort to increase agricultural production.

The question is, what is the promise which these institutional and technical programmes hold for effecting the required increases in food grains production? Under the strategy outlined by our planners which class or classes are to be the principal vehicles of the economic growth in the rural areas during the Third Five Year Plan?

The lessons and experiences of the economic growth in the agricultural field during the last 10 years are extremely significant in this connection.

The major contribution of the land legislations and other factors during the last decade has been to promote the growth of a class of big rentier landlords and the tenants of relatively bigger landholdings and financial resources as the spearhead of economic growth in the rural areas. The Community Development Programmes and other rural development activities have enormously served to buttress and consolidate these emergent classes which have been the principal beneficiaries of official aid and subsidies for economic development.

Thus, while it may be true to hold that not all the big farmers have contributed to productivity increases during the last decade, it is undoubtedly true that wherever productivity increases have occurred they have, by and large, been confined to the holdings of bigger farmers.

The differences in the growth rates of agricultural production (including that of the foodgrains production) of individual States during the period of the First and Second Five Year Plans have

to a very great extent been due to the greater or lesser relative importance of these new classes in the rural economy of each State.

It is necessary, however, to realise that this strategy of placing the main reliance for agricultural development on the large farmers has served to set sharp limits to the tremendous

vitalize the potentialities of the emergence of these classes as efficient, intrepid farmer-impetuous and dynamism to the agricultural economy.

The facts briefly mentioned above only serve to indicate that, even from the narrowly economic point of view, how risky and unrealistic it is to rely on the large farmers

BY MAHESH PARSHAD

possibilities for boosting up agricultural production to higher levels which exist in an underdeveloped country like ours having extremely low average yields.

These limits are set in two major ways. First, even when the technological prerequisites for increasing agricultural production are provided in terms of adequate supplies of water, fertilisers, improved implements and method of cultivation, the vast masses of small and average middle farmers are not able to avail of them, because in most cases they lack the material and psychological incentives as well as the resources for contributing to increases in agricultural production.

This keeps a considerable part of the total land area operated by small and middle farmers outside the orbit of the development process and, therefore, condemned to conditions of stagnation or semi-stagnation. This is one of the important factors holding back the progress in agriculture.

Secondly, under the present pattern of distribution of land resources, there is concentration of land area in the hands of big landlord farmers and well-to-do peasants at one pole and the concentration of vast unemployment or under-employed man-power at another pole.

Under these circumstances, the main method employed by the large farmers to increase agricultural productivity consists of such measures as installation of oil engines and electric pumps for irrigation, use of tractor for ploughing, etc., and of improved seeds and fertilisers and various improved methods of cultivation not involving the increased employment of labour. Farming in these large units, therefore, assumes the character of extensive large-scale farming.

Thus, the vast idle and under-employed man-power resources remains untapped and unharvested and their intensive and productive utilisation for increasing per acre yields is precluded by the economic framework of private large-scale farming.

Further, if we keep in view the caste and class composition of the large owners, we find that in most cases they have come from the erstwhile landlord class and from the upper castes which have never been accustomed to playing an active role in agriculture. In this way the caste and social factors seriously

alone for the required productivity increases in the field of agriculture. Attention was drawn very emphatically to this fact by Dr. K. N. Raj in a recent talk on "The prerequisites of economic growth in India", at the Dwivedi Chand Information Centre.

He stated: "Now, even if the whole of this class of farmers (i.e., big farmers) is drawn in, and they adopt all the new methods of cultivation which we wish them to, it will be obvious that, in order to raise total agricultural output at the rate of, say, six per cent per annum, the output in these larger holdings will have to be increased at the rate of 15 to 18 per cent per annum. This arithmetical exercise brings out one of the implications of a pattern of development relying wholly, or even primarily, on the big farmers".

It is evident from a close examination of the draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan that the lessons and experiences relating to the last decade have not been taken cognizance of while chalking out the programmes for agricultural development. At the same time grossly exaggerated and misleading official statements are made to the effect that "the foundation of a self-generating and self-sustaining agricultural economy have already been laid".

Such an over-simplification is bound to breed dangerous complacency. The achievements in the field of agriculture or in other spheres are the pride of the entire nation. But to ignore the serious limitations and deficiencies in this field is tantamount to perpetuating these limitations and deficiencies.

It is evident that in the coming years if agriculture is not to act as a drag on the process of rapid industrialisation of the country, as it has done during the last decade, and if the country has to be pulled out from its position of perpetual dependence on foreign imports, an all-round reorientation of strategy on the agricultural front is an imperative necessity.

The rightist forces in the ruling party have striven hard to scuttle all radical measures which had been proposed in this respect during the Second Plan. Whether this trend is reversed and radical measures are again placed on the agenda ultimately depends on how effectively and firmly the democratic forces both inside and outside the ruling party intervene to restore the correct perspective.

KHRUSHCHOV REPORTS

Going to Vienna for our meeting with the President of the United States, we, of course, considered in the first place how this meeting would affect not only the relations between our two countries, but also the relations between the countries of the new socialist world and the capitalist countries.

WE consider that such meetings are indispensable because, in present conditions, questions which defy solution through conventional diplomatic channels insistently require meetings between heads of government.

Such meetings are indispensable, on the conditions, of course, that these heads of government strive towards safeguarding peace between states. On our part, we are doing everything in our power for easing international tension and solving cardinal problems in the relations between states.

And now, dear comrades, allow me to state our viewpoint on questions discussed between myself and President Kennedy. I should like to state some considerations as to what, in our opinion, is the best way of solving those disputed or outstanding problems in relations between states which have become ripe or even overdue and insistently call for a solution. One of such fundamental, cardinal questions is that of universal and complete disarmament.

Disarmament Negotiations

It is well-known that the Soviet Union persistently and steadily has been working for the solution of the disarmament problem. For decades the Soviet state has been raising it before all the world.

The question is, why is it that all these commissions and sub-committees failed to achieve any success? For the reason alone that the Western powers were plainly not prepared for serious negotiations, did not want and, to be frank, do not want disarmament to this day. It is clear that no government can afford to openly appear before the peoples with such a position! The Western powers are afraid to tell public opinion directly and squarely that they do not want to negotiate disarmament with the Soviet Union in a businesslike way.

The capitalist monopolies are making fat profits out of the arms race and have a stake in its continuation. But to conceal all this they, it seems, need at least a pretence at negotiations. And so they have chosen the diplomatic approach: without refusing to negotiate outright, they at the same time do not accept concrete proposals on disarmament.

They keep dragging their feet, as the saying goes. A whole system of preventing the objective from being reached, of definitely leading disarmament to a dead end, has been worked out.

The universal and complete disarmament proposals which at the instructions of the Soviet Government I submitted to the United Nations General Assembly for consideration represent a good basis for the solution of the disarmament problem. These proposals of ours, if accepted,

would forever relieve the peoples of the grave burden of the armaments race, of the threat of a nuclear missile war of extermination.

We said then, and I emphatically repeat it now, that if the Western powers agree to universal and complete disarmament, the Soviet Union is ready to accept any system of control they may conceive.

But despite this the Western powers claim that it is the position of the Soviet Union on control that obstructs agreement on disarmament and that they cannot come to terms with us on these questions.

I repeat once more: the Soviet Union stands for strict and effective international control. We are prepared to accept your proposals on control. Mr. President of the United States, provided you accept our proposals on universal and complete disarmament. And then there will be no deadlock in the disarmament talks.

We want honest disarmament, we want to ensure equal terms for all nations during disarmament, so that no one could ever take advantage of disarmament to gain advantages for himself, to the detriment of the security of other nations. Our proposals envisage strict control at each phase of the realization of the disarmament agreement.

We consider that if complete disarmament is carried out, most thorough control will be needed. Control agencies should have access everywhere without the so-called veto, without any bans, without any restrictions. Access should be open at any time and to any place and we are prepared to provide this to the control agencies.

Only on the condition of universal and complete disarmament with strictest control it is possible to achieve trust and create real conditions for peaceful co-existence of states when no country or group of countries could arm secretly for attacking other countries.

Fresh Difficulties

Talks between the USSR and the United States on disarmament problems will begin in Washington on June 19. I should like to hope that this time, at last, we shall meet with a constructive approach on the part of the United States.

Now I should like to dwell on another question on which we exchanged opinion with President Kennedy, the question of the nuclear weapons test-ban talks.

For almost three years we have been negotiating with the United States and Britain on this question. At the very outset of the discussions we submitted a draft treaty to the Western powers for their consideration. Though this draft meets the interests of all participants in the talks and though during the negotiations we met half-way a number of wishes expressed

by the Western powers, the talks failed to produce any concrete results.

Now new difficulties have arisen. The Western powers resolutely refuse to accept our proposal on the forms of control.

What is the substance of our proposal? Allow me to state it briefly. At first we thought it possible to accept the proposal of the Western powers that the executive body of the system controlling the observance of the test ban should be headed by one man, appointed by agreement between the sides. But the events in the Congo made us wary, taught us, one might say, a lesson.

No New Hammarskjöld

The tragedy of the Congolese people has clearly borne out the consequences which may result from arbitrary actions of the executive body of the United Nations in the person of a single Secretary-General. We must do our utmost to prevent a repetition of such actions. This is what the interests of the peoples, the interests of preservation of peace, demand.

Exactly because of that the Soviet Government has arrived at the firm conviction that control over the observance of a nuclear weapons test-ban treaty must be exercised with the participation of representatives of the three existing groups of states—the socialist countries, the member-countries of Western military alliances and nations following a neutral policy, and that the representatives of these three groups of states may adopt only agreed decisions.

The Soviet Union has never demanded, nor does it demand, any exceptional status for itself. We do not seek to dominate the Control Commission, but neither shall we allow anyone to dominate us. We demand for ourselves precisely the same rights as the other parties to the treaty will have. What we want is that there should be no abuses on the part of the control organization.

And what do the Western powers want? They want to impose upon us a "neutral" person of some kind as the sole interpreter and executor of the treaty.

In other words: they want to foist upon us at this post some new Hammarskjöld so that he would supervise control over all the territory of our country. Frankly speaking, they want such a man to allow them to conduct espionage within our territory in the interests of the West. To this of course we cannot agree and will never agree because this concerns the security of our country. It is clear to everyone, of course, that the ending of nuclear weapons tests would not be enough to prevent a nuclear missile war.

We can ban nuclear weapon tests, but the existing stocks will remain, the production of these arms may continue and, consequently, their stockpiling will go on. Thus, the danger of a nuclear missile war will keep mounting. It is quite obvious that the ending of nuclear weapons tests alone

would not be some sort of a dam to bar the way to the arms race.

Judging by everything, it is difficult to reach agreement on the ending of nuclear weapons tests at the Geneva talks due to the position taken by the Western powers.

The main thing at present is to solve without delay the question of total and universal disarmament. We told the United States President: Let us solve jointly both problems—the problem of tests and the problem of total and universal disarmament. Then it will be easier to reach agreement on the setting up of an executive control body. In conditions of universal and complete disarmament the question of international security will appear in a new light: there will be no armies and no danger of one state attacking another. Under these conditions the Soviet Government will be ready to accept the Western powers' control proposals.

At the time when end-nuclear-tests negotiations are under way between the three powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain—France is staging tests in defiance of the protests of world public opinion and governments, ignoring repeated decisions passed by the United Nations, decisions urging states to refrain from such tests.

Thus a peculiar situation obtains: while we seek agreement with the Western powers in Geneva, an ally of these powers—France—continues testing nuclear arms and declares that the Geneva talks do not put her under any obligation. Consequently, France, a member of NATO, this aggressive military bloc, which does not conceal that it is directed against the Soviet Union, is able to perfect nuclear weapons in the interests of her Western allies.

Moreover, we must reckon with the fact that France's example may be followed by the other countries, when they have the appropriate scientific and technical prerequisites.

German Treaty

Permit me now to turn to the German question which occupied an important place in our talks with President Kennedy.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly stated its position on this question. And the Western powers cannot complain that they do not know our proposals sufficiently well. We have done and are doing everything to convince the Governments of Britain, the United States of America, France, and other nations which took part together with us in the war against Hitler Germany that the absence of a peace treaty with Germany has created a deeply abnormal and dangerous situation in Europe.

The question seems to be clear. A peace treaty with Germany is indispensable. Moreover, of course, there can be no question of any new changes of borders. We proceed from the premise that the peace treaty with Germany will put a seal on what has already been

established by the Potsdam Agreement. The Government of the GDR has repeatedly stated that it recognizes as final the Eastern border of Germany along the Oder-Neisse line, established by this agreement, and regards it as a boundary of peace between the German and the Polish peoples.

Revanchist Rearmament

Indeed, the governments of the Western powers, obviously, understand, too, how senseless it would be to raise now the question of revising Germany's boundaries. Their representatives have often told us about this during our conversations.

A simple operation, it seems—to put a seal on what actually already exists and what is long demanded by the peoples. What is it then that keeps the Western governments from this step?

The reason, obviously, lies in the fact that certain people do lip-service to peace, while actually wishing to keep alive the smouldering embers of World War II, so as to choose a suitable moment and fan up the conflagration of a new war. For this purpose more and more new divisions are formed in Western Germany and Chancellor Adenauer is demanding atomic weapons for his army.

What is the purpose of all this? After all, neither a big army nor atomic weapons are needed to retain what West Germany possesses today. However, there are forces there which still covet what does not belong to them and cannot resign themselves to the existing borders. What would an attempt to change the frontiers at present mean? It would mean war, and a thermonuclear war at that.

This is why the position of the enemies of a peaceful settlement with Germany cannot but put the peoples on their guard.

They have the right to say: if you are for peace, prove this by deeds: sign a peace treaty and pursue your policy in conformity with it.

In the conversations with me, President Kennedy, and as a matter of fact other Western representatives, too, referred to the fact that the Western powers bear some sort of obligations to the residents of West Berlin and that these obligations cannot be affected even by the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

It is natural to ask, however: what obligations they feel must be maintained if all of them follow from the surrender of Hitler Germany and from the provisional Allied agreements and, consequently, can be valid only until the peace treaty is signed? What is more, there are in general no special Allied commitments with regard to West Berlin.

The Allied obligations applied to the entire territory of Germany and it was precisely these agreements that were grossly violated by the Western powers. They turned West Germany into a militarist state, founded a military bloc directed against us, and in this bloc Federal Germany

plays a primary part. The Generals who commanded Hitler's troops, who committed atrocities in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Yugoslavia, France, Greece, Belgium, Norway and other countries now hold a commanding position in NATO.

It has always been the case that after the signing of a peace treaty the conditions of capitulation lose force on the entire territory which the treaty covers, and throughout this territory the occupation terms are lifted.

Consequently, West Berlin, which is situated on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, will after the signing of the peace treaty be free of all the conditions established as a result of the capitulation of Hitler's Germany and the introduction of the occupation regime there.

The refusal to sign a peace treaty, the perpetuation of the occupation regime in West Berlin are directed at continuing the cold war, and who can say where lies the border line between a cold war and a war in the full sense of the word? Surely it is clear that a cold war is a period of preparation, of accumulating forces for war.

I speak of all this so that everyone should understand the gravity of the danger incurred by any further delay with the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

When we suggest signing a peace treaty with Germany

city. We repeated in the past and repeat again: a peace treaty will create all necessary conditions for ensuring the liberty of the free city of West Berlin and its unhindered ties with the outside world.

Naturally, in solving the question of access to West Berlin it is essential to abide by the generally-accepted international norms, that is to use the territory of the country through which the roads of access pass only under agreement with its government.

G. D. R.'s Sovereignty

Such a situation is recognized normal by everyone. So why should it be considered abnormal to ask the consent of the German Democratic Republic to pass through its territory to West Berlin? After all, the ground routes to West Berlin pass through its territory, the waterways also run through its territory, as well as the air routes.

Consequently, after the conclusion of a peace treaty, countries wishing to maintain ties with West Berlin will have to reach agreement with the German Democratic Republic on ways of access to West Berlin and communications with this city.

We are not suggesting anything unusual. That is the way it has been in relations

can persons blinded by their hatred for socialism go is revealed by the statement of the Canadian-American inter-parliamentary group published a few days ago. These parliamentarians howl like hyenas and threaten nuclear war. They have not seen war on their territory.

I do now know whether they personally took part in a war or not, but it is absolutely clear that they have no idea what a modern thermonuclear war is like, if they are pushing their countries, and with them others, into a conflict. Now any war, even if it begins as a conventional war, non-nuclear, can develop into a devastating nuclear-rocket war. The peoples should put strait-jackets on the mad men who are pushing towards war.

We ask everyone to understand us correctly: The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany cannot be postponed any longer, a peaceful settlement in Europe must be attained this year.

We call on all countries that fought against Germany to take part in the peace conference when agreement will be reached on its convention: The question that stands now is not whether to sign a peace treaty or not, but whether the peace treaty will be signed with the two existing German states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal German Republic—or with one of the German states, whether all countries that fought against

pendent Laos under a government chosen by the Laotians themselves, and for international agreements ensuring this neutrality and independence and recognized in this connection the importance of an effective cease-fire in Laos.

The American side does not hide now that the responsibility for the dangerous events in Laos lies with the previous United States administration and that its policy in that part of the world was not always wise. In March of this year Mr. Kennedy stated that the government he heads will seek to create a neutral and independent Laos. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we stood in the past and stand today for Laos being an independent and neutral state, not a tool in the hands of military blocs, that no one should interfere in the domestic affairs of that country.

Thus, before the meeting in Vienna there existed sufficient grounds to find a basis for agreement on a peaceful settlement in Laos.

Similar Approach

During the discussions with President Kennedy of the Laotian question it appeared that our approach was similar. I declared that to settle this question it was essential to ensure the formation of an independent and neutral Laos. At the same time it was necessary to separate distinctly

troops meant interference in the domestic affairs on the side of a definite political grouping. Such an approach runs counter to recognition of the policy of neutrality of Laos and is open interference in its domestic affairs.

The sooner the American side renounces such interference the better. If the present policy of connivance with the rebels continues, then the course of events could lead to bad consequences.

It is all the more impermissible that certain persons in the United States have not given up their plans for bringing marines into Laos and waging war there with the help of special military units. In the United States these units are for some reason or other called guerrilla units.

In reality they are nothing but subversive and sabotage troops designed to act against the peoples of those countries whose regime does not suit the ruling circles of the United States. It can be said in advance that those who seek to try such methods have not weighed all the consequences for themselves.

If the United States Government really seeks peace in Laos it should promote the speedy success of the talks in Geneva. No one should delay these talks under various invented pretexts, claims that in Laos there has been a violation of the cease-fire agreement. If there have been such cases, then it was not the national patriotic

VIENNA AND AFTER

and turning West Berlin into a free city we are accused of wanting, allegedly, to deprive the Western powers of access to this city. But that is a wrong and unworthy argument. The granting to West Berlin of the status of a free city would mean that all countries of the world wishing to maintain economic and cultural ties with this city would have the right and possibilities to freely exercise these ties.

W. Berlin's Status

Of course, agreement would have to be reached with the country across whose territory pass the communications that link West Berlin with the outside world. This is normal. Otherwise the sovereignty of the state inside which West Berlin is situated would be jeopardised.

The governments of the Western powers claim that they have pledged to defend the freedom and well-being of the population of West Berlin. In the four-power agreements on Berlin, however, nothing is said of these obligations of the United States, Britain and France.

The idea of ensuring freedom for the population of West Berlin can in itself arouse no objections from anybody. None other than the Soviet Union suggests that the political and social regime in West Berlin should be the one which its population wants.

That means that no hand is lifted against the freedom of West Berlin, nor are there any obstacles to access to the

Germany will participate in the peace settlement or only a part of them.

The Governments of some countries have announced in advance that they will not take part in a peace conference. The Soviet Union will, of course, regret it if some countries evade the signing of a German peace treaty. We have always wanted and want all countries of the anti-Hitler coalition to take part in the peaceful settlement of the German question.

But even should certain countries refuse to take part in the negotiations on the conclusion of a peace treaty, this will not stop us and together with other countries, which should desire it, we shall sign a peace treaty with two German States. Should Federal Germany not agree to sign a peace treaty we shall sign it with the German Democratic Republic alone, which has long declared its desire to conclude a peace treaty and has agreed to the formation on her territory of the free city of West Berlin.

I told President Kennedy all this. And it seemed to me that the President met with understanding what I told him. He declared that our two countries should influence the corresponding political groupings in Laos in order to achieve agreement between them on the formation of a single government and its programme on the basis of recognition of independence and neutrality. We consider such an approach sensible.

Laos Discussions

During the meetings in Vienna, there was also an exchange of views on the situation in Laos and on a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

The communique says on this matter that the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the USSR "reaffirmed their support for a neutral and inde-

external problems from domestic ones. The domestic policy of Laos cannot and should not be determined either by the USSR, or the United States, or other countries. If any countries establish how Laos should live and what government it should have, then it wouldn't be an independent, neutral Laos, but a Laos governed from outside. And that is impermissible.

The three political forces acting in Laos must themselves form a government which would uphold the principles of independence and neutrality. The Soviet Union will welcome such a policy and will do everything in its power for it.

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We are firmly convinced that no one should interfere in the domestic affairs of Laos, because the interference of any one side could be fraught with very dangerous consequences. It is essential to approach the settlement of the Laotian problem carefully and cautiously and not allow anything which could complicate the possibility of a peaceful settlement in Laos.

In this connection we drew attention to the fact that the use of American officers as military advisers in the rebel

forces that were responsible. The American side and its military advisers in Laos are well aware of this.

Coexistence And Class Struggle

It emerged from our talks with President Kennedy that we understand the peaceful co-existence of states differently. The President's idea is to build up something like a dam against the peoples' movement to establish in their countries social systems which the ruling circles of the Western powers deem unsuitable.

If one takes such a view then one must conclude an agreement and assume obligations to control other states, to prevent any changes of existing systems there, even if the peoples rebel against these systems. It turns out that if the people of a country want to change their social and political system, this should not be allowed.

Naturally this is an absolutely wrong concept and we of course cannot agree with it. It is in no one's power to halt the people's wish for freedom.

All regimes which are built on the oppression and exploitation of peoples are unstable and cannot exist forever. And no matter how cunningly the system of exploitation and oppression is built, the peoples will still win freedom and overthrow the oppressors. The changing of the social and political life of society is an inevitable process.

It does not depend on agreement between states-

* SEE OVERLEAF

NASSER'S TYRANNY

DEAR Comrades,
The regime of terror, despotism and anarchy, from which the Syrian people are suffering, is becoming more ruthless. The UAR authorities do not confine themselves to the extermination of the last vestige of democracy, the ban on the freedom of speech, press, meetings, the freedom of association in workers' trade unions, social organisations and political parties, with the suppression of human dignity and the principle of the immunity of personal dwellings.

They are not content with direct appointment of members of Parliament and the imposition upon the people of dictatorial police regulations, under which freedom of opposition and criticism is completely banned. In addition they are prohibiting the people even to hold individual opinions and ideas, and this contradicts the basic humanitarian principles and is an absolute violation of the principles of the UNO.

The UAR authorities are subjecting patriots and democrats to cruel terror and the most horrible tortures, not as a result of any charges or for any action of theirs, but in order to make them give up their ideas and way of thinking.

It is confirmed by many reports that the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanon Communist Party, Comrade Farajalla Helou, has been secretly executed by the UAR authorities without any trial or sentence, or any indictment. He was executed only because in spite of the most terrible tortures he had declined to sign a statement criticising Communism as an ideology and an outlook.

Apart from this the Damascus military prison Al-Mazze houses more than 150 prisoners—among them workers, peasants, authors, engineers and physicians—who were arrested early in January 1959 and are being detained for nearly two and a half years without any trial or charges levelled against them.

One thing is demanded from them: to give up publicly their patriotic and humanitarian democratic views. With such repudiation, they are guaranteed an immediate release. To make them do it they have been subjected to terrible torture during the whole period of their detention. But they are determinedly rejecting this demand of the authorities.

In the beginning of May this year, the police resumed attempts to track down their will. Thirty of them underwent awful and incredible tortures again. The secret police wanted them to sign a prepared statement containing a repudiation of their ideas

and democratic principles. They were induced to declare that the regime, existing in the UAR, is a cooperative democratic socialist system, that President Nasser a standard-bearer of Arab socialism, that Communism is an enemy of the Arab people, it is against the interests of the Arabs and the aims of Arab nationalism in attaining independence and liberty.

All this is contradicting the fact that the events of the last few years not only in Syria and Egypt but in the whole Arab East have substantially proved to even the common Arab citizen that this malicious slander about Communism is baseless and false. The prisoners refused the offer to sign the statement, a stinking product which stains the honour and good name of any citizen, an Arab and a human being.

The determined and honourable stand taken by the prisoners resulted in the life of five of them being in danger, and Riad Turk a young teacher from Homsa who had been arrested last October in Damascus, was tortured to death.

The isolation of the dictator regime in Syria is increasing day by day, and indignation against it is growing. This public indignation is not restricted to a particular group, but it is felt among all the strata of the population.

This is the reason of the present active consolidation of national forces irrespective of their affiliations into a wide national front of the struggle for democracy and liberation from a despotic and terrorist regime.

On the other hand it is the reason for the fright and consternation felt by the dictatorial power, which make them lose their senses and resort to mad cruelties and unpopular wrong doings.

We ask for your solidarity with us in order to put an end to barbaric terrorist activities—which resemble the horrors of medieval inquisition—and to rally in defence of patriots and democrats, imprisoned in the UAR. We ask you to demand their liberation without imposing any conditions violating human dignity.

We appeal to the solidarity of all honest people in the world with the aim of achieving a respect for the right of freedom of thought and ideas, which is a basic human right.

Comradely greetings,
On behalf of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party,

KALED BAGDASH
On behalf of the Central Committee of the Lebanon Communist Party,

NIKOLA SHUNI
May 22, 1961

Khrushchov Reports

From Centre Pages

men. If anyone should, display such folly and seek to get agreement on this question he would thereby display his own worthlessness and lack of understanding of the events and the changes taking place in the world.

It is impossible to erect an obstacle on the peoples' movement to progress, to a better life. This has been proved by the entire course of human development. In its time there existed slavery, it was replaced by feudalism, then its place was taken by capitalism. One system replaced another, because the new system was more progressive.

One could cite the example of the United States itself which emerged in the struggle against the colonial yoke of Britain. The American people waged a bitter liberation struggle and won independence by force of arms. In its time the United States considered such a course of events normal.

Yet now when the peoples rise to struggle against reactionary regimes, against their oppressors, the United States tries to interfere in the affairs of these countries to preserve the old regimes.

The representatives of imperialist states want to find a way to prevent liberation ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism from spreading further. When the people of a capitalist or colonial country, displaying their discontent with the existing system, seek to change it, to establish a new system corresponding to their interests, then the governments of the imperialist countries immediately announce that it is communist scheming, the hand of Moscow and so on. They are not averse to using such fabrications as a pretext for interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The assistance of imperialist states to reactionary forces in other countries is fraught with great danger and could lead to great complications. The Soviet people and other freedom-loving peoples firmly stand for non-interference in the domestic affairs of any country. This is an essential condition for ensuring peace.

Every people has the right to independence and free national existence and no state should interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. A class struggle is under way in the capitalist countries. The peoples are fighting against their oppressors, against reactionary regimes.

It is impossible to regulate these processes by agreement. He who would like to reach an agreement on this question, would only show that he does not understand history, does not understand the laws of development of society.

We believe that the most important thing that the Western powers, and particularly the United States should recognise is that socialism is now firmly

established in the world and it is in no one's power to change this fact. It is common knowledge that the ruling circles of the Western powers have in the past and now too harbour plans for abolishing the socialist system. But these attempts failed in the past and will fail again.

It is essential to proceed from the fact of the existence in the world of two social systems and to build relations between the socialist and capitalist systems in such a way as to ensure peaceful co-operation between them. This is the only sensible path to be taken in relations between states to secure peace.

I should like to hope that the awareness of this responsibility will remain in the future, so that outstanding international problems could be solved, so that the rocks that bar the way to a stable peace, to better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, could be removed....

At present relations between our countries leave much to be desired, and this situation has developed not through the fault of the Soviet Union. But we would like to believe that there will come such a time when Soviet - American relations will improve, and this will have a favourable influence on the entire international situation....

In our talks with the President of the United States neither side evaded bringing up and discussing

the most acute questions. It can be said that we had frank talks. We listened with attention to the position of the United States Government on a number of major international problems.

That in itself is quite important. Of course no one thought that we would reach complete agreement—after all, the paths followed by our two countries are too far divergent to expect that. But I have the impression that President Kennedy understands the great responsibility that lies with the governments of two such powerful states.

Worthwhile Meeting

This is what I wanted to say, comrades, about our talks with the President of the United States. I must point out that on the whole I am pleased with these talks. If you were to ask me was it worthwhile negotiating this meeting, was it worth holding, I would reply without hesitation: this meeting was worthwhile, moreover, it was necessary.

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Worthwhile Meeting

ITALY: TURN TO LEFT

From S. RENSAISON ROME, June 10.

The Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party has issued an appeal calling for a struggle to overthrow the Fanfani government. Thus, whilst the parties of the government coalition are striving to prevent at all costs their coalition from collapsing, even though they cannot hide the increasingly evident cracks undermining the government edifice, vanguard party of the working class is engaging in a frontal struggle to put an end to the "neo-centre policy" (the former advocates of the former "centre policy" were De Gasperi and later Scelba), and to replace it by a left-wing coalition.

A fight against the policy of the present government and its majority—it is stated in the resolution—"has become imperative for the workers' movement and for all the Italian democratic forces". Overthrowing the present government, putting an end to the system of "convergences", which hides the fundamental "centrist" nature of the government, eliminating any discrimination against the popular left wing forces, all this means getting rid of the main obstacle to a democratic development of the Italian political society.

It means giving to all democratic and anti-fascist forces, rid of the political domination of Christian Democracy and of the monopolies, "the chance to form a new government and a new majority of leftward leanings, capable of solving the country's vital problems and of undertaking a programme of reforms of structures, as envisaged by the Constitution".

The resolution affirms that the policy of Fanfani's government has created a very serious situation, fraught with danger. In the first place, Parliament's activity is jeopardized by the system of delaying debates on vital issues and by passive resistance, by means of which the government and the majority endeavour to prevent legislative activity in accord with the Constitution and the hopes of the people.

On the other hand, the resolution accuses the government also of paving the way for a fatal blow to the State's secular educational system, by guaranteeing the prevalence of clerical schools. The resolution affirms that the attack against the State schools takes place in

the background of a general offensive against the rights and liberties of the workers and citizens and of culture.

As for foreign policy "our alignment with the most reactionary Nato positions, has made Italy an advocate of the revival of the imperialist policy of strength. In the Nato and during the Nato recent crisis, Italy has been one of the most determined supporters of the views opposing disarmament, the end of the cold war and the establishment of new contacts between West and East".

In setting the objective of the overthrow of the present government the resolution of the Italian Communist Party does not confine itself to drawing a negative picture of government policy, but stresses at the same time, as a positive feature, the development of a democratic movement in the country.

Such a development is expressed both by the workers' struggles, which are becoming increasingly broad and determined, and by the struggles for educational reform, for local autonomy, and in particular for the setting up of regional governments, and for an anti-monopolistic economic policy.

The swing to the left in the country has been clearly proved by the results of the recent local elections, which registered a marked progress of the Left and in particular of the Italian Communist Party.

In this context, the resolution urges the Party and all workers to fight against anti-communism, to overthrow Fanfani's government, to bring about a leftward turn in the Italian political situation.

The results of the local elections held on May 28 and 29 in 233 municipalities dealt a new blow to the "neo-centre" policy of the present government and gave added meaning to the Polit Bureau resolution. Prime Minister, Fanfani, in a speech delivered at Ravenna, some weeks ago, had deplored the "avarice" of the electors in giving votes to the "centre" parties and asked them to be more generous in future.

He received a first negative answer from the electors of the Aosta Valley (reported two weeks ago in New Age). Last week, he received a second answer. The electors said "no" once again to the conservative "neo-centre" policy, and the Communists had a new proof of the growing confidence placed in them by the people.

In 23 municipalities with over 10,000 inhabitants, where the system of proportional representation has been adopted and consequently, each party presented its own list of candidates (in the other municipalities the majority system called for the formation of joint lists), the Communist Party won almost 8,000 votes more than in the previous elections. As for the percentage, it increased from 24.02 at the 1957 local elections to 25.76 at the 1958 general elections and lastly to 28.29 in the recent municipal elections.

SCRAP-BOOK

SAMPURNANAND'S ANTICS

AFTER a bit of meditation (keeping quiet for some time) U.P.'s dethroned Chief Minister Dr. Sampurnanand has broken his silence. He has once again started speaking on public issues thus making clear that he has not taken to political sanyas (retirement)! His recent utterances are very amusing yet fraught with danger.

In Nainital he spoke about the Muslim Convention and also issued a public statement on the subject. He criticised the convention as "singularly ill-timed" and said that the sponsors of the convention "have provided a powerful instrument to certain political parties which in the eyes of a large section of the population are not communal bodies at all but advocates of aggressive Indian nationalism".

Who are these political parties opposed to the Muslim Convention? If I am not wrong, Dr. Sampurnanand is referring to the Jan Sangh and Hindu Maha Sabha. These are the parties which are also termed as communal parties by the Congress leaders and other secular parties. But Dr. Sampurnanand thinks that they are not communal because "in the eyes of a large section of the population" they are only "advocates of aggressive nationalism".

This is an entirely new definition of Hindu communalism. But I would like to ask the Doctor-astrologer, when this referendum took place in which the Jan Sangh and similar political parties were termed non-communal by our people.

As far as Sampurnanand is concerned he certainly is free to hold this view. His love for the Jan Sangh is not new. Even on the eve of the Second General Elections Dr. Sampurnanand was reported to have told a Statesman correspondent that if a Congress ticket was not given to him he would join the Jan Sangh and contest as its candidate.

And may be Sampurnanand shares the RSS-Jan Sangh dream of Hindu-Raj!!

Before finishing this piece I am tempted to include the following passage from a Lucknow weekly, The People, which headlines its remarks on RSS camp with these words:

LUCKNOW'S PEACE THREATENED!
"Naturally the RSS way of thinking does not favourably look upon Muslims and their way of life as basically Indian and its volunteers develop explosively hateful attitude towards them and on occasions like Jabalpur and Moradabad they gallantly play a notable part in fanning communal fire, rather than helping to smother the same".

It is high time the Government of India took some action against these hatemongers.

Before coming to the facts about the activities

—Agradoot

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GOA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE (Memorial Volume) Price: Rs. 12 Library Edn. Rs. 6 Popular.

The Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee deserves the thanks of the general public for having brought together the various important historical and political writings of Dr. Tristao Braganca Cunha, the great leader of Goa's freedom struggle, who is described as the "Father of Goan nationalism."

TRISTAO as he was called, was born in 1891 in the village of Chandor, Goa, graduated from the French College in Pondicherry and obtained a degree in electrical engineering from the Sorbonne University in Paris. While in Paris in the early twenties, Tristao popularised the Indian cause and wrote several articles in the French papers, the *Clarke* and *L'Humanite*.

He was one of the first to write a biographical study of Mahatma Gandhi in French. He also became a member of the Anti-Imperialist League to which organisation belonged some of the most famous leaders of modern Asia, such as Nehru and Ho Chi Minh.

Returning to Goa in 1926, T. B. Cunha dedicated himself to the task of rousing the dormant consciousness of the Goan people against the ignominy of colonial slavery and to this noble cause he gave every ounce of his energy till his death.

In 1928, he founded the Goa Congress Committee and had it affiliated to the Indian National Congress. In 1929, when a number of Kunbi labourers were under false pretences enticed into going from Goa to distant Assam to serve as slave labour for the British tea planters, he it was who set the Goa Congress Committee working against it.

By the active intervention of Jawaharlal Nehru who was then the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, the agitation was successful and the Kunbi labourers were repatriated to their homes in Goa. In the article "Camouflaged Slavery" included in this collection, the full story of this shameful exploitation has been given.

The profound understanding of world history of Dr. T. B. Cunha can be seen in his articles "What is Imperialism" and "Nationalism and Elementary Rights."

In the articles "The Portuguese India" and "Denationalisation of Goans" the first being a survey of 400 years of the Portuguese rule and the second a brilliant exposure of the methods adopted by the Portuguese of denationalising Goans, isolating them from the Indian people and thus perpetuating their colonial slavery. Dr. T. B. Cunha reached the classic heights of simple and forceful political literature.

It is interesting that in respect of the book published in India under the title "Denationalisation of Goans," action was sought to be taken under the Defence of India Act, forfeiting the security of the Press, which printed the pamphlet. The judgment delivered by Justice M. C.

ed public meetings condemning the fascist rule of dictator Salazar. He was beaten up, court-martialled and sentenced to eight years imprisonment and transported to Portugal where he was kept under detention in the fortress of Peniche. In 1950, he was released from the fortress but interned in Lisbon from where he later escaped to Paris and then returned to India.

As soon as he returned to India, he formed the Goa Action Committee, unifying, on this common platform, the various forces which genuinely stood for the freedom of Goa and its return to the mother land. Free Goa which was then being published in Belgium by Antonio Furtado was taken over and edited by Dr. T. B. Cunha till the day of his death.

Towards the end of his life, he was very much shocked by the utter inaction of the Government of India in respect of the liberation of Goa and strongly criticised the attitude of Government in discouraging the popular struggle for the liberation of Goa, leading to the petering out of the heroic

satyagraha of 1955 organised by the Goa Vimochan Samiti.

He died on September 26, 1958 from an attack of cardiac thrombosis. Within six months of his death came the posthumous award of the Gold Medal for Peace by the World Peace Council at its session at Stockholm in its recognition of "his eminent efforts for the cause of peace."

The various articles and writings that are collected together by the Memorial Committee have in addition a preface by K. M. Panikkar, who personally knew Tristao during his stay in Paris and who writes how highly he was regarded by great humanists like Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse.

In a message Jawaharlal Nehru says:

"The proposal to issue his writings in the shape of a memorial volume is a good one, and I welcome it. The story of Goa's fight for freedom is one that all of us should remember. The struggle, of course, goes on and will go on till success comes to it. What is worth remembering is that this

small territory has produced a relatively large number of men and women who have sacrificed much in this struggle. Among them a name that stands out is that of Dr. T. B. Cunha".

The book itself covers about 550 pages and the popular edition is moderately priced. The cover page done by the well known Goan leader George Vaz is a pictorial tribute to the 1955 satyagraha showing a satyagrahi shot while trying to go into the barbed wire area that is the present day prison of Goa.

This is a book that must be in the hands of all freedom-loving Indians and specially those who feel acutely about the injustice and shame of the Salazar regime being allowed to continue its hold over Goa, Diu and Daman.

In his writings Dr. Tristao B. Cunha deals with every aspect of the life of the Goan people and places the problem of Goa in its proper setting in the world picture.

The "Denationalisation of Goans" and "Portuguese India" which I have already referred to are not merely topical political polemics but can rank among the best in permanent political literature.

—A. S. R. CHARI

ten elsewhere of the agony he underwent at the ghastly revelations of some of the deeds of Stalin in his declining years. From that agony has come, however, a deeper understanding and a surer tribute:

"Stalin, whose great work tends to be undervalued, today, was a great creative statesman, however, much he may have blundered in his later years. It is doubtful whether any less determined leadership would have laid the foundations of Socialism"

There is a serenity in these words that makes a philosopher of a man and of philosophy a guide to living.

—MOHIT SEN

SOCIALIST FREEDOM

SOCIALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL by John Lewis. Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1961. Price: Five Shillings.

Increasingly the ideological offensive against Marxist Socialism turns on the question of freedom and the problem of the individual. No longer is it doubted that Marxist leadership has the supreme capacity for unleashing all the potentialities of the massive engines of production. No longer is there any scepticism about the ability of the Communists to solve not only the elementary demands of Man but also the needs of his enquiry into the universe.

The critique, both well-intentioned and malignant, now is at the level of quality, in the realm of the intangibles. Does the discipline of socialist endeavour negate the spontaneity of freedom as self-expression? Do the bonds of socialist solidarity bruise beyond repair the delicate texture and sensitive skin of the individual as he has gathered himself out of the chaos and hierarchy of mediaevalism?

To this critique the Marxist must answer with sophistication, maturity and stern realism. Such precisely are the qualities that we find illuminating every page of the slim volume under review.

Dr. John Lewis is a writer of distinction, a socialist who has traversed all the vast regions of human knowledge

and a philosopher who fulfils his calling as the lover of wisdom. He is, above all, that very rare author who is able to treat similar themes in differing works without inducing boredom through repetition.

Three strands run through Socialism and the Individual. There is the down-to-earth argument about the world we live in and the conditions of the majority of the population of the "free" capitalist society. Stark statistics paint a picture of misery, horror and death that makes one ashamed, compassionate and militant all at once. Until this is ended there can be, indeed, no honest talk of the higher morality.

Lewis does not stop at the poverty line. Quoting from persons like William Whyte, Vance Packard, Wright Mills and Galbraith he effectively demonstrates the corrupting and corrosive social environment which effectively destroys also those who are fortunate enough to have enough to eat and even view the latest curvaceous craze on the TV.

Our author next goes on to the theory of it all. This is a welcome line of argument—at the level of the internal logic and consistency of a system of thought. The main theme here is the refutation of the argument that Marxism is the same as Platonism and Hegelianism, that it sacrifices the individual for society and liberty for fraternity. Superbly developing his dialectical approach Lewis emphasises the interplay of

personality and society, their meshing and their tension.

There is a point one would have liked the author to examine. It is a fact that Marxism, as any science of generalisation, deals with aggregates and types. Its emphasis on this aspect was both historically derived and a drastic corrective for the highly individualistic systems that bourgeois thought had engendered. The masters of Marxism were more concerned with a sure portrayal of fundamentals, effecting thereby a radical shift in the human gaze.

But there were other areas of experience that they did not give detailed attention to—the problems of personal morality, of aesthetics and of the individual confronted with love or mortality. These are the problems of the poet, perhaps, but Lewis quotes Yeats so well that one expected some answers here and now.

What gives a finality and definiteness to Socialism and the Individual is its searching examination of Soviet achievements. There is pride and joy at the grandeur of the accomplishments. Even more is there confident happiness at the prospects opening up where toil, at last, gives way to creation. A faith to live by are the Soviet victories of Marxism.

Lewis does not excuse the mistakes or the crimes but he has the priceless gift of comprehension. He has writ-

* FROM PAGE 4

tickets in spite of him and that it is not necessary that all those whom he recommends will definitely get the tickets. Even such a feeling is a big blow to Gupta's position and strength.

Occasionally this silent and subterranean struggle has burst into the open also and hit headlines in the press such as on the issue of expansion of the Cabinet. Almost on the morrow of his becoming President of the UPCC Jain came out in the press saying that the Cabinet would soon be expanded.

Gupta reacted sharply and declared, fairly aggressively, that he had not even had any time to give thought to any such question and that, in any case, if the cabinet is to be expanded it would be done by him and by no one else. He further underlined that any questions like this would not be decided either at Delhi or anywhere else; they would be decided solely by him.

U. P.'s pressmen, who know all these goings-on, and generally take delight in their squabbles, provoked Jain to talk about the matter again after some time. This time, however, he was more careful. He said that looking at the vast State and its vast problems, in his opinion, a Cabinet of six was too small. He added that this question is, however, to be decided by the Chief Minister.

Though more careful, Jain was still trying to show his authority and Gupta was not slow to understand its purpose and meaning. This time he reacted even more violently and said that he did not want this question to be raised or discussed by anyone.

It is also said fairly authoritatively that before Jain's statement he had actually decided to expand the Cabinet, but after his statement aimed at taking at least partial credit for it himself, Gupta cancelled the swearing-in ceremony to administer another public rebuke to Jain whom his followers at least openly describe as an upstart, walking on the crutches lent by some people in the Congress High Command.

As for the Sampurnanand-Kamlapathi Tripathi group, they are supporting Jain in his struggle against Gupta, but it would be wrong to think that they are wholly with him, or they accept him as their leader and Messiah. Far from it. In this respect, they are reported to have the same opinion of him as the Guptalites.

Widespread Unrest

Meanwhile, the people's grievances have been mounting. The State had not known such widespread industrial unrest for quite some time as it is witnessing for the last three months.

The peasantry is deeply exercised over the cancellation of rebate on the irrigation rates and a number of zonal meetings and conferences have been held under the auspices of the Kisan Sabha and other organisations to consider what steps

should be taken to have this decision of the ministry reversed.

The cane-growers and sugar mill workers are agitating for their demands and even while these lines are being written a State meeting is being held here of trade union and kisan leaders to discuss measures to be taken for the realisation of the demands of the cane growers (whose crores and crores of rupees are not being paid by the mill owners) and the sugar mill workers, fighting for the implementation of the recommendations of the Sugar Wage Board.

The announcement by the Ministry that they are going to impose new taxes to the tune of about a hundred crores in the Third Plan period has not added to the peace of the people.

A new wave of discontent is visibly rising and often breaking out into struggles.

Communal Danger

At the same time, the communal danger is raising its ugly head almost all over the State. Perhaps, never after Independence had the communal forces—of both the Hindu and the Muslim hues—come out so openly, so organised and so aggressively as they are coming out now. The forthcoming elections and the possibilities of bargaining or capitalising seem to have given a fillip to their activities.

Let it be said clearly that the Congress in this State has not done anything to fight

this danger, nor is it doing anything today. On the contrary, in the elections, in its efforts to disrupt people's struggles, in its vile campaign of anti-communism its leaders have often allied with these communal forces, made common cause with them and used them.

C. P. I.'s Offer

Jain has once or twice mouthed the slogan of fighting against communalism also. But, in practice, he has turned down a suggestion given to him by the State's Communist Party (through a publicised resolution) and the Praja Socialist Party (through a letter) to call a meeting of

anti-communal secular parties to devise concerted measures to fight this menace! This discontent against the doings of the ministry is feeding the flame of communalism.

The historically discredited game of anti-Communism is being played by Messrs Gupta and Jain in this background. It also shows in embryo the strategy and tactics they are working out for the coming election battle. But it is highly doubtful if this will help them either individually, or collectively. It is even more doubtful if this would prevent the two groups led by Gupta and Jain from setting up candidates against one another and using the Congress resources to defeat their Congress rivals.

National Federation Of Women Declares

UNITY OF ALL INDIAN WOMEN POSSIBLE

From HAJRAH BEGUM

DR. Dwarka Bai's (Chairman, Reception Committee) description of Hyderabad as a garden where people of different communities flourished, was amply borne out by the colourful gathering at the Tilak Memorial held on June 14.

There were present the tall stately Telugu women in their rich silk and gold saris as well as the Muslim women, refined and delicate of face in their traditional kamees and dopatta, besides women of the Bengali, Marathi, Marwari and other communities who had all come together to meet women visitors of different States, who were attending the Executive Committee meeting of the National Federation of Indian Women.

The centre of attraction was the group of Lambadi or gypsy women in their outlandish, picturesque garb of red and blue, glittering with sequins and decorated with cowrie shells. They were present as members of the Kashjveri Mahila Sangh—the working women's organisation, and were to perform a folk dance of the Lambadi banjaras.

Hyderabad, at one time the centre of an active all embracing All India Women's Conference Branch is today split in many groups—such as the Mahila Navjivan Mandal, the Bhagini Mandal and so on—each catering to the needs and aspirations of one community or one section of the people but none able to bring all sections, all communities and all organisations on one platform.

To some extent, the various activities in connection with the Executive Committee meeting were able to draw these sections together. Premlata Gupta enthusiastic and popular leader of the Mahila Navjivan Mandal and other prominent social workers and intellectuals were present at the social get together held at the Neos Mysore Cafe—former home of Sarojini Naidu.

Maharashtrian women met the president Anasuya Gyanchand and vice-president Renu Chakravarty at a meeting organised by the Bhagini Mandal. Muslim women were predominant at the function organised by the Jamhoori Anjuman Khawateen and Telugu-speaking women met together at a

meeting addressed by the secretary Hajrah Begum in Amirpet. It was met, therefore, that the Executive should have drawn attention to the dangerous attempts by certain elements to exploit the just resentment of the people against injustice and unfairness and turn it into orgies of communal riots and indiscriminate assaults on women and children. Strongly condemning the happenings in Jabalpur, the Executive also expressed vehement disapproval of the police firing in Assam over the recent language issue campaigns. It also called upon women to strengthen national unity and actively fight for preservation of communal harmony.

Realising the necessity of drawing more and more women from the minority communities into the active field of its work, the Executive decided to pay special attention to the need of reforms of the legal rights of Muslim women. In a resolution it was decided to discuss the need for steps to restrict polygamy in meetings of Muslim women, to obtain the support of leading Muslim women for these demands and for legislation to combat such evil customs as exorbitant dowry and so on.

The National Federation of Indian Women had received congratulations from many quarters on its successful campaign in support of the Prohibition of Dowry Act. The Committee acknowledged the fact that this success was the result of the unity of a large number of women's organisations on the issue.

It decided to carry forward this unity by redoubling its efforts to popularise and explain the measure through a number of meetings, seminars, pressure on the government to publish posters, screen documentary films and distribute pamphlets on the Act, and also through practical steps of boycott of such marriages where dowry had been given or demanded, help to parents in arranging of marriage without dowry and offering legal aid and protection to the victims of the obnoxious practice.

One question to which the Executive Committee devoted considerable time and attention

was that of special attention to the primary education of girls and the need for polytechnics for girls.

The National Federation had at its last Council meeting welcomed the recommendations of the National Council for Women's Education and it, therefore, now expressed its grave concern at the resignation of Durgabai Deshmukh from the Chairmanship of this Council, due to the Government not having agreed to the implementation of those recommendations.

The Executive Committee in a detailed resolution on the subject noted that whereas the National Council for Women's Education had recommended a special programme for girls education and demanded a fund of Rs. 100 crores, the final outline of the Plan had completely set aside any such aid from the Centre, leaving it to the States to carry out the programme. Even the States had been allocated only Rs. 11 crores altogether for this item.

The Committee felt that the recommendations of the Durgabai Deshmukh Committee

should have been accepted and, even now, at least one-tenth of the total Central allocations for education should still be earmarked for special aid to girls' education.

Calling upon all women's organisations, all educationists, teachers as well as students to support this demand the Executive decided to observe August 19 as an all-India Day in support of these demands.

By another resolution the Executive Committee of the NFW expressed its disapproval of the recommendations of the 21-man committee appointed by the Punjab Government to go into the question of the right of the daughter to inherit from her father's landed property. This committee had recommended that the right to inherit from her father should not be applied to the landed property and that the women should get a share in the property of her father-in-law. The Executive denounced all such attempts to contravene the rights won by women after hard struggle as attacks of the conservative forces on women's rights.

P. P. H. Statement

DUAL GUHA, General Manager, People's Publishing House stated that it is the firm policy of the PPH neither to import nor to sell any book or publication which casts the slightest doubt on the territorial integrity and frontiers of our country. He was commenting on press reports about his arrest by the police on the alleged possession of a book entitled Glimpses of China. Guha in a statement on June 17 said:

"There was no search by the police of our premises on April 12, or on any other day. When the police served the notice all the copies of the said book were voluntarily surrendered. The fact was officially notified by us on the same day to the sub-divisional magistrate who served the notice.

"Second, the said book was imported by us in 1958 prior to the Government's prohibitory order of November 26,

1959. The date of import is mentioned in the police order itself and we have also handed over copies of the invoices which conclusively proves that the copies were imported sometime in October 1958 and May 1959.

"Third, I may mention that ever since the prohibitory order of the Government we have on our own initiative entered into correspondence with the Home Ministry regarding the import and sale of publications from China. We have always sent a copy of any book from China dealing with the border question even in the remotest sense to the Home Ministry and strictly abided by whatever instructions they issued.

"Finally, I would like to state that it is the strict policy of the People's Publishing House neither to import nor to sell any book or publication whatsoever which casts the slightest doubt on the territorial integrity and frontiers of our country.

WE SHALL FIGHT FASCIST ATTACK

WE print below the statement issued by the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States on June 11:

Attorney general Kennedy's statement today concerning the Supreme Court's decision about the Communist Party is a masterpiece of evasion about what these decisions mean to the American people.

Under the guise of anti-communism and the hoary "foreign agent" canard the attorney general tries to conceal the fact that the enforcement of this law means the liquidation of the Bill of Rights and the attempted suppression of every movement in this country for peace, social progress, and democracy.

As Justice Black pointed out in his dissent, it is a fateful day in American history when this country outlaws a political party. And that is what the McCarran law proposes to do.

As for the threadbare hoax that the Communist Party of the U.S. is a "foreign agent"—such a charge has been made at every stage of America's progress by the forces of reaction. It began with Thomas Jefferson, who was called a "French agent" because of his struggle for the Bill of Rights to the Constitution.

We are not, and never have been, "foreign agents" and we will not embrace a lie and assert that we have been, even for the Department of Justice, by registering under the McCarran Act.

The attorney general's statement is typical of the Hitler Big Lie under cover of which democracy was snuffed out in Germany, six mil-

lion Jews were murdered, and terror and barbarism spread over the continent of Europe.

This big lie rests on the perjured testimony of the Department of Justice's stable of stool pigeons, led by Benjamin Gilow and Louis F. Budenz.

The "foreign agent" charge is indeed strange, coming from one whose own church is under the same bigoted attack as a "foreign agent" from the Ku Klux Klan and other pro-fascist forces that slander the Communist Party. Just recently in the election campaign we assailed this vicious display of religious intolerance even as today we denounce and condemn the same type of slander propagated by Kennedy against our party.

Attorney general Kennedy says that the McCarran act is the law of the land. The law of the land is the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the U. S., and the final arbiter of these sacred documents is the American people.

The attorney general is rushing with indecent haste to enforce this contradictory and chaotic law to keep the people from having their say. In fact, as attorney general of the U.S., it is his duty to uphold the law of the land and, therefore, he should join with the Communist Party and all other democratic Americans in seeing that the McCarran Act is reversed, repealed, and that the Bill of Rights is elevated to its rightful place of authority in our land.

If the attorney general really wants to discharge his duty to enforce the law, let him uphold the First Amendment against these Supreme

Court decisions which would nullify the Bill of Rights. If the attorney general really wants to enforce the law, let him go down South, free the 104 political prisoners of Jim Crow bus laws that nullify the laws of the land, and enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments against the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council, and against Governor Patterson of Alabama, and Governor Barnett of Mississippi, who are in open insurrection against the Constitution of the U. S. and the Bill of Rights.

Let him order the release of the Department of Justice's hostage and victim of cruel and unusual punishment, the blinded Negro political prisoner Henry Winston.

The haste with which attorney general Kennedy vows to move on the McCarran act only confirms the double standard of justice which exists in our country. It is one law for the big monopolies and the Dixiecrats and another for the working

class, the Negro people, and the fighters for peace and progress.

But America is not only a land of powerful, untouchable monopolies and Dixiecrats, it is also the land of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is the land of the American people, Negro and white, who are being victimized by the Supreme Court's decision upholding the McCarran Act.

The provocative cold war statement of the attorney general Kennedy that the Soviet Union is running our party is not only a lie, but it prompts the question of whether Robert Kennedy or John F. Kennedy is making foreign policy. It prompts the question of whether or not, lurking behind the McCarran Act monstrosity there is some new and dangerous provocation to world peace and international relations just as there was when the Korean War was hatched after the Communists were convicted in 1950.

These are the fundamental questions which the attorney general's statement conveniently sidesteps. But these are the vital questions which are on the minds of the American people and world public opinion, as they concern themselves with this crushing blow against free thought and free expression.

The fight of the Communist Party to uphold the Bill of Rights will merge with the struggle of the Negro people for human dignity, with the struggle of labour for jobs and for a decent wage, with the struggle of the American people for peace, and with the struggle of all Americans for social progress.

Irrespective of what one's attitude to the Communist Party is, the most urgent and broadest united actions of labor and the American people are necessary to restore the Bill of Rights, in order that the avenues of peaceful democratic change which is the heritage of all Americans remain open.

VISIT TO KORBA COALFIELDS

I VISITED the Korba Coalfields on May 14 and 15. Korba is 25 miles from Champa—a station on the Nagpur-Howrah main Railway line. These coalfields are being developed and worked by the National Coal Development Corporation. At present about 3,300 persons are employed.

The skilled labourers are mainly those who have been declared surplus on the completion of the Damodar Valley Corporation, Hirakud Dam and Bhakra Nangal projects. The other workers are from West Bengal, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Chattisgarh area of Madhya Pradesh. There are many workers who hail from Kerala.

There are two or three underground mines and an open cast mine. The coal from the underground mines has blendable qualities and it is also used in the blast furnaces at Rourkela and Bhilai Steel Works. The coal from open cast mines is of inferior quality.

The production at these mines has been slowed down, on account of the transport bottleneck. Soviet experts are undertaking to work mines in an adjacent area on the other side of Hasdeo river. If railways could transport, there are possibilities of developing this area in a big way.

A good number of workers in these coalfields are members of the Khandau Mazdoor Union affiliated to the INTUC. During the brief period of its existence it has become very popular. In this Government undertaking the behaviour of the management is worse than that of private employers. It is scandalous to note that the award of the All-India Industrial Tribunal

(Colliery disputes) has not been implemented from May 26, 1956.

There are several hundreds of workers who have been deprived of their legitimate dues for nearly two years. The promotions are not according to any principles. This only shows to what extent the labourers are being exploited in public sector enterprises. For instance on some film grounds action is taken on the active members of the Union. The discharge of Comrade Shiv Dhani Pandey is a disgraceful example.

There are no certified standing orders in these mines. When the case was taken up with the conciliation officer the management did not send even their comments and did not attend when conciliation proceedings were declared. Many workers live in huts thatched with leaves. There is absolutely no protection against any kind of weather. These colonies are veritable slums and the sanitation is deplorable. No human being can live in such surroundings. Though the river is so close to the mines, adequate protected water supply has not yet been arranged.

When one notes the huge amount of Rs. 60 crores spent by the National Coal Development Corporation during the course of Second Plan period, one cannot help arriving at the conclusion that the amount has not been gainfully utilised. For instance, the workers who draw the wages from the mines work as domestic servants in the bungalows of the officers and the supervisors.

As yet the Corporation has not evolved any system by which control over expenditure can be exercised and,

therefore, it is not possible to correlate expenditure with performance.

With the amount placed at the disposal of the Corporation better amenities could have been provided to the workers. A proper hospital has yet to be constructed.

The Khandau Mazdoor Union has through representation succeeded in getting several grievances redressed. But several other demands have not yet been conceded by the management. The Union has been successful in uniting the workers on the basis of the demands. The mass meetings held under the Union are well-attended and not even ten per cent of the workers attend meetings convened by the INTUC.

The management, if they have to achieve the targets under the Third Plan, will have to create sufficient enthusiasm among the workers. This can be done by paying the arrears due to the workers under the Award, by undertaking the construction of quarters on a programmed basis while in the meantime some good huts with zinc sheet-roofing are constructed.

The workers should not be allowed to do out-of-designation work. Higher wages should be paid when a worker acts in the place of another higher category worker.

The Coal Mines Regulations, 1957, should be strictly observed and the travelling road in the underground mines should not be less than six feet in accordance with the provision of the Regulations.

These demands can be achieved only by uniting all the workers into the Union and conducting a vigorous campaign among them for achieving these demands.

—T. B. VITTAL RAO

LAOS : VICTORY IN SIGHT

The meeting of the three Laotian princes in Zurich highlight the success which is crowning the hard struggles of the Laotian people, aided by the forces of world peace. It is the culmination of a series of defeats for the U. S., who had neither wanted this meeting nor the resumption of the Geneva discussions. Thus, once again an important truth is underlined—every victory for peace today is simultaneously a defeat for U. S. imperialism.

HEADLINING its despatch for the West (Time June 16) bewailed the miserable lot of the imperialists: "Since the West was not prepared to fight (De Gaulle told Kennedy flatly that he would not under any circumstances approve of any Seato intervention involving the use of troops), it was prepared to keep on sitting at Geneva in the hope that something would turn up". This Micawber-like attitude scarcely benefits the dreamers of world supremacy.

At Zurich itself Souvanna Phouma and Souphannouvong are the picture of self-confidence and are demonstrably prepared to do their utmost to bring into being a coalition Laotian Government which would completely unify their nation and create the preconditions for a return of peace to their country, which has been the scene of one form of armed conflict or another for some 20 years.

It should be remembered, however, that these tripartite discussions—which Boun Oum tried to avoid to the best of his rather cloish abilities—are not merely a victory for the Laotians. They represent the triumph and vindication of a supremely important principle—the people of each State must settle their internal affairs on their own.

The U. S. had for a great many years not only violated this principle in practice, but, in Laos at any rate, had claimed the right to establish some sort of condominium over that Asian country and to dictate the type of government and the type of "neutrality" that should prevail there. They have had to retreat from this outrageous position. The tiny undeveloped Laotian State has compelled this retreat—such is the balance of world forces.

At Zurich itself the Rightwing forces first tried the stunt of proposing the King as the Prime Minister, in an obvious attempt to deny Souvanna Phouma his rightful status. This move was countered and defeated. The same fate met the Rightwing proposal that the coalition government should be "responsible to the majority in the parliament"—the rigged nature of the elections which was proved long ago.

The hurdles of a common internal and foreign policy remain to be crossed but Souvanna Phouma has declared: "I think we will arrive at an agreement on this point. There is no great divergence of views among us".

Even more important is his statement (June 19) that Boun Oum had expressed his desire to retire from politics and would

certainly not be included in any coalition government. As far as the Rightist "strongman"—General Phoumi Nosavan, was concerned the Laotian Premier declared that he would not admit any military man into a Cabinet under him. The pathetic plight of the Rightists was graphically described in a Reuter's despatch (June 19): "A spokesman for Prince Boun Oum at first denied Prince Phouma's statement about Prince Boun Oum by saying: 'Prince Phouma failed to understand the intentions of the Prince'. But later, Prince Boun Oum told newsmen in a voice that sounded weary: 'I am tired. I am a quiet person. I want to live in peace. Then he retired to his hotel suite.'"

As the Zurich talks proceed the speeches continue at Geneva. Two distinct trends have begun to emerge on the four outstanding questions that remain to be settled.

What exactly is meant by Laotian neutrality? The U. S., and to a great extent Britain and France as well, interpret neutrality to mean a truncated sovereignty while the Socialist countries and India insist that neutrality simply means that Laos is not to join any military alliance nor permit any foreign military base or personnel on her soil.

What exactly is the function of the International Control Commission? The Western powers wish to convert this body into a super-state which would not only have the right to supervise the cease-fire as and when and where it likes but would also "control" Laotian neutrality.

The socialist countries and India are totally opposed to this scheme for the violation of Laos' freedom. They want it to supersede the fulfilment of such agreements, in consultation with the Laotian Government, as are reached at Geneva and to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops as well as to prevent their re-entry.

What exactly is the function of the powers that have gathered at Geneva? The imperialists would like to blur the distinction between the international and internal aspects of the Laotian problem and to have the Geneva Conference dictate the type of government and its policies that Laos should have. The socialist countries and India want clearly to demarcate the two aspects and to concentrate exclusively on the external factors and consequences of the developments in Laos.

What is the importance of the Geneva declarations of 1954? The Western

powers want both the declarations—the one pertaining to the political settlement and the other to the cessation of the hostilities at that time—to apply. The reason is that in 1954 foreign powers were directly and openly involved in the fighting and therefore, the powers of the Control Commission were rather wide. In this manner they want to bring in their other proposals by the back door.

The socialist countries are of the opinion that it is the final declaration of the 1954 conference that is alone valid today. The provisions of this declaration, in essence, are an agreement by the members of the Conference to respect the independence and neutrality of Laos. The other declaration, they hold, is invalid as the present civil war in that country is basically different from the international war of 1954.

India has not made her position completely clear on this point. A perusal of Krishna Menon's speech would reveal that he is anxious to effect a compromise on this point in the belief that unanimous adherence, in some form, to the 1954 declarations would mean a very big step forward in the solution of the entire problem. It remains to be seen whether his hopes are justified.

NEUTRALS SUMMIT

THE projected Neutrals Summit scheduled for September 1 is one of the most important international developments of the year. Pandit Nehru has not indicated finally whether he will attend but there are very strong chances that he will.

Tito, Sukarno and Keita (of Mali) have recently signed a communique in Belgrade which expressed "the assurance that the forthcoming Summit Conference of non-committed nations would make a contribution to the solution of unsettled problems and to the ensuring of a peaceful development of international relations."

There can be no two opinions on whether the Prime Minister should go to the Conference. It is essential that he should be present. It is important not only for the conference itself and its aim of strengthening the internal unity and international contribution of this significant trend in world politics. It is, perhaps, even more important that Nehru should personally encounter the radical and militant members of the neutralist camp and find out for himself their demands, their strength as well as the unfortunate distance that separates our Government from theirs.

The Hindi (June 17) carries an important despatch on the Cairo Conference and India's role in it, which should cause concern to all

Indian democrats. It begins: "Curiously enough, India seems to have found herself at one extreme on many issues and many African countries were inclined to regard India's position as of the extreme Right... The role of mediation so familiarly attached to India was now left to the sponsors of the meeting..."

"For the first time the Cairo meeting revealed that India's appreciation of the African situation and African urges has not kept pace with current developments. Many African countries felt that India was being too legalistic and some did not disguise their feelings that the Indian approach was akin to that of the West."

These African states it appears were especially critical of the Indian representative's quibbling about the seating of the delegate from the Algerian Government. "To them empty statements at periodical intervals proclaiming sympathy for Algerian independence were meaningless and would in reality be helpful to France."

Even greater indignation seems to have been aroused by India's attempt to equivocate about the GIZenga Government and to put it on a par with the Kasavubu clique. "The African feelings in regard to the Congo were such that India's role was viewed with distrust. President Kennedy's statement that American views on the Congo were the same as India's has been seized as proof that India was in reality working for the western solution of the Congo problem."

A decisive and fateful flaw in the Government of India's approach to the problem of Africa is its failure to comprehend the phenomenon of neo-colonialism. In almost all matters pertaining to direct colonial rule and imperialist tyranny the Government reacts fairly quickly and well. Far more tardy and far less clearcut is its response to the neo-colonialist manoeuvres of the Western powers.

To the advanced African States like Ghana, Guinea and Mali it is precisely this neo-colonialism that is the gravest danger confronting their continent. In neo-colonial outposts and the drive for disrupting African unity launched from there, they see the most insidious menace to their own independence and the ultimate unity of all liberated Africans. It is this realistic and militant understanding of African problems that Pandit Nehru must seek to appreciate and suitably adjust his Government's policies towards.

EVIAN OUTCOME

THE French delegate to the Evian talks, with scant courtesy has, unilaterally broken off the negotiations with the representative of the Provisional Government of Algeria. He has further declared that the adjournment is to be of

an indefinite duration, rejecting the offer of Krim Belkacem that a definite period should be agreed as the "time for meditation", to use the pompous phrase of de Gaulle.

The Algerian leader has declared in a press conference that while he has not given up all hopes of a negotiated settlement with France he feels that the outcome of the Evian talks conclusively proves the need for arduous struggle and vigilance. To be caught in the trap of negotiations "pre-planned for failure" and then to be taken unawares at a new armed enemy offensive—this mistake the Algerian leaders have wisely avoided.

The essence of the points of substance in the negotiations was the Algerian refusal of the French alternatives of either truncated territory or truncated independence, i.e. either the separation of Sahara or the forced incorporation of the whole of Algeria in the French Union. Naturally enough this was a caricature of the demands of the Algerian patriots and a cruel mockery of all their tremendous sacrifices.

Krim Belkacem emphasised that his Government's proposal centred around one fundamental proposition—the need for the self-determination of an integral Algeria. All other considerations were subordinate to this central point—the manner of implementing self-determination, the manner of developing the great wealth of the Sahara, the manner of protecting the interests of the French settlers.

He made two remarks in this connection which are of interest. He offered full Algerian nationality and all rights to any French settler who wanted it as well as special guarantees for the development of their culture and way of life.

As for the Sahara, apart from reaffirming Algeria's sovereignty over the area, he said that his Government was fully prepared to take into account the interests of Algeria's neighbours—Tunisia and Morocco—as well as other African States and France in the development and distribution of its wealth. This was, above all, a shrewd counter-thrust to French machinations to turn Algeria's Arab and African neighbours against her with the lure of "joint rule" in the Sahara.

The London Economist (June 17) neatly summed up the impossible nature of French demands: "But General de Gaulle has instructed his delegates at Evian to ask for too much at too high a price, and given them too little freedom to make concessions. They have sought military bases on Algerian soil—notably at Mers-el Kebir; dual citizenship for the European Algerians; a 'special status' for the towns, and they have denied Algerian sovereignty over the Sahara. If General de Gaulle really supposes that the nationalist leaders can concede all this he is deceiving himself."

—MOHIT SEN

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FREE GOA THIS YEAR

From O. P. Mehrotra

A solemn pledge to "liberate Goa, Daman and Diu in 1961" was taken by tens of thousands of countrymen throughout India during the "Goa Week" from June 12 to 18. At numerous public meetings leaders belonging to various political parties—Congress, Communist, PSP, Socialists and others—reaffirmed their determination to eliminate "the last vestige of colonialism" in India. As "Goa Week" came to an end the movement for liberation of Portuguese colonial pockets in India had definitely reached a new stage.

The call for observing "Goa Week" throughout the country was given by the National Campaign Committee for Goa. The inaugural meeting in Bombay was attended by the chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, who declared:

"India's independence is incomplete as long as any part of the country is under foreign rule. A new insurrectionary wave is beginning in Goa. This will lead to mass action and the humbling of the foreign imperialists. If in such a movement the people of Goa resort to all methods of resistance, it is not for people on this side of the border to preach non-violence."

Exhorting people to advance the movement so as to fulfil the mission of liberating Goa, Daman and Diu by 1961 she declared: "We must go into Goa, plead with the people of Goa, organise them and enable them to resist oppression and finally paralyse the entire administration."

Communist leader S. G. Sardesai echoing similar feelings made a pointed reference to "the promises made to the people of Goa in the last fifteen years by the people of the rest of the country". Reminding his audience of the heroic satyagraha of 1955 he declared that "If Delhi permits, not hundreds but thousands of volunteers will offer themselves for satyagraha in Goa". The meeting was presided by B. A. Dalal of the Congress and addressed by representatives of the Congress, Communists, PSP and Socialist Parties. Blitz editor, R. K. Karanjia also addressed it.

Government Passivity

A resolution passed at the meeting demanded "immediate and effective action by the Government of India to bring Goa, Daman and Diu back to motherland in 1961 itself". Another resolution asked the British people to "repudiate their Government's shameful policy of lending encouragement and support to Portuguese colonialism" and condemned the wanton brutalities perpetrated by the Portuguese in Angola.

Resolutions saluting the memory of Goa Martyrs and condoling the death of V. D. Chitale were also passed. In a message the Union Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, wished the campaign strength and success.

The inaugural of the "Goa Week" in Bombay coincided with the decision of the people of Dadra and Nagar Haveli to demand

that the enclaves be merged with the Indian Union. This decision of the residents of the former Portuguese pockets also reflects the mood of the Goan people and their keen desire to live as free citizens of India.

After Bombay Aruna Asaf Ali went to Ahmedabad where she addressed a largely attended public meeting on June 14. Once again the pledge to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu was taken. In a resolution passed by the meeting Government of India has been asked to revise "its present Goa policy immediately". The resolution also asked the Government to

"accept the request of the elected representatives of the people of Dadra and Nagar Haveli to merge the liberated Portuguese territories with the Indian Union".

An ad hoc committee with Indulal Yagnik as President was formed to take all necessary steps for establishing a branch of the National Campaign Committee in Gujarat.

From Ahmedabad Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali proceeded to Belgaum, near the Goan border, where on June 18, she exhorted the people to raise a united voice and demand the immediate liberation of Goa. Once again, in a resolution, the people urged the Government of India to "revise" its Goa policy and take strong measures to liquidate the fascist pocket in India.

An impressive meeting was held on June 18, in Delhi, presided over by Diwan Chaman Lal, M.P. and addressed among others by M. Tariq M.P., and Mrs. Sarla Sharma, Communist Councillor of the Delhi Municipal Corporation. A resolution adopted by the meeting declared that Goa problem was a national

problem and appealed to all political parties and organisations and entire Indian people to support the efforts of the National Campaign Committee for liberation of Goa.

Another resolution passed by the meeting condemned the mass killings and imprisonment of the people of Angola by Portuguese imperialists. The resolution pointed out that it was "most regrettable and shameful on the part of the NATO allies who have associated themselves with Portuguese imperialist policies".

In his speech Chaman Lal suggested to the Government of India to allow free movement across the Goa border. This in other words was a plea for allowing satyagrahis to march into Goa.

From the above it is clear that the people of our country are not satisfied by Government of India's soft-peddalling on Goa issue.

Indian people want a change in Government's policy. They want to eliminate "the last vestige" of colonialism in India. For this they are appealing to

the Government to allow them free entry into Goa so that they can help the Goan people to throw out the Portuguese imperialists for ever.

What is the reply of our Government to these appeals? The answer was provided in Defence Minister Krishna Menon's speech last Sunday (June 18) where he said that it was not the responsibility of the Government of India to foment revolutions.

Our people certainly are not asking the Government to "foment revolution" anywhere. They want that the Government should not come in their way. Salazar cannot be persuaded to liquidate his "empire" but the Indian people, if allowed to enter Goa, Daman and Diu, can certainly throw dictator Salazar's men into the Arabian sea.

Krishna Menon, however, rightly stressed that the liberation struggle of Goa was not confined to Goans only and that the problem of Goa's liberation was an unfinished business of Indian independence. So let us finish this "unfinished business".

Soviet Reality Eludes Birla

By Cable From MASOOD ALI KHAN

G. D. Birla certainly went wrong in his estimations of the Soviet standard of living. As an experienced and shrewd businessman he was quick to grasp the profitable possibilities and need of the development of Indo-Soviet trade but did not see the glaring facts of Soviet reality which would show the superiority of Socialism over capitalism.

Obviously this was not the purpose of his visit. It is a good thing that he convinced himself of the genuine desire of the Soviet people, big or small, for peace but I want to say something regarding the "life of hardship" which "they are living at present" in the Soviet Union according to Birla's statement in his article in the Hindustan Times.

If Birla compared the life of the average Soviet person with his own standard it probably seemed full of hardships but compared with the life of ordinary workmen in any capitalist country of the world it is certainly not so. Here I want to deal with just a few wrong facts and fallacies used by Birla and commonly used by other bourgeois observers when they write about the Soviet standard of living.

One method is to convert some of the Soviet prices into your own currency and show how dear everything is for the "poor" Soviet people. That way you can make certain things look "awfully expensive" and, of course, don't convert people's wages lest you might show that the Soviet workingman is awfully rich compared to his counterpart in the capitalist world!

If you say "tomatoes were sold at nearly rupees fifteen per seer"—and mind you these are off season tomatoes produced during winter in hot houses—the average In-

dian thinks of his own poor wages and says "Thank God! I do not live in the Soviet Union"! Of course, if he is as naive as you would like them to be.

But these financial "experts" forget certain facts. Take the minimum wage of an unskilled worker like the woman who washes the staircase in our house or cleans the yard is Rs. 160 or 200 per month or the truck driver living in our house who gets more than Rs. 500 per month and his wife working in a factory earns another Rs. 400 so that they have an income of Rs. 900 monthly. I have deliberately taken the lowest income group to show what a difference there is in terms of real wages. Only then the whole picture emerges.

Birla admits that rents are low and education and medical aid, etc., are free. But the point is these are the big items on which about half, if not more, the income of our average man goes. And here for a modern flat with central heating and constant hot water, lift, etc., people pay only three or four percent of their wages or even less. Electricity and gas are cheap. For example in our household the monthly bill for cooking on gas comes to 30 kopeks or one-and-a-half rupees.

Public transport is the cheapest in the world and you can go as far as you like

on your ticket and monthly fares are even cheaper. Here no one even thinks of the cost of travelling in town, whereas in Delhi, not to say of such places as London, it becomes an item in your budget.

And what about social services, full employment and pensions? In a family in the Soviet Union you have both the grand father and grand mother receiving considerable pensions and the husband and wife and grown-up sons and daughters—all earning members.

One can find good shoes and clothing where prices if converted into Indian currency at the prevailing rate of exchange look four or five times dearer but if you take the purchasing power of families and real wages and incomes you can easily discover that they are 10-20 times higher.

And what about the cultural standard? Millions upon millions of books are sold every year, thousands upon thousands of clubs and libraries and theatres are full to capacity. What about the paid holidays, rest homes and health resorts, sanatoriums filled to capacity with working people? And what about education—more than hundred thousand engineers coming out of educational institutions every year, more than three times that of the USA.

But there is a common sense way of looking at the living standard if you don't want to go by the statements of Western visitors who say that average Soviet worker is better off than the British, French or German counterpart. There is no need to go into complicated calculations

MOSCOW, June 21.

based on international exchange rates.

Just stand outside in a street in any town of the Soviet Union and watch for as many hours as you like and ask yourself, even if you are a multimillionaire, why are all the people so well fed and healthy, why are the children so full-blooded and rosy cheeked beaming with health, if food is so expensive. And why are all the people decently clothed, all of them have overcoats and rain-coats and decent shoes? Why do the women go crazy over the latest fashions if all this is expensive and beyond their reach?

Why is it that the shops are always full and you have to stand in a line to pay your money and the stores take in millions upon millions every day and sell not only the goods needed for bare existence but millions of vacuum-cleaners and washing machines and refrigerators and cameras and watches crystal glass jewellery and carpets and God knows what else? Where does all this go if not to increase the living standard of the people?

Gogol once compared Russia to a Troika, the fast Russian sledge drawn by three horses, and asked "Where are thou heading for, O! Russia?" Today he would have to put that question to the twenty million horse power space ship Vostok. And he would get the answer: To Communism, to happiness and prosperity and abundance, to the heights of learning and science, in fact, to the stars! Is all this a part of the standard of living? It depends on what standards one has.