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COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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On National Integration:

LE PARTIES MEET THE OFFING P

* FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Of late the problem of national integration has engaged serious attention of all national and secular parties in the country. Ever since the communal riots that took place in Jabalpur, religious fanatics with an eye on the coming general elections, have been raising their shricking voices in the name of their respec-tive communities. Although they have not succeeded in fomenting trouble on an all-India plane, they have been successful in reviving the ghost of communalism in a fairly big way.

The soaring ambitions of the communalists have dangerous portents for this country. And it is good that this is being realised, though slowly, by the democratic and secular forces. According to the latest information it now seems that the problem of national integration and communal harmon, shall come up for discussion in an all-Parties Convention to be convened

THE indication for holding such a Convention was given by the Union Home Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri in the last session of the Parliament. It duly and promptly received the support of large sections inside the Congress as well as the Congress, as well as the Communist Party, PSP, and the Muslim Convention held last month in New Delhi.

There has, however, been fairly strong opposition from influential elements within influential elements within the ruling party who associated themselves with the communal elements. They found that the direct or indirect championship of communalism on the anti-Communist basis as it came handy to overthrow the EMS Ministry in Kerala, was no more possible.

OPPOSITION FROM WITHIN

They, nonetheless, within he close circles of their uling coterie adopted the the close circies or ruling coterie adopted the argument that it was unwise and tactless to associate with the opposition parties, especially the Communist Party which was the most enthusiastic about united enthusiastic abo national crusade.

In the opinion of these blind diehard elements, such a move would give respectabl-lity and recognition to the a move would give respectable lity and recognition to the Communist and Praja Social list. Parties and enhance their prestige during the cri-tical election year.

The Home Minister, how ever did not give up. It is learnt that in consultation with the Prime Minister he has been seeking high-powered support. He has been in touch with some important Chief Ministers who are faced with the problem in the raw and they have welcomed the move.

A final decision about such an all parties national con-vention will be formally taken in the State Chief Ministers Conference scheduled to meet on August 10, in New Delhi.

NEED OF THE HOUR

The decision of the Muslim Convention to put before the Prime Minister the difficulties that the minority community is facing as also the bursting up of the non-Muslim minoup of the non-Muslim minorities' problem in more than one State, have brought to the fore the problem of establishing some mechanism to tackle the grievances and to guarantee the implementation of the constitutional rights.

It is reliably learnt that the Home Minister will suggest in the coming Chief Ministers' Conference the appointment of an authoritative Minorities Commission. The Prime Minister is also supporting the propo-

It is being stated that all specific grievances and demands of linguistic as well as religious minorities can be referred to such a Commission which could look into them and make its own restrictions. commendations to the Union and State Governments.

New Delhi circles also hope that the setting up of such a Commission could offer an useful way out to the more sensible elements among the sensible elements among the Sikhs. The immediate feasi-bility of appointing such a Commission will also be con-sidered by the Chief Minis-ters' Conference.

The issue as to how far the rights already guaranteed by the constitution; and other official declarations to the linguistic minorities are being actually implemented in prac-tice, came up for discussion in Southern Zonal Council recently.

The decision taken there on the problem of safeguards for linguistic minorities re-lates to facilities for instruction of linguistic minorities in their mother tongue, use of minority language for official purposes and as a medium of examinations for recruitment to State services. These recommendations, it is learnt, are being considered as a model and are being circulated to other Zonal Councils.

SOLUTION BROOKS NO DELAY

These decisions, coming after the language trouble in Assam are a sign that the ruling party can no more sit tight over the problem. It is, however, yet to be seen how the coming Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi handles these proposals.

The problem of national in-tegration can be toyed with no more. It has to be faced squarely and solved in a prin-cipled rational manner. How far the various national secular elements have moved for-ward will be really revealed as and when the proposed as and when the proposed All Parties Convention meets.

Behind PM's Rush To Srinagar

From Our Special Correspondent

THE current three-day visit of the Prime Minister to Kashmir is invested with more than usual interest and significance.

Despite the strenuous efforts of a section of New Delhi opinion to play down Pakistan President's success in Washington, responsible quarters do not hide the anxiety over the reference to Kashmir in the Kennedy-Ayub joint communique and have the Kennedy-Ayub joint communique and have begun to warn against the sense of complacency generated by rather naive reports that appeared in the Indian press prior to and during the Pakistani President's US visit.

In the background of high pressure propaganda carried on by the Pakistani leaders against this country and the mounting acts of sabotage inside Kashmir, the situation is regarded in New Delhi circles as one of ominous and sinister possibilities.

Accordingly, instructions were sent out before the departure of the Prime Minister to Kashmir that a comprehensive report about Pakistani sabotage activi-ties and violations of ceasefire be prepared. High Army officers and Kashmir police officials were direct-ed to prepare the report jointly,

A top-level conference of Army and Civil authori-ties is being held to con-sider the report and exa-mine all aspects of the Kashmir situation including the question of meet-ing any major intrusion across the border following reports of Pakistani pre-parations for a new round of aggression.

Though a full-scale attack from Pakistan is not considered probable at this stage, Pakistan has been organising sabotage and infiltration on a large scale for some time past, according to authoritative full-scale sources.

The reports have reached here that five thousand guerilla soldiers are being guernia solders are being trained in ninety five cen-tres in Azad Kashmir area under the direct supervi-sion of the Pakistani Army.

sion of the Pakistani Army.

A Pakistani soldier who was captured during the recent raid on the Uri sector of the Cease-Fire Line is reported to have disclosed to the Indian authorities that recruits from all parts of West Pakistan are receiving training in these centres and are sent across the Cease-Fire Line into the Indian territory to organise sabotage and subversion in Jammu and Kashmir State.

The clash on the Uri

The clash on the Uri sector in the last week of

June was the biggest of a series of raids from the Pakistani side so far, and resulted in an encounter lasting over seven hours in which there were casualties on both sides.

Official reports show that number of Pakistani raids on the Cease-Fire Line have greatly increased. During the months of May and June alone there were as many as 34 raids in which seven Pakistani raiders were killed and fourteen injured.

Both the Indian Army and the State Police are reported to have been fur-ther strengthened in the Forward areas to deal with such raids. The Govern-ment of India is also learnt to have alerted the United Nations Observers station-

white India has so far not expressed any dissatisfaction with U.N. observers, cases have come to the notice of India of Cease-Fire violations by Pakistanis, not being dealt

The high-level Conference in Srinagar in the the presence of the Prime Minister, will thoroughly review the position and further necessary measures will be chalked out to meet the Pakistani designs.

Besides taking security measures, Government of India is also closely study-ing the Kennedy-Ayub ing the Kennedy-Ayub joint communique and the utterances of President Ayub wherein he has claimed that US President has undertaken to take up the Kashmir issue with Prime Minister Nehru.

In contrast to the earlier complacency, opinion in New Delhi is greatly dis-New Deini is greatly dis-turbed over the reports that more, formidable. American arms might be poured into Pakistan in the coming months. Government of India

has always strongly objec-ted to arms aid to Pakis-tan. But before making any public protest over the any public protest over the latest reports of stepping up of arms ald to that country. Government of India is understood to be seeking elucidation of the USA Administration's atti-tude through diplomatic channels.

The over-all feeling in official circles in New Delhi, however, is that President Ayub has largely succeeded in his mission and his Washington trip has only helped to further poison Indo-Pak relations.

This, it is pointed out, will also cast serious doubts on the sincerity of the Kennedy Administration's protestations of a new attitude fowards India.

(July 19)

In Birlas State William pay Rs. 98 as minimum to 1959-60 stood at Rs. 1.2 wage. The D. A. alone given in these centres is Rs. 64. Thus, Birlas pay a basic wage of Rs. 13.50 and Re. 1— if the consolidated wage at Nagda is calculated in that manner! The stream of liquidation in 1954, the situation has undergone a complete change during the State At Nagda

From Diwakar, Secretary, M.P. T.U.C.

Gwalior Rayons and Bharat Commerce—at pre-sent staple fibre spinning -concerns of Birla Brothers at Nagda (M.P.) comprise a real "State within State" in the Indian

H ERE, for 12 years the Birlas had enjoyed holi-days from paying Income and Super-Tax—according to an agreement with the then Gwalior Government—upto

And today, in this "State within State":

Birlas maintain a palatial building worth more than Rs. 10 lakhs, as a "guest house" at the expense of the Company.

Birlas occupy a land, five miles across, for only two miles across, for only two concerns and they claim this as 'private' land, denying access to trade unionists to enter even the workers'

Birlas maintain an 'Air Strip', a 'private one' of course, and an Aircraft Gagan Vihari, at the expense of Bharat Commerce concern.

Birlas employ sons and relatives of Madhya Pradesh ministers, with evident advantage for their enterprises here and in other places of that State.

Birlas get taxes levied by Panchayats cancelled, using their top connections at the highest level.

Attack On Workers' Rights

Considering this townlet of over 20,000 population as their own preserve Birlas intrigue against the democratic aspirations of the people and workers of Nagda—with the help of some Congressmen and Congress Committees in order to form two munici-palities, one for Nagda and other for Birlagram (Factory

They pay astonishingly low wages (consolidated one), without any basis, rhyme or reason, except to add to their fabulous profits. They refuse to implement

recommendations of Govern-ment of India's survey on Carbon Disulphide and other gaseous poisoning in viscose rayon factories—the fumes have a serious and harmful effect on the health of work-

Instead, they keep the strings of their purse loose to 'donate' to Congress Committees and the Congress Committees and the Congressite Trade Unions for obvious reasons—to use them against the militant trade union activities of the workers. Balance-sheets of the concerns provide ample testimony for these corrupt-ing "donations."

Against these odds, the PSP. workers of Nagda have forged
Representatives of the contheir militant unity and by
stituent parties of the United

This, the workers of Nagda have achieved in spite of the fact that the trojan horse of INTUC stood in between them and the manage

Workers Fight Back

At the conferences of the Grassim and Bharat Commerce Mazdoor. Unions held recently, the workers have

united actions have wrung concessions in increasing the bonus quantum to three months and 24 days in 1959. They have also forced the management to commit that the issue of wage increase and fixation of new grades will be settled within three months.

decided to now press for the following demands: (1) Adequate D. A., (2) Increase in the part of six at present; (3) Increased of six at present; (3) Increased quantum of bonus related to rising profits, (4) Single municipality for Nagda and Birlagram: (5) Recognition of ed quantum or bonus related to rising profits, (4) Single municipality for Nagda and Birlagram; (5) Recognition of union through ballot, and (6) Implementation of Government report's recommenda-tions on hazards in viscose rayon industry.

S. S. Mirajkar, President, AITUC, who was in Nagda to attend the conference, ridiculed the consolidated minimum wage given by Birlas at Nagda. The minimum wage (consolidated) given by Birlas is Rs. 77.50 and Rs. 65 in the two concerns, whereas textile milis in neighbouring Ratlam and

Mirajkar told the citizens of Nagda and workers of Birla concerns to stand and act unitedly for the demand of a single municipality.

"Birlas are prepared to pay
Rs. 50,000 annually to Nagda, if separate municipali-ties are constituted. This is a sheer fraud to save lakhs of rupees in municipal taxes, which would otherwise go to improve the growing city of Nagda and Birlagram."

Fabulous Profits

The financial prosperity of Birla concerns at Nagda is enviable for any concern in this field of industry.

Since production started in 1954 in Grassim (Gwalior Rayons), the company earned a profit of more than Rs. seven crores on a subscribed capital of little over Rs. four crores. The gross block stood at Rs. 6.95 crores, while the depreciation amount stood at Rs. 4.12 crores. Dividend paid to shareholders since 1955-56

complete change during the last seven years. Now the company has built up a re-serve of Rs. 4.70 lakhs, having paid up all dividend liabilities on preference shares. The gross block which stood at Rs. 59.03 lakhs with depreciation reserve at Rs. 18.68 lakhs was enhanced by Rs. 23.52 lakhs in

The indication of prospecan be gauged by the price of equity share. In the case of Bharat Commerce, it was below Rs. 2 in 1954 and it stood at Rs. 20, in 1960. In the case of Grasim, it stood at Rs. 48.50 for a ten rupee share throughout.
These two Birla concerns

are at the same time purchas ing or establishing other concerns in Mysore, Rajasthan or Kerala, on the basis of fabu-lous profits earned at Nagda.

But with such high profits, Birlas pay the lowest wages, as we stated earlier. Far worse is the anarchy in categorisation. The categorisation. The wage structure and division into six

W. Bengal Newsletter * From Jnan Bikash Moitra

LEFTIST UNITED FRONT

D ISCUSSIONS are now under way among the eight Left Parties which decided to form a United Front to fight the Congress in the next general elections. These partie are the Communist Party, R. S. P., Forward Bloc, Socialist Unity Centre (SUC), Marxist Forward Bloc, RCPI, Bolshevik Party and Workers' Party.

Representatives of these parties met on July 10 to "discuss the minimum programme and principles which should form the basis of the United Front and to exchan nions with regard to the allot-ment of seats."

Excluded

They further decided that the "front will not include the PSP in view of the fact that PSP leaders, by their policy and practice in re-gard to various movements, have placed themselves out-side the United Front of the Left Parties."

Next day, the Leftist leaders met certain individuals who had earlier expressed their desire to discuss with the Left Parties the question of building up a united front to defeat the Congress at the polls.

Prominent individuals Prominent individuals who participated in this meeting were Siddhartha Ray, MLA, former Judicial Minister, Benoy Banerjee, former Congress Mayor of Calcutta, Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharya, MLA and Südhir Roy Chowdhury, MLA, a former leader of the PSP.

Front met again on July 12 to exchange views, mainly on the question of the allotment

It is understood that they have unanimously agreed that the rights of sitting MLAs and MPs belonging to the Front parties to seek re-election from their present constituencies will not be disputed. be disputed.

At their resumed sitting on July 14, the Leftist leaders discussed what should be their approach to the electorate in West Bengal in the next general elections.

Discussions on the programme continued till next day. A Committee was appointed to draft the common minimum programme incor-porating, as far as possible, the views of the participating

The Committee meets on The Committee meets on July 18 and the programme it drafts will be placed before a meeting of the constituent parties the following day.

The Common Minim candidates, however, are t likely to be finalised until the first week of August.

STUDENTS' PLIGHT

WITH the publication of the results of the Higher Secondary and School Final Examinations, the problem of admission of students in colleges in and around Calcutta has assumed menacing pro-

Of the 17,100 students who appeared this year at the Higher Secondary Examination, 10,105 have passed. The number of students who have

Besides these candidates 13,440 students (out of a total of 24,000) have passed the Pre-University Examination. The majority of these 58.045 students are now finding it well-nigh impossible to get admission into colleges.

As the three-year Degree-Course has been introduced from the current session, those who have passed the Higher Secondary Examina tion will have to take admission in the first year of the course. Successful candidates in the School Final Examination have to go in for the one - year pre - University course in a college in order to be eligible for admission in the three-year Degree course.

But the seats available for these courses in the bigger colleges in Calcutta constitute only a fraction of the students clamouring for

Some of these students may no doubt get themselves admitted in mofussil colleges, but the arrangements for the the reasons for the present.

The reasons for the present.

acute situation are not far to First, a sufficient number

of new colleges have not been established in the past few years in and around Calcutta to cope with the growing demand for higher educat

Secondly, while there has been no planned expansion of colleges, the big Calcutta colleges have; in accordance with a scheme of the University Grants Commission (UGC) oradually reduced the number. gradually reduced the number of students ultimately to 1,000 per college, the ceiling fixed by the UGC.

The Bengal Provincial Students' Federation (BPSF)

been successful at the School and other students' organisa Final Examination is about tions had repeatedly drawn 34,500 out of a total of 105,038. the attention of the Wes tions had repeatedly drawn the attention of the West Bengal Government and Cal-cutta University, authorities to the mounting difficulties in obtaining admission in Colleges, had urged upon them to set up an adequate number of colleges and pending the creation of these facilities to

the UGC scheme.

A deputation of representatives of some central students. organisations and college unions also met the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University on July 10 and submitted a memorandum, drawing his a memorandum, drawing his attention to the very limited number of seats and other problems faced by students seeking admission or studying treallers.

The problem of admission in particular has become 50 serious that the BPSF and other students' organisations have jointly drawn up a programme to launch a united movement of the

Protest meetings will be held in different colleges and deputations will be sent to the Principals. A mass de-monstration of students is scheduled to be organised in University next week when a meeting of the Syndicate will be held In case a satisfactory assu-

rance is not given, the possi-bility of squatting by the * SEE FACING PAGE

NEW AGE MONTHLY

There will be no issue of New Age Monthly for July 1961. A combined July-August issue will

> Manager, New Age Monthly.

New Strategems Of Oil Sharks

THE impact of the increasing sales of Soviet oil to India and other on the fortunes of the Western oil companies, exploiting the oil riches of West Asia, has impelled them to contrive new strategems to retain their former mar-

Giving up their former high and mighty postures, they are now coming out as disinterested "friends", concerned only with helping a develop-ing country like India to arrange for oil at not so unconscionable terms. An interesting manifestation of this new concern of theirs has come our way cannot resist bringing to our readers' notice.

Washington Post is a organ of American capital, which is also pro-Kennedy to boot. As such it is a reliable guide to the machinations of the American

Last week its column carried an article from one Mr. Bushword Howard, a former executive of the Socony Mobil Oil Company, giving details of a scheme, hatched by Ame-rican oil companies in col-lusion with the monarchi-cal eligarchies of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, to dump US subsidised Wes Asian oil on India at supposedly "rock-bottom" prices to drive out the Soviet product.

Details of this schem have not been disclosed in the NAFEN report which brought it to the columns of the Indian press, but from the little that has been divulged it is evidently a brain-child of the American companies. Spe-cifically it aims at some sort of a joint venture of the oil companies and the West Asian kingdoms to sell oil on deferred

Under a long-term contract, offered under the scheme, India will be able to purchase an un-limited quantity of oil for 25 cents per barrel cash.
The balance of the price, which it seems will not be reduced much in totality, will be payable in bonds bearing two per cent in-terest and redeemable in 50 years.

Thus, with the lure of deferred payments the American companies have designed to corner India anew into allowing them a new lease to exploit her market for decades to come If there was the same than the corner of come. If they succeed in their design, they can re-gain a part of their lost profits, as well as keep at bay the onrush of Soviet oil into their traditional

But India knows better than to fall an easy prey to their machinations. She is well aware of the hence fits which the Soviets' offer of oil has brought to her. The reduction in oil prices, the creation of prices, the creation of a state agency to import and market oil, why even the present scheme, she knows, are but direct or indirect offshoots of the Soviet Union's generous gesture to render all possible assistance to her in the field of oil.

How can then she h possibly taken in by such thinly veiled manoeuvres by Western companies to re-gain the ground which the Soviet oil has forced them to concede? And yet, there are voices heard within India's borders, welcoming the new scheme.

The Indian Express acrepresents have other organs too, which will also speak out in due course. Hence the need for public opinion to assert itself to nip this scheme and others of its kind in

The need for vigilance is also underlined by the reported offer of the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. (now ESSO) to reopen with the Government the issue of the grant of a licence for prospecting for oil in the Jalsalmer area. The earlier negotiations with the Company—which has a reputation for abortive drilling of tens of wells in the West

OW hollow is the con-cern expressed by ad-vanced capitalist countries

manifested by two exam-

ples of discriminatory pra-ctices which foreign ship-

ping companies have been

One example is that of the freight on raw hides and skins from Madras to Dundee which has been fixed much lower by these

Conferences than for lea-

ther manufactures from Madras to Indonesian ports.

The object obviously is to force India to export raw

hides and skins rather than to convert these into

finished goods for the foreign market.

The second example con-cerns oilseeds where the

freight for indian snip-ments to Europe is higher than for the American pro-duce. The foreign compa-nies thus act as a weapon in the hands of foreign

freight for Indian

dopting in relation to In-

Discriminatory Practices

By Foreign Shipping Cos.

Bengal basin—broke down on the issue of the state's share in the capital of the joint venture to be float-Shankar's

INSIDE OUR NEWS &

ed for the purpose and prepared to accept the ratio accepted earlier by the Burmah Oil Co. for prospecting in the Assam region. It is to be hoped that the Government will stick to its earlie

tion on any but its own

monopolists to strike at India's commodities, to rob her of the much needed

export earnings and thu

to reduce her capacity to pay for her development.

How can then the West-

ern monopolists bandy phrases, the way many of them do, about their soli-citude for India's pro-gress?

In this context it is a matter of some gratifica-tion that the Government of India has been contem-

of india has been contemplating steps to surmount the obstacles placed by the foreign companies in the way of its export promotion. Through its own ship-

ping corporations it h

rates more rationally. The

more it pursues its efforts in this line, the greater will be the chances of India getting an equitable return on her products.

ECONOMY

WHEN E. M. S. Namboo-ripad, the then Chief ripad, the then Chief Minister of Kerala, visited the Soviet Union in 1958, the monopoly press in India raised a hue and cry about his reported talks with So-viet officials in respect of increasing exports of Keincreasing exports of Ke-rala's coir and spices to the USSR. A mere Chief Min-ister of a state, it was said, had no right to dabble in a sphere which was strictly the centre's.

Dealings

Now the same press has not a word to say in oppo-sition to what a mere De-puty Chief Minister of the same Kerala State is doing same Kerala State is doing in West Germany where he has been holding talks with officials and hob-nobbing with investors and financiers. He has been openly inviting the latter to invest their funds in Kerala

According to the Hindu, what he has been telling his new friends is that Kerala is ready to extend all possible facilities to foreigners who would like to exploit the meaning that the control of the state of the s exploit the resources of the

state".
Shanker is the leader of the Congress Party in Kerala's legislature. He is Also the deputy leader of a coalition which includes such holy of holies as the Muslim Leaguers. He is, therefore, perhaps not to be judged according to the same standards as a Communist Chief Minister would be. And yet, one would think to invite foreigners to invest capital into a state would be much more the prerogative of the merely to take interest in its export commodities.

July 18, 1961

from facing page

students before University buildings for an indefinite period is not ruled out.

Cinema Employees On Hunger Strike

NE hundred and twenty cinema employees in Cal-cutta went on hunger-strike outside different cinemas in the city from the afternoon of July 14. In the districts also the employees have gone on hunger-strike.

The direct action, organised by the Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union (BMPEU), has been launch-ed in order to compel the cinema owners to apply the Minimum Wages Act to improve the pay scales of the

The BMPEU had also given the call for a token general strike of all cinema employees in West Bengal on July 16.

There are about 11,000 cinema employees in this State of whom 5,000 are in Calcutta.

When the hunger strike was started in Calcutta and How-rah, Hiren Mukherjee, M.P., President of the BMPEU, Naranarain Gupta, Snehansu Acharya, MLC, Haripada Chatterjee, General Secretary of the BMPEU, Amar Basu, MLA, Somnath Lahiri, MLA, Manikuntala Sen, MLA and Md. Ilyas, M.P. were present.

Among the hunger strikers a Calcutta is Ramashanker Prasad, Communist MLA and Organising Secretary of the

The hunger strike in front of these cinemas was with-drawn when their owners agreed to introduce the pay-scales fixed under the Mini-mum Wages Act.

Extending full support to the struggle of the cinema employees, Ranen Sen, MLA, President of the BPTUC, said in a statement that the Minimum Wages Act, under the West Bengal Government had fixed the minimum wages for cinema employees and technicians, was applicable to all categories of establish-ments.

The wages fixed by th Government were muclower than the need-base wages recommended by the Fifteenth Labour Conference. Yet the owners were not prepared to introduce even these scales,

On the second day of the mployees' hunger strike, the number of participants in Calcutta alone rose to 175 S. A. Said and Kamal Majumdar, Vice-President and Trea-surer respectively of the BMPEU, started hunger strike outside the office of the Ben-gal Motion Picture Associa-tion (BMPA).

At a meeting of the employees held in Calcutta on July 15 under the auspices of the BMPEU, a resolution was passed urging upon the State Government to cancel the licenses of the cinemas whose owners threat-andowners threatened lock-o and to hand over the mana-

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WESTBOUND TO CAIRO AND EUROPS

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JULY 23, 1981

WARN

Hammarskjoeld!



IT IS A DISGRACE THAT the man who is above all responsible for the murder of Lumumba should continue to be the highest executive of the United Nations.

It is a danger to world peace and to the liberation struggles of the peoples of all continents that Dag Hammarskjoeld is the U.N. General Secretary, heading executive organs packed with the henchmen of

It is this despicable and disruptable character who is coming to India this Sunday. He comes ostensibly with the aim of discussing with Prime Minister Nehru the question of the reorganisation of the U.N. Secre-

In reality he is out to mobilise Pandit Nehru's support against the proposal of the Socialist countries and some neutralist nations that the U.N. Executive organs should be radically changed in composition so as to provide some form of equality for the three main porary international trends.

Soviet plan for the election of three Secretaries-General on the plea that this would make any func-tioning impossible. What it evidently fails to realise is that "functioning" of the U.N. which leads to such ghastly tragedies as the murder of Lumumba should be ended as soon as possible.

The U.N. has to function as the organ of agreement, both at the policy-making and at the implementation stage. It is this that is prevented by the virtual imperialist monopoly of U.N. executive posts.

Hammarskjoeld comes at a time when every Indian patriot is afire with anger at the firing by the Katanga mercenaries at our soldiers. Our jawans and officers had gone to the Congo on a misison of peace and to help the restoration of Congolese unity. The imperialists had hoped to utilise them against the golese patriots led by the Gizenga Gov

It is no accident that it is the murderers of Lumumba, the armed mob of Tshombe, who have opened fire on the Indian troops.

What is a matter for grave concern is the depend-e, to a great extent, of the Indian troops on the Command which Hammarskjoeld controls. Having got rid of Rajeshwar Dayal, he may well be plottin to either discredit the Indian contingent or to get deeply involved in imperialist machinations in Congo.

Pandit Nehru may have his own views about the functioning of U.N. executive organs but he must certainly tell Hammarskjoeld that the Indian troops will be used only for the purpose for which they were sent and that he is responsible for their safety. Only sent and that he is responsible for their safety. Only harsh, blunt words will have some impact on this imperialist agent. . (July 19)

INDIA'S DUTY IN S. VIETNAM

On July 20, seven years will have passed since the signing of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. As Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control, constituted under those Agreements, India bears a heavy responsibility for all activities and decisions of that body

The basic and the most important tasks, envisaged under the Geneva Agreements of 1954, were the prohibition of military reinforcements and the preservation of peace in Victnam, as well as the calling of a consultative conference to prepare for general elections for the reunification of that country. The International Commission was meant precisely to supervise the implementation of these tasks in Vietnam.

In the seven years that have elapsed since these agreements were signed, it is only in North Vietnam that they have been implemented. Whereas, in South Vietnam the situation that has developed till now threatens to take uglier turn

Far from making any preparations for the national reunification of Vietnam, the Diem Clique in South Vietnam has put that part of the Vietnamess territory entirely at the disposal of U.S. imperialism.

With increasing flow of American arms, with thousands of American advisers pouring into that region and with its SEATO link-up, South Vietnam is

DEMOCRATIC SETUP FOR DELHI NEEDED

CONGRESS workers of Delhi are planning a vigorous campaign for the establishment of a representative assembly and ministration for the Capital.

The convention, which was held under the auspices of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, on July 16. was the beginning of the two month campaign to be wound up by a Citizens' Convention open to all sections of Delhi's political opinion, excluding the Jan Sangh, it is learnt

passed at the Convention will be tabled in the Corporation as well as in the Advisory Committees for Delhi Admi-

Although the Congress has been seeking introduction of democratic set-up in Delhi since long, the urgency im-parted to the demand this time by the Delhi Congress leaders has armised consider.

IAN SANGH'S CHALLANGE

The Jan Sangh, which has of late posed a serious chal-lenge to the Congress in the Capital is seriously consider-ing to counter the Congress, with a stout defence of the

resent set-up in Delhi.
Their specific objection against the Congress demand

today, in fact, a vast U.S. military base in South-East

More. The recently signed Johnson-Diem Communique, which is clearly a bilateral military pact between the U.S. and the Diem Citque, provides not only for the training of, but also for the direct command of Diem's army by U.S. military personnel.

rearing up an army for the suppression of national liberation movements in South-East Asia.

And now that the South Vietnamese people have risen up against the Diem clique, organising themselves in the South Vietnam Liberation Front, they

are fighting not only for their own rights and for the

reunification of their country, but also against this fresh danger to all South-East Asian peoples.

It is this Front in South Vietnam that stands for

And it is quite understandable if the imperialist

But how is one to explain the fact when the Indian

powers are now trying to dub this struggle of the South Vietnamese people as "subversive activities."

chairman of the International Commission joins with the Canadian representative to toe a similar line of argument and to decide to "investigate" into them?

India has, undoubtedly played a notable role in bringing peace to this part of the world. In the work of the International Commission, India has undoubt-edly made many a valuable contribution.

Commission, it ought not to be difficult for the Indian Government to assess the reality of the situation correctly and to avoid any alignment on issues that goes so blatantly against those very Agreements whose implementation the International Commission is meant

The good name that India has earned as the Chairman of the International Commission itself demands that blemishes like the above be promptly erased and do not recurr in the future.

In the light of these seven years of work in that

It is, therefore, in South Vietnam that the U.S. is

is that it will result in a duality of authority, which may complicate the situation in Delhi. They also point out to the past experience of an Assembly in Delhi. The poor performance of the former Assembly, they say, is sufficient proof of the imprac-

The Communists on the other hand welcome the Congress move. According to them, it would lead to a popular movement for the realisation of democratic

sence of a democratic set-up in Delhi that the Congress has failed to come up to the ex-pectations of citizens in the Capital. The resultant dissa-tisfaction is being utilized by the opposition elements, who hold the Congress responsible for all the ills prevalent in Delhi.

Further, Delhi Congressmer have been hard put to account for the administrative lapses as their own party was in power at the Centre, and they were confronted with a dile-mma whether to oppose the measures of the administra-tion or to sit quiet and thus

Congress Workers'

Convention

popular set-up in Delhi was abolished to pave the way for direct Central rule.

They also believe that the ongress move may eventual-lead to a joint effort by dein the Capital for giving a unified fight to the threat posed by parties like the Jan

While they appear to be aware of their weakness in the Corporation, Delhi Con-gressmen claim that it is precisely because of the ab-

see themselves effaced from the political map of the capi-

To gain the lost ground and attain a position where the Congress in Delhi could give Congress in Delhi could give effective lead to the people, it had become urgent that their party should begin the "stru-ggle" for achieving the unified democratic set-up in Delhi, a senior Delhi Congress leader emphasicad

Congress circles also refute the allegation that their de-mand for an elected Assembly as well as delegation of exe cutive powers to the Mayor and Chairman of the Corpo-ration Committees is aimed at creating a duality of autho-

They point out that it was Centre to meet their demand and determine the specific shape that the demo-cratic set-up in Delhi would ultimately adopt.

Congress circles hold that while demanding an Assembly for Delhi they had to be cau-tious in not started. us in not stretching their demand too far, to be mixed up with the greater Delhi de-mand that had been voiced in the past by an influential section of Congressmen themselves in Delhi.

Any step in that direc-tion, they further pointed out, will have far reaching political inplications as it would mean support for the inclusion of Hariana areas

NEED FOR CAUTION

extension of the demand for establishment of democratic set-up in Delhi would have got communalists are likely to exploit such a situation, it is

Further, emphasis on this aspect of the problem had be-come all the more necessary, as a section of the Delhi Co gressmen representing is described as 'refugee insmen representing what

SMUDGY PICTURE OF BIHAR CONGRESS

★ From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

W HILE the inter-group fight in the Bihar Congress distance from the President. stage is being set for the next phase of the struggle over the selection of candidates for the coming gene-

In the meantime certain far reaching develop-ments seem to be in the offing which may radically affect the situation in Bihar with serious repercus-

President Rajindra Prasad Calcutta, has expressed his wish to settle down on the expiry of his term of office at the Sadaqat Ashram, the the Sadaqat Ashram, the BPCC Headquarters in Patna, where he had spent most of the twentytwo years of his political life before joining the Central Government as

Memoirs

What has not been re-ported in the press is the fact that the President's Memoirs are meant to be part of his ensuing crusade against the Prime Minister and his policies to which the former has stood bitter-

ly opposed all these years.
The President's opposition
to the measures of agrarian
reform, his dislike of the state
sector, his differences with
the present foreign policy are
all well known here. But

though he was in substantial who was here for a day on his way back to Delhi from advocated by the Swatantra Party, he was said to be not happy that Rajaji had given up the battle inside the Con-

political life before joining the Central Government as Food Minister in 1946. The President, moreover, has commenced writing his Memoirs of the years in office. All this has been reported in the press.

President's

gle from within the Congress and for the Congress, in the first instance. Already this factor has begun to loom large in the background of the group struggles going on inside the Bihar Congress. Group leaders who have been thrown more than a hint have already begun thinking in already begun thinking in terms of adjusting themselves in one way or the other to this

Bihar are possible only within certain limits, historically set. In the Bihar Congress of the early thirties, Babu Rajendre Presed was the leader of

the Right with the late Babu Anugraha Narayan Sinha as has chief lieutenant. The late Dr. S. K. Sinha, subsequently the Chief Minister of Bihar, was known to be a follower of Nehru. In the subsequent period, he and his group continued to maintain their

The two stalwarts of the State Congress—Babu Saheb Anugraha Narayan Sinha and Dr. S. K. Sinha are no more

But among the surviving colleagues, it is anybody's guess that the present Chief Minister Pandit Binodanand Jha, who was a consistent supporter of Babu Saheb, being anyointed by Parking anyointed by ing appointed his Parliamen-tary Secretary in 1937, and a loyal follower of Rajendra Babu, will certainly rally round the old master. The bedrock of his ministry is Babu Saheb's son, the young Satyendra Narayan Sinha, who has inherited not only the following of his father but also his allegiand

The position of Krishna Ballabh Sahaya, in this connection, has been somewhat complicated. Between the two followings, he alone had to pass through many a tortuous twist and turn. Before 1937 he was an activist of the group led by Rajendra Babu and Babu Saheb. Since 1937 when development.

But these adjustments in Bihar are possible only within certain limits, historically set. In the Bihar Congress of the early thirties, Babu Rajendra Prasad was the leader of the Right with the late Babu Anugraha Narayan Sinha as has chief lieutenant. The late Dr. S. K. Sinha subsequently

Babu Saheb. Since 1937 when the was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister Dr. S. K. Sinha, he served as his virtual deputy and later in 1946 piloted the Zemindari acquisition Bill and in 1956 fathered the Land Ceiling Bill which was subsequently scuttled.

Before the last elections he

Before the last elections he broke away from his chief and again joined Babu Saheb. On the eve of the coming general elections, once again, allied with M. P. Sinha, he is lead-

him and the latter are burnt. It is obvious that the divi-It is obvious that the divi-sions and alignments inside the Bihar Congress, are not wholly spurious, nor of purely recent origin. Political like-mindedness, caste affiliations, hersonal associations—all personal associations — all have gone into the making of

With this background and in the context of the latest developments, the struggle over the distribution of Assembly and Parliament seats between the two groups, is no more internal matter for the Bihar Congress. Larger interests and larger forces are involved. Already the struggle is be-ing treated as part of a countrywide strategy.

Cause Of Stalmate

Inside Bihar Congress, the forces seem to be more or less. balanced. This is the real cause of the statemate. In the cause of the statemate. In the State Congress Election Committee the anti-ministerialists have the majority of one—that one being K. B. Sahaya himself. The latter wanted to force the pace of events by forming another election supervision committee and excluding the ministerislists from it. They were confident of having enough majority to get this through the BPCC. But the BPCC meeting ended without taking any decision. The anti-ministerialists say that because of the High

The anti-ministerialists say that because of the High Command's instructions they decided not to press the issue. The ministerialists claim that their majority at the BPCC meeting impressed the opposition into retreat. What-

ing the followers of Dr. S. K.
Sinha in opposition to the ruling alliance of B. N. Jha and Satyendra Narayan Sinha. The bridges between him and the latter are hundred. propaganda point. To drive the point home the local press gave currency to the story that K. B. Sahaya has again changed sides and has pledged his allegiance—present as well as in the future—to Chier Minister Binodanand Jha.

It was a cruel hit. And K. B. Sahaya reacted violently, so much so that in an outburst of anger at the

an outburst of anger at the wedding reception at the Maharaja of Hathwa, where Manaraja of Hathwa, where President Rajendra Prasad, too, was present, he threat-ened physical violence to the correspondent responsi-ble for that news. It is evident that the battle or candidates will be fought

It is evident that the battle for candidates will be fought bitterly and at every step from Patna to Delhi. At present the district observers—two for each district, one from each each district, one from each group—are fighting it out. From there the struggle will be carried in the State Congress Election Committee and then finally in the Central Parliamentary Roard

Parliamentary Board.

It is said that the recent visit to the Capital of the leaders of the two groups was meant to finalise the respective strategies and alliances in the cil India payerastics.

no small measure, on the out-come of the pushes and pulls at the Centre.

There are various currents and cross currents working, sometimes, at cross purposes, which make it somewhat

SANJEEVA REDDI'S PLIGHT

QUITE ceremoniously had Sanjeeva Reddi proposed some time back that those of the Congressmen who have held seats in legislature for ten years or more, should step down so as to allow the entry of 'new blood' in the Congress. Most unceremoniously he has withdrawn it now.

May be he has been

forced to do so.

I hope the proposal was made quite seriously by the Congress President though now he tells us: "No body seems to take my sugges-tion seriously anywhere, and I do not insist on it."

and 1 do not insist on it."
Who will not sympathise
with the poor plight of the
Congress President?
But like any other event
the Congress President's "I
do not insist on it" attitude
has its own interesting
hackground background.

background.

Though he tells us now that his suggestion "like so many others made by colleagues, was not a decision of the Congress organisation", and that it "only referred to Ministers and not members of the State Legislatures or Parliament", nonetheless it is stronger. nonetheless it is strang that he had to contradic

JULY 23, .1961

Now he thinks different-ly: there could be no hard and fast rule for the retirement of Ministers as

the Congress does need men of experience whose men of experience whose contribution to the public life and organisation have been valuable

SCRAP-BOOK

as a rule "interpreare very good "interpreters". Did they not invent in Kerala (with the help of the Congress Preside suppose) the formula, to support a member of the legislature belonging till the other day to the Muslim League, for Speaker's election in Kerala Legislative Assembly?

Besides there is no prin-

ciple which some Congress-men can't use for brow-beating some other Conbeating some other Con-gressmen. This is precisely what has happened with President's the Congress President's proposal too.

In Gujarat, the Provincial Congress Committee these days is poised against the Ministerialist group—the pattern everywhere is the same except in Delhi where, alas, Ministerialists don't exist, because State Assembly is no more there. Assembly is no more there The leadership of Guja-

rat PCC is controlled by Thakorebhai Desai, Balblessed by Morariibhai the PCC leadership wants to replace the present Chief-Minister Jivraj Mehta, some of his senior Ministers and some other MPs belonging to Saurashtra on the plea of their having served legislature for ten

Morarjiboys would have morarinovs would have had their way but for another fly in the ointment—somebody told the Prime Minister-Aspirant of India (doesn't matter if he could not become even Deputy leader of the Congress Le-gislature Party) that if the ten-year-rule was to be strictly applied, he would be the first casualty there as he had already to his credit 16 years' membership

of the legislature This somebody is not anybody 'else' but Dhebar-bhai himself. How could Morarji tolerate

So, it is said, that Morarii is very angry with Dhe-barji. And it is in the background of these abortive discussions that the Congress President was com-pelled to say that he did not insist on ten-year-rule any more.

Hence, 'young blood' will have to wait for some more time—till it becomes old.

More. The Congress President's sident's complaint that 'no body seems to take my suggestion seriously is a grim warning of the situa-tion existing in the Congress today. There was a time when tallest among our national leaders used aspire for that post, for then it was an seriously, not even the Con-

Will the Congress leaders pause to think—why it is so? They talk too much and too often. But their messages do not inspire our nember the part of the control of the co people. Instead, by over-talking they only make

PATIL'S PRATTLE

SADOBA Patil is back from his usual (Minis ters usually go out during torturous summer days) round the world tour. He has been to USSR too and has not said what the mercenary Current would have liked to hear from him (So Karaka and the Current are raging with anger). He had his reception too at Bombay and soon he started prattling

In Bombay he termed himself as a "pedlar" and was reported to have said that he was glad good beginning had been made in America, in find-ing a market for India's surplus sugar.

Sugar exports to USA will bring foreign exchange to India, but on every ton of sugar exported to that country, loss per ton would be Rs. 200. Loss on export of 2.25 lakh short tons works out to rupees four

and half crores. That indeed is the result of peddling in the U.S.!—a country about which Sadoba Patil

ANTI-COOPS

have received a copy of a memorandum sent to the Honourable Rallway Minister by ten fresh fruit vendors of Allahabad who have formed themselves in a cooperative society.

These poor fruit sellers were working under a conractor. Later, another contractor came on the scene. He subletted his contract to them. He wanted to raise the rent and the fruit sellers stood aga-inst this injustice. Enquiry was held and the contract

The fruit sellers conti-nued to work uptil Decem-ber 15, 1960, having form-ed themselves in a cooperative society. Later, when an application for the vacant contract were invited, they applied for it.

But the contract had not been granted to the society. A new contractor appeared on the scene. The poor vendors, unemployed now, have appealed to the Railway Minister. The anti-Coops attitude of the administration is very clear from it. Will the Minister for Railways look itno the

-Agradoot

W HEN society is in the process of transition from structions are not worth a one historic stage to another, the apologists of the passing system inundate the world with numerous concoctions stuffed with inventions about "calamities" and "sufferings" allegedly in store for mankind on the new course; they try to scare the masses and to inoculate them with their own fear of the future

predecessors who had vanished from history's scene a long time ago: in its effort to frighten the working people, the hundred-mou-thed hourgesis thed bourgeois press has tried for decades and persists in trying to identify the road to socialism with war and bloodshed; it has been and is misrepresent-Marxism as a teaching which views the world victory of socialism as the result of exterminating war.
This falsification has been

nd again, but the bourgeois ologists are not embarrass ed by the fact that their pic-tures of the "horrors" attendism is entirely at variance with the facts, that their caricature of Marxism sembles Marxism as mu a scarecrow resembles a beau-tiful human body. Endeavouring to rouse distrust for the unist movement and its ideology, imperialist reaction persists in alleging that the Communists need were he Communists need wars be-tween states for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing socia-

The latest crushing blow to these inventions has been dealt by the Statement of the ties; in this Statement representatives of these parties from 81 countries declare that the mentioned slander is emphatically rejected by the munist parties of all countries. Marxists-Leninists dethe Statement, have never believed that the road war between states.

Identifying the transition with bloodshed and alleging that the road to essence of the matter ugh world wars, contem- bety

A MONG the various bour-

geois, reformist and

visionist methods used for identifying revolution with

allegedly pass through inter-state wars and that world war

Trying to find some "proof"

in support of this slanderous invention, the foes of Marxism

are using, most often, arguments of a twofold nature

historical facts, and, prima-rily, to the fact that the two

revolutions, the falsifiers of Marxism claim that this is the

only natural way to social re-volution from the standpoint

of Marxism.
Communism, according to

the bourgeois ideologists, can

suffering and privations,

First argument, Referring to

rld wars ended in socialis

practical" and "theoreti

way to social revolution

a most prominent place gs to the thesis that in

ea of the Marxists the

essential condition for changes, for the transi-

identifying

INTER-STATE WAR AND

REVOLUTION

MODERN bourgeois porary bourgeois ideologists ideologists differ little are pursuing far-reaching in this respect from their aims: they try to exploit the inmost feelings of million - their love of peace people and their hatred of a world thermonuclear war - and to turn these feelings against revolution, against socialism.

The slanderous inventions of the enemies have nothing in common with life most progressive class of our time, the working class, has always been and is working for peaceful settlements of all international and internal problems of social development which is most painless for society. To the Commusts, peace among nations has always been a most essen tial condition for the social progress they uphold, and a peaceful transition to socialism, the most desirable form of revolutionary transforma-

However, the choice of means of conducting inter-national policies, the choice of the means of struggle for socialism, has hitherto depended not only upon the desire of the working class, upon its will. The use or non-use of armed methods in the class struggle in the capitalist countries depends primarily upon the policies and conduct of the boursie, upon the general relationships among fighting forces

Furthermore, the nature of imperialism and the anti-democratic policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie were responsible for the outbreak of world wars which ended in revolutions

Inasmuch as in its efforts to falsify Marxism, the bourgeois ideology confuses enti-rely different social phenorevolution just and unjust wars, wars between states and civil wars, etc., let us look into the ition must pass analyze the real relationships between war and revolution.

specially those brought on by

world wars; in other circum

stances, they say, a successful revolution would be impossi-

Thus, the West German anti-Marxist E. Schiweck wri-

Markist prognostications" by artificial means. Modern re-

rotten egg, because historical eferences used in them merely create the impression of arguments; they merely be-cloud and obscure the essence

What is the point in question? It is a fact that both the first and second world wars ended in social revolutions which led to the birth of the Soviet Union and to the appearance of other socialist countries in Europe and Asia which now make up the world socialist system socialist system.

This fact, however, does

not indicate in the least that there is some kind of a natural, law-governed connection between revolution and war, i.e., it does not confirm precisely what the anti-Marxists ascribe to it. anti-Marxists ascribe to it.

The fact that the two world wars unleashed by the imperialists ended in socialist revolutions, declares the Statement of the control of the c Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, does not mean in the least that the way to social revolution must necessarily pass through world war, especially in our era when the powerful world socialist system is in evictorics

existence. The swindling method of the enemies of Marxism to picture revolution, which often follows upon war, as a result of war, is intended to conceal the real, intrinsic causes which engender revolution, to obscure the fundamental difference between war and re-

Actually, however, war, and

of uneven development. The operation of this law is con-stantly changing the existing relationship of forces in the capitalist world; it creates a new equilibrium which disturbs the old one and thus aggravates all the contradictions of capitalism, deepens its antagonisms, leads to instability of the capitalist system as a whole and shat-ters it.

建筑的设施的

From time to time, the equilibrium may be restored under imperialism not only by means of economic shock crises which clear the road to the strongest, but also by means of a redivision of the world, of its markets and spheres of influence by armed force, in accordance real relationship of forces.

Objectively, world wars re-present the most radical means of adapting imperialist politics to the operation of the law of uneven development of

Imperialist Wars -Their Aims

All imperialist wars have served and still serve as a means of enrichment for a handful of war profiteers, death mongers and suppliers of means of destruction and annihilation. At the same time they bring incalculable sufferings and privations to the working people, exacting from them a rich tribute of blood and thousands of lives sacrificed to the bourgeois idol of profit.

The system of exploita- ble

existing system, revolutions also vary; there are bourgeois, people's democratic and pro-letarian revolutions. The social revolutions (the Octoher Revolution of 1917 in Russia and the revolutions in some of the European an Asian countries) with the first and second world wars concluded, are evidence of the decay, and more, of the decline of capitalism; they were called into being by the laws operating within capi-

However, the operation of these laws is not necessar connected with the conditi created by war, and war itself is, therefore, entirely un-necessary for achieving the socialist revolution

Development of the human society is based on the development of the method of production which is subject to the law of corresp of production relations to the nature of the productive forsociological law is the fundamental factor behind the laws specific to a given formation. In the final analysis, any socialist revolution is a result precisely of the operation of

With the development the productive forces, the irreconcilable contradiction between the social character of the production process private capitalist appropria-tion of its results comes to a head. The moment co when successful development only after the forcible

breach of the chain of capi-

Uneven development capitalism leads to a general disturbance of the existing quilibrium and consequently eakens capitalism in definite links. In the mentioned cases, far from strengthening the weakened positions of imperialism by the world war it had unleashed, the bour-geoisie achieved the very opposite results.

The war aggravated the sufferings of the masses to the limit; it sharpened all the contradictions and thereby stimulated the revolution action of the masses st capitalism. Consequently, the socialist revolution. the ground for which was prepared by the entire history of the development of capi-talism was hastened, but not engendered by the war.

The Old And The New In The Situation

"It would have been imto end the rule of sm," wrote Lenin in this connection, "if the general economic development of the capitalist countries did not move in this direction. War has quickened this pro-cess, and that has made capiwould have demolished capi-talism if it had not been for the fact that history has cor-roded and dug under its

which the USA has almost entirely ousted France Indo-China, for example represent precisely the new ways of division and redivision of the world capitalist narket used by the bour-

Under the growing pressure socialism, this struggle. forced deep inside, is become ing constantly sharper, shat-tering capitalism to a still greater degree, digging still deeper under its positions, creating even without war weak links in its system, i.e. points where a revolutionary breach of the chain of capitalism by the working people is quite possible

The increasingly faster weakening of the capitalist system is due not only to the drastic contraction of the sphere in which the laws of capitalist economy can operate, but also to the steadily growing influence of the socialist system which revolucapitalist econo tionizes by its example the minds of the working people in the capitalist countries.

The operation of the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism in necessarily lead to the out-break of war, because the peoples are now in a position to prevent war.

There is no force in the world which could paralyze the action of the general sociological law according to which the production rela-tions must correspond to the

Speaking at a meeting of the NATO Council, F. Strauss, Defence Minister of the FRG, for example, said: "Lenin had ing to Lenin, capitalism would perish "as the result of re-volutionary action by the working class against the ruling classes in combination with the last big war of the

socialist camp against the capitalist states."

In this question, too, revisionists and renegades sing in tune with the bourgeois garblers of Marxism; they, too, claim as does P. Erwe, for example, that revolution is "imported from Moscow in Soviet Army vans."

There is grain of truth in all these arguments.

Firstly, aggressiveness is incompatible with the very nature of socialism. This is not the first time that Communists have heard slanderous, fraudulent accusations of imperialism", of "red In the very first years of

Soviet government, when world reaction had taken recourse to armed force with the object of nipping socialism in the bud, the ideological accomplices of counterthe armed invasion of those who would strangle the renature of the productive volution, while writing with forces, the action which must inevitably lead to revolution, in which any military effort

red militarism: they are

tical swindlers who pretend that they believe in this piece of stupidity and fling such

accusations to the right and

to the left, using for that

their advocatory skill in in-

venting false arguments and throwing sand into the eyes of the masses." (Ibid, Vol. 29,

The enemies of socialism

lives when socialist states did

loes not contain any exploit-

ing classes interested in arms

race, in the acquisition of new markets and in additional

It is already clear today to

hundreds of millions of peo-ple who live in the capitalist world that the threat to

not from the socialist states

and their foreign policy, that the danger of a new war lies

the danger of a new war lies in the aggressive nature of modern capitalism.

Precisely financial capital, which is possessed by the lust for profit, creates by its predatory policy of conquests the danger of another world conflict.

Preparing another world

by A. BUTENKO

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by means of the arms drive, their disposal for dealing a pumping into their pockets the vast sums levied by the bourgeois states from the

According to data published in the American ording to data pubpress, the capitalist states associated with various aggressive blocs are spending every year 63,000 million dollars on military purposes, which is more than 50 percent of the annual incomes

Secondly, the conduct of war for the sake of "making happy" other peoples is deeply alien to communist logy; it is at variance with the Marxist concept of re-volution as an inevitable ienon born-naturally of the internal development of each capitalist country, of the extreme sharpening of the social contradictions in this

was won at the time when Socialism did not yet exist in the world. The overwhelming majority of bourgeois ideole gists understand very well that mortal danger to capitalism comes from within rather than from without, but only the most honest among them dare admit that

Mortal danger to Western civilization emanates from internal rather than from foreign enemies, observes James Warburg in his book "The West in a State of Crisis." The political and economic system of the West is being corroded from within,

Choice Of A Answering those hypocrites, V. I. Lenin wrote: "There are System stupid people who vell about -People's Right

Inasmuch as the socialist revolution is primarily a product of the general course of development in each country, it cannot be forced from without; it can be carried out only by the people of a given

will not succeed in foisting upon it the defects of capi-talism. Imperialist wars were taking a toll of millions of the Statement issued by Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, is the inalienable right of the people not yet exist.
Socialism means peace. It of each country. This sovereign right cannot be wrested ing to any "export of revolupheres for the application of

But, while proclaiming together with all the der crats this sovereign right of the people, the Communists do not confine themselves do not confine themselves to that; they consider it their duty to do everything that is necessary in order to secure this sovereign right of all the peoples. They have never been, nor can they be, indifferent observers of attempts at counter-revolutionary interference revolutionary interference in the internal affairs of one or another country which has taken to the course of

They declare their readiness to use all the means at

rebuff to aggressors who would try by exporting counter-revolution to deprive the people of one or another country of its lawful right to change its social system.
Guided by Marxist-Leninist teachings, declares the State-ment, the Communist Parties have always objected to the export of revolution.

At the same time they are

struggle against the imperialist export of counter-revolu-tion. They consider it their international duty to urge the peoples of all countries to unite, to mobilize internal forces, to act and, by relying upon the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or deal a determined rebuff to imperialist intervenbuff to imperialist interven-tion in the affairs of the peo-ple of any country who had risen in revolution. The development of social-ism into the decisive factor

country.

We need not look far for proof: the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the international situation on the international situation. as a whole open new prospects before the working the capitalist countries: the considerable preponderance of capitalism may become the beginning of the period of socialist revolutions which will take place in the absence of interventionist wars, in the sence of foreign interven-

Capitalism may yet try, by means of war between countries, by means of another world war, to prevent a world victory of the socialist revolution, but this attempt is decidedly doomed to failure: the forces of the socialist revolution must socialist revolution must inevitably destroy the forces of imperialist war, because the laws of history are stronger than the laws of atomic artillery.

Another world war, should

Another world war, should the imperialists succeed in unleashing it, would quicken a revolutionary burst to a much greater degree than any earlier wars, and would end with the destruction of the entire capitalist system. However, contrary to the slander circulated by how-

However, contrary to the slander circulated by bour-geois ideologists, a world victory through war between countries, through a world thermonuclear war, is least of all an ideal for the working class, because its ulti-mate aim is the construc-tion of communism and not simply the overthrow of capitalism at any cost. And mmunism cannot be built

country who have become convinced of the need for changing the existing system. The choice of one or another social system, says

Cause Of Peace And Revolution

A world war, which would speed capitalism to its doom, would at the same time destroy hundreds of million people and would delay for a long time the advance towards

At the same time, a world war would cause tremen damage to social wealth. All the material and intellectual treasures of the world have been created by the labour of the people over many ages.

★ SEE PAGE 10 PAGE SEVEN

* WAR AND

revolution represent different social phenomena with diffe-rent underlying causes, al-though in the final analysis they are engendered by gene-ral conditions of the antago-

nistic society.

War between states is a result of the action of the laws suit of the action of the laws of the exploiting society, a product of the policy of the exploiters, a continuation by one or another class of its politics by means of armed force, bloodshed and violence.

There are different wars:

There are different wars: world wars and local wars, national liberation wars and civil wars. "There are wars and wars," wrote V. I. Lenin. "It is necessary to establish the nature of the historical background of this war, what classes are conducting it and in the name of what it is con-ducted." (Lenin. Coll. Works, Russ. 4th ed., Vol. 24, p. 363.)

tes in his book "Antiquated world Revolution" that owing to the "transformation" of capitalism today and the advancement of the general welfare of the people, the idea of revolution has lost its ground, and the very transformation. The war among the in question, namely, the world war of 1914-18 and the world welfare of the people, the idea of revolution has lost its ground, and the very transition to socialism on a world scale in the natural historic way has become impossible.

Accordingly, one of the main reasons for international tensions, as the author sees it, lies in the tendency ascribed by him to the "Soviet Socialists" of "bringing reality into conformity with Marxist prognostications" by war of 1914-18 and the world war of 1939-45, were prepared and unleashed by international imperialism, by the monopolistic bourgeoiste. A striking expression of the decay of capitalism, as specific result connected with definite conditions.

Proportionate and even economic development of separate economic units and visionists also try to mis-represent revolutionary estab-lishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a result ss, can lishment of the dictatorship some of the proletariat as a result ons of of war.

All these far-fetched constates is impossible

tion of man by man and the system of destruction of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system not only because they are mutually concomivery process of man's des truction by man by means of imperialist war has always been used by the bourgeoise for the purpose of organizing the most reentless exploitation of the survivors, for arming those

survivors, for arming those doomed to death.

For example, during the second world war, which carried off more than fifty million human lives, the American monopolies alone netted a profit of more than 55 000. a profit of more than 55,000 million dollars.

Destroying colossal material

and intellectual and intellectual treasures, wrecking the productive forces, exterminating their flower, people, imperialist wars stand forth as a disgusting creature of the antagonistic capitalist social re-

Revolution-A Natural Transition

Revolution is a result of the conscious creative effort of the people, a natural transi-tion from one social system to another, from a lower to a higher historical stage.

Ripening on the basis of, objective contradictions as ced by their experience

property and capitalist pro-duction relations, and that cannot be accomplished without the active revolutionary activity of the masses.

In short, unlike war, socialist revolution is the result of the operation of the general sociological law of conformity of the pro-duction relations and the nature of the productive forces and of the conscious utilization of this law by the working people.

cessarily lead through war between countries, the fact that the two world wars ended in socialist revolutions requires an explanation. The essence of the question lies in that the same law of the un-even development of capital-ism exerts its influence or ism exerts its influence on both the outbreak of wars and

abolition of private capitalist

And the masses must inevitably stir into action the prevalence of the old pro-duction relations leads to the destruction of the productive forces, to periodic dislocation of production, and that affects the position of the working ses who earlier or later bound to become aware of the need for a revolution ary transformation isting system, for replacing capitalism by socialism.

All this tells us that war between countries and re-volution are entirely different cial phenomena which have nothing in common and are caused by different factors.

Nevertheless, although the way to revolution does not of the need for changing the the place of the revolutionary

foundation." (Ibid, Vol. 24, because there is no other The imperialist nature of capitalism has not changed to this day; as before, the law of the uneven economic and political development operates within capitalism,

and the relationship of forces: between the imperialist states is changing. But this course of developments does not mean that society must necessarily suffer another world imperialist war to occur before the world victory of socialism. And not because of any amelioration of the con-tradictions in the camp of the imperialists, as the revision-

On the contrary, the conperialist powers become more and more manifest, the more nd more manness, the more he sphere of imperialist lomination is shrinking. Nevertheless, in view of the existence of the world

system of socialism which constantly gathering trength, the growth of the forces of peace and demo-cracy and other conditions which make it increasingly difficult and precarious for the exploiters to precipi-tate another imperialist war, the monopolistic bourgenisie is obliged to seek new, "peaceful" ways of division and redivision of the world capitalist market ong the biggest alliances of the capitalists.

inter-state organizations brought into existence under the slogan of "integration," military and economic alliances resembling that by socialist revolution,

JULY 23, 1961

because there is no other of the heavily bleeding Soviet means save socialist revolu- Republic was branded as "red tion as could resolve the militarism." steadily growing contradic-tion between the social character of the process of production created by capitalism and the private capitalist method of appropriation

REVOLUTION

of its results.

Second argument. Snatchit this course its does not ing fragmentary phrases from ty must necesunother world sent-day falsifiers of Marxism are trying to persuade the masses that communism is an expansionist system, that, in p. 48.) the idea of the Marxists, the victory of the world revolu-tion should come as the re-sult of an armed conflict between the socialist and capitalist camps, as the result of

Falsifiers Of Marxism

The slogan of world revolu-tion, declares E. Williams, is evidence of the imperialist intentions of communism a consistency and purposefulness which are without precedent in the history of dictaallegedly a tactical manipula tion of the Communists, tha

"Their language," say other slanderers, "is the language of total war. They are working for world revolution with torships." In other words, imperialist propaganda is trying to prove that the peaceful coexistence of two systems is it is at variance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of

carnage, the imperialists are increasing their profits

Preparing another world

SABRE-RATTLING AYUB TRIUMPHANT, Friends of America within our country, especially the monopoly controlled press, were confidently predicting that Ayub had grown too big for his boots and that he was bound to get such a spanking from India's "new" and "good friend" the U.S. President, Kennedy, that the Pak dictator — who loves and is parado-ground manners—will remember all his life. KENNED Y 5 TRICKY DUALITY

proud of his parade-ground manners — will remember all his life.

These Indian friends of America, if they have any sense of national honour or intellectual honesty should by now be in sack-cloth and ashes after the conclusion of Ayub's mission to Washington, after reading the Text of the Kennedy-Ayub joint communique, after listening and thinking over all that is being written, in columns after columns, in the American as well as in the Pak press.

On his last day in Washington, July 16, in his Press Conference and Radio and Television programme on the U.S. nation-wide hookup, President Ayub proudly declared that his visit to the U.S.A. and talks with the Kennedy Administration had Television had Television programme on the U.S. and talks with the U.S. from the floor of the U.S. from the floor of the U.S. Congress, the Pak President introduced himself anew in words very familiar to and not very unfamiliar to addressing the Pak dictator: Kennedy Administration had

been "highly successful".

Just before leaving Karachi
he had posed the problem
that took him across the seas,
"Can it be that the U.S. is

"Can't be that the U.S. is

Pakistan under its politicians en "highly successful".

Just before leaving Karachi "Can it be that the U.S. is abandoning its good friends for people who may not prove such good friends. up the result of his U.S. visit view, he stated "I think it is quite clear now that nobody can give up reliable friends, not in these troubled times".

when questioned, he specifically said he was quite satisfied that the U.S.A. Selling U.S. was not abandoning Pakistan for others who might not be such good friends (a hardly veiled reference to After this preliminary

declared that his talk with the U.S. President had "great-ly strengthened our alliance

Kennedy-Ayub joint communique had been received in official and non-official circles there "with great relief" bordering on joy".

The desired march to development and progress."
He asked members of the byper-critical of a democratic system which did not

Fresh Thinking

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told newsmen "both sides are pleased with the out-

come of the talks".

Nothing could be simpler to make honest Indians think hard and afresh, and clean up the cobwebs, sought to be woven so persistently and assiduously, by the monopoly assiduously, by the monopoly press, inside the Indian mind. The Pak dictator did not

very much change either his rds or manners while in the U.S. It should be a re way he was received and lionised in the crazy U.S. circles who think dollar-aid and military-alliance can help them to lead the world which,

to toe their line.

As he landed in Washington. President Kennedy comed the visiting President of Pakistan as a "friend, an ally, and a powerful force for freedom in the world." He also "emphasised that Americans, privately as well as pub-licly, value highly the warmth and constancy of the friendbetween Pakistan and United States." (Dawn,

Exchanging toasts at the glittering State dinner, on July 12, at Mount Vernon, the historic and ancestral home of George Washington, the first president of the United States, President Ayub referred to his own military background and later his civilian leadership of Pakistan and "compared it with the career of George Washington." (Dawn, July 13)

and not very unfamiliar to

began "to disintegrate"

began "to disintegrate".
"People openly started saying that this man would save ing that this man would save in the just has not the courage to do so. They did not realise my problem. My problem was to create an army worthy of the people. That was the first thing."

After this preliminary job India).

Finally, the Pak President eclared that his talk with he U.S. President had "great-"

And been done, "one had to think of future generations and decisions had to be made and therefore there was a rely strengthened our alliance volution in our country and with United States" and had I was head of the revolution."

much closer to each other.

The PTI, on July 16 reported from Karachi, that the street of the country, bring it to life and prepare it for the

conform to theirs." And then announced that, if all went well, the next Pak budget should be passed by a Par-iament which shall be liament which shall be brought into being under the new Constitution, and under the new system."

He thus sold his pet idea of

basic democracies, which will keep his military dictatorship

Playing up the value of Pakistan as against India and the other uncommitted nations he rubbed home the point: trouble, point: "If there is real trouble, there is no other country in Asia you will be able to put your foot in.
The only people who will
stand by you are the people of Pakistan, provided

ilitary-alliance can help
em to lead the world which,
wever, is-learning fast not
toe their line.
As he landed in Washingnt, President Kennedy welmed the visiting President you have got to give to us. You say you are getting a bit tired of this story. I would like to suggest you had better not get tired".

He spoke extempore and his speech, not fully reported in the Indian press, was studded with such phrases "good chaps" and "sound fellows".

The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times (July 14) cabled from Washington, "The over-crowded public galleries made it clear that in public eye he is still the symbol of the U.S. stout ally in Asia."

Ayub was "an outstanding statesman with iron in his back-bone and brains in his

spoke during the luncheon that followed said, directly addressing the Pak dictator: "We respect your frankness we honour your independence, and we admire your courageOur alliance does not rest on written parchments alone. It is an agreement of

mutual respect, of partner-ship for peace, and a covenant of stability amid the dangers and confusions of world affairs." Several other Senators expressed themselves in the same vein (Dawn, July

If the above words, from the Pak side as well as the American, have any mean-ing they leave no room for any illusions about Pak hopes from U.S. and U.S. understanding of Pak's role.

If the above words are taken as just mutual admiration and mere diplomatic courtesy, there is the full text of the joint communique issued by the Presidents of United States and Pakista

tune had changed Reuter re-ported him as saying there, "There is no more to it than merely reappraisal... one keeps reappraising a situation as it has developed." The bal-loon blown big stood burst!

Such is the theme, purpose, and firmness of U.S.-Pak mili-tary alliance. It remains intact and has been further reiterat

U. S. Policy Unchanged

There is no basic change in U.S. policy towards Pakistan, and from this certain inevitable conclusions follow for India, Pakistan's ideological. political, and military link-up with U.S. imperialism remains intact and it has also been reiterated, in unmistak-

All talk of Ayub being independent and strong, wanting to make friends with India, in his own rough soldierly way is just myth, systematically propagated by friends of pagandised by friends of America within our country, who seek to misdirect the course of India's independent and anti-imperial-ist foreign policy in a direction that India may also become another Pakis-



who negotiated with President Kennedy, but the American and the Pak Press is also full of it and enough has trickled down into the columns of the Indian press

Girilal Jain reports from Karachi, in the Times of India (July 14) that America has agreed to deliver two new squadrons of F-104 super-sonic fighters. "These planes fly at double the speed of squadrons of F-104 nd. They have to be equipped with guided missiles if they are to be effectively used for intercepting super-sonic planes. Thus Pakistan would be armed with guided missiles if these planes were delivered

India Objects

He also reveals that America had promised to deliver these planes at the time of the U-2 incident in May, 1960. The delivery was due to begin in last June but was stopped on pro-tests from India and Afghanistan who then made the argument that it would lead an arms race in the region and thus hamper the economic development of

sought an explanation from the U.S. Government regarding the ambiguous phrasing of the Kennedy-Ayub joint communique. Afghanistan has followed suit.

Trouble Ahead

According to both the neighbours of Pakistan the neighbours of Pakistan the new communique is "a complete departure from the provisions of the Mutual Security Act under which Pakistan has been receiving military aid. "Nowhere is it stated that Pakistan or another country could use weapons for its security of weapons for its security of which it would itself be the sole judge." (H. R. Vohra, Times of India, July 16)

Diplomatic protests may be the first necessary step but if Indian efforts remain confined to it, India is in for real trouble so far as the U.S. is concerned. It is no case of misunderstanding but a wilful effort to nge the military balance of forces in our region, against India, and by using Pakistan as its loyal political agency.

The purpose of President Ayub's visit to U.S. was not only to get more military and ic aid but also to

from President Kennedy on the Kashmir issue—and he has succeeded in doing so. According to the joint com-

munique, President Ayub "stressed the great importance attached to this issue by the people of Pakistan". In

turn President Kennedy

"affirmed the desire of the

United States to see a satis-factory solution of the Kash-

mir issue and expressed the hope that progress towards this settlement would be

possible at an early date."

America was going to give India massive economic aid. Mr. Nehru would "carefully" consider such an appeal. President Ayub in his Meet

ington, on July 16, stated that President Kennedy had agreed to impress upon Mr. Nehru President Kennedy had agreed to impress upon Mr. Nehru the "necessity" for settlement of the Kashmir dispute. He added that the American leader "should be able to go a long way" with Mr. Nehru on that issue. He also threatened that unless the Kashmir problem was resolved "all sorts of dangerous consequences" could flow from a situation where the army of India and Pakistan face each

The Pak rulers had earlier ried to get a similar com-mitment from President Eisenhower but failed. The position of the U.S. administration then was that in a dispute between two friends the U.S. stood neu-tral. This latest Kennedy's commitment to poke his nose into Kashmir at the bidding of the bellicose Pak dictator, is a change for the worse in U.S. policy towards Kashmir and India.

Crusade Succeeds

The New Delhi Correspondent of the Times of India, (July 16) reports: "It has been noted here that the Pakistan President has succeded in his crusade on Kashmir to the extent of having mir to the extent of having a reference to it included in

The PTI correspondent from Karachi, on July 16, reported, "Pakistanis consider that the mention of the Kashmir dispute even in general terms in the communique is a great gain for this country in view of the past non-committal stand of the U.S. "They recall that during his visit in May last U.S. Vice-

President Lyndon Johnson declined even to comment on The New York Herald

lopment was an "important feather in President Avub's diplomatic cap". It also re-vealed that the reference to Kashmir in the communique implied that President Kennedy "will discreetly suggest to Prime Minister Nebru", that he invite President Ayub to New Delhi soon to negotiate on the Kashmir problem. The Times of India, (July

16) combining AFP and PTI messages stated: "The Kennedy administration is likely to work quietly behind the scenes to bring a solution of Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, American sources said here last night. President Kennedy gave his assurance to President Ayub Khan.

"According to an American news agency the communique foreshadowed a personal effort by Mr. Kennedy to bring Mr. Nehru to a new round of conferences with President Ayub for a negotiated settlement of the issue."

The agency went so far as to suggest that because

the Press interview in Wash-

U.S. Plans For Kashmir

The press, whether Indian, Pakistani, or American, is committed to work for a Nehru-Ayub meeting to tackle the Kashmir problem

India's passionate feeling and the righteous demand. born out of bitter experiences in the past with earlier U.S. mediation, is that we want no outside intervention in the Kashmir affair and that it will be settled as and when Pakistan is really willing. In the meanwhile, status quo and peace on our border must be maintained.

The Kennedy intervencan only give new strength

This is not speculation but the evil reality which is star-ing India in the face. Prime Minister Nehru has rushed to Srinagar to hold a highpowered conference to devise measures to effectively com-bat the steady influence of

The so-called Liberation

The so-called Liberation Front in Azad Kashmir has been activised, the usual Jehad slogan is being shouted aloud, and the Pakistan press itself reports hactic military

Paul Grimes, the Karachi prespondent of the New York Times, basing himself on the statement of Azad Kashmir President Khurshid, under mir President Knursnid, under the caption "Renewed Strife On Kashmir Scene — Unit in Pakistan threatens again India", reported in the May

23 issue of the paper:
"A threat of wide-spread fighting late this summer in the divided State of Kashmir was voiced today. It presumably would be deliberately provoked by the Kashmiris, on the Pakistan-held side of the 12-year-old cease-fire line. They would view it as the last resort after the failure of peaceful means to win that part of the State that is held by India but which they consider rightfully theirs. in the divided State of

theirs.
"The Pakistani Government's protential role, if
any, was not clear. It was any, was not clear. It was evident, however, that Pakistan would deny any attempt to implicate her. Yet the Government was openly abetting the wide-spread dissemination of the

Pakistan's Tactics

Quoting Khurshid Grimes Quoting Khurshid Grimes wrote, "He said arms might be obtained from 'unexpected quarters'. He indicated that Pakistan would permit such arms to cross her territory..." The 'unexpected quarters' for the supply of arms are well-known to those who are familiar with the U.S. policy operations abroad, the main source being the notorious CIA, which liberally supplied arms in Laos, Cuba, etc.

The Pakistan tactics.

The Pakistan tactics, under U.S. guidance, are visible in fairly clear contours. Bring Kennedy into the picture and if Nel fuses to budge from the declared Indian position then damn the Indian Prime Minister for being unreasonable through high-powered world-wide publi-

declare dent' state and aid and abet it to start the fire-works on the Indo-Pak border. If and when Ken-nedy fails to intensify the liberation campaign from Azad Kashmir, under the Azad Kasnnur, under banner of its own so-called Government make the situation on the border as violent and anarchic as possible, bad enough to call for and justify U.N.

was lying dormant so far is being brought under tremend-ous head and pressure. Presi-dent Awah pada the Victoria dent Ayub needs the Kashmir diversion because his military dictatorship has not been able to solve a single problem of the Pakistani people and the

* SEE PAGE 14

INDIA'S VIGILANCE-THE SUPREME NEED through various transitional

In this trickily drafted document whose significance lies, as of most such docu-ments, drafted and signed by the U.S. statesmen, more in terms of ommission than commission, there is enough in cold print to set the hair of sensitive and under-standing Indians on edge. The running thread of the joint communique is tradi-tional anti-Communism and it is more than a remnant from the dark days of Dulles who himself lies buried but

whose spirit is very much alive in his country. The communique draws pointed attention to the fact that "Mr. Kennedy and Field Marshal Ayub agreed that South Asia was a primary target of international Com-

Ayub's Threat

Directly following from the above, these two statesmen, the master and minion, also reaffirm "the value of exist-ing collective security arran-gements as an instrument for the defence against aggres-

With the U.S. wind went With the U.S. wind went President Ayub's threat, repeatedly made while at home, that Pakistan "is reexamining its membership in the U.S.-backed SEATO and CENTO anti - Communist pacts." All this was only a wordy demonstration before his own frustrated countrymen of his independence and

nimity.

The Pak Dictator's most tangible gain is thus describ-ed in the joint communique: Speaker Rayburn of the House of Representatives told President Ayub that his address to the Congress was "one of the best speeches ever delivered to the joint session."

wordy demonstration before his own frustrated countrymen of his independence and courage even vis-a-vis the mighty U.S.

By the time Marshal Ayub demonstration before his own frustrated countrymen of his independence and courage even vis-a-vis the mighty U.S.

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By the time Marshal Ayub demonstration before his own frustrated countrymen of his independence and courage even vis-a-vis the mighty U.S.

tion of its security

forms, that will ultimately bind our country hand to foot to the reactionary warmongering U.S. policies In the joint communique U.S. has renewed its pledge "to preserve Pakistan's inde-pendence and integrity". Who does not know when the U.S. swears to help defend the independence of any country it only means making it more and more dependent on itself, through its system of military alliances, and by making a gift of more and more arms and heavy equipment to its reactionary rulers.

This ensures that the nation

concerned function in sub-ordination to U.S. world stra-tegic aims and, at the right and needed time, dutifully stage political and military provocations against its neighbours who really seek to pursue their own indepen-dent course of action and refuse to serve U.S. foreign

policy aims. Are we not very familiar ourselves with the atrocious dance of America's Pak puppets on our very borders, with the song of anti-Indian with the song or anti-indian hatred vociferously sung—the steps, formation and the direction of the dance being neither aesthetic nor easily possible for any good neighbour to watch with the equationity

tain forces for the preserva-

ing to explain that President Kennedy's interpretation may be different. The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times states that President Kennedy sinterpretation may be different. The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times states that President Kennedy may see "the reference to arms aid in the perspective of an earlier paragety which expresses that the president forms and the president of the different. The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times states that President forms and the presid ment that it was directly and specifically related to defence against the Com-munist aggression and could munist aggression and could not be used against India. This time the fig leaf of anti-Communism has been cast aside. Now U.S. military assistance has been the country of the continent of South Asia was the primary target of International Communism."

Extended tary assistance has been directly related instead, to Arms Aid assist Pakistan "to maintion of its security".

Threat To India

their security. Pakistan as a sovereign nation would thos be entitled to use U.S. arms

which no earlier Pak representative could secure. This is a concession Kennedy has made which no earlier U.S. President had made. This constitutes a new threat to India's security and it would be folly to belittle it.

The U.S. apologists in the Indian press are vainly seek-

P. C. JOSHI

H. R. Vohra cabling from Washington to the Times of India (July 14) reports "Pak-istan has been assured by the U.S. of continued military aid in substantial quantity ac-cording to Pakistani sources here.
"At one stage during the graph which stresses that the

Eisenhower regime Pakistan even demanded missiles and atomic bombs "Pakistan is not repeating the request for nuclear wea-pon but it wants more Side-winders and land-to-air missi-

This hope is without any substance, though it may very well as Kennedy's escape tune when facing Nehru. Unless there are specific restrictions clearly laid down, in black and white, Pakistan as les besides other sophisticated Next day Vohra again cabled that President Ayub was anxious to obtain not only a large quantity of military aid If anything is known a sovereign nation is fully about the Pakistan rulers it justified to consider itself is that they consider India to be the main threat to U.S. arms against India or

sovereign nation would thos be entitled to use U.S. arms against India and at its own discretion. This is an advantage which Ayub has won which no earlies Bet remilitary and more economic aid, as the Kennedy admirers

but certain specific types of weapons to confer what he privately described as "a little better balance within his forces". The Times of India, Washington Correspondent also added, "Not to make available added, "Not to make available to India weapons like Side-winders which Pakistan has obtained, even though in small numbers, is bad enough. To equip Pakistan with other sophisticated weapons tilt the already precarior balance of military power i the region in her favour."

Under present day tech-nological conditions milinological conditions tary power depends not so much on the number of vantage that Pakistan is seeking by getting super-sonic fighters and deadly and land-to-air missiles etc. The Government of India is

Therefore, the struggle for peace among countries and for a revolutionary transition

able.
Safeguarding the world from the conflagration of another world war, the Co munists are co inevitable ism in all countries, because socialist revolution is an irrevocable law of the internal quires no war between states.

volutionary working people

who had risen to this sacred struggle against their oppres-

sors had never been stopped,

nor will they ever be stopped by the adjurations of their

It is a fact that while hypo-

critically attacking "extremes" and talking about the defence of "humanity" and "love of

man", the bourgeoisie hushes

up the systematic reprisal and

periodic bloodshed it orga-nizes for the masses whenever

the class struggle becomes more or less sharper; it is not

troubled by these common-

place expressions of bour-geois dictatorship.

But this falsification, which

substitutes for the Marxist thesis about the inevitability

of the class struggle the fictitious thesis about the in-

evitability of civil war, has nothing in common with Marxism; it distorts the Mar-

xist idea of revolution and civil war, of the essence and

forms of transition to social

always held and hold today that the transition to socia-

lism is impossible without

cisely the class struggle, re-volution and establishment of the dictatorship of the

proletariat are essential and

Revolution is an inevitable

struggle carried to the over-

throw of the old government, of the old system, and the

establishment of a new gov∸

Socialist revolution is the

highest point in the class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited; it is

class struggle, when the con-

the entire course of capitalist development, the

development, the antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, are re-

m and establ

It stands to reason that in a period like this the class battles become especially bit-ter, stubborn and resolute,

each of the fighting sides throwing all its reserves into the battle, because the desti-nies of millions are decided in the course of this struggle.

However, the degree of

solved by the destruction

Class Battles

And Tactics

capitali

of socialism

ernment, of a new system

the class struggle, that pre

Marrists-Leninista

INTER-CLASS WAR AND REVOLUTION

oppressors.

M OST conspicuous among the means resorted to by bourgeois ideology with the object of frightening the masses with the prospect of transition to socialism is the assertion that in the idea of the Marxists the road to socialism leads necessarily through civil war, that arm insurrection and bloodshed are essential for social transformations in any country which enters the course of

Distorting the essence of Marxist theory by means of various manipulations and falsifications, bourgeois ideologists try to prove that the doctrine of the class strug excludes the possibility of peaceful social reforms, that one of the most important elements of the Marxist doctrine is, as B. Swift Escott writes in his book "Bloodless Revolution," the conviction that a bloody revolution is a necessary and inevitable pre-condition for social changes

Propping up this bourgeois modern revisionists also allege that the view prevalent in the communist movement for many decades was that revolution coinciding to one another degree with civil war is the only means of transi-tion to socialism.

When Civil Wars Are Just Wars

Of course. Communists have never denied, nor do they deny today, that civil wars by the working people against the exploiters are just wars.

In cases when the ruling exploiting classes refuse to submit to the will of the le who have chosen a way of life, when they recourse to armed force in order to give the people no opportunity to express their will, in cases like that the proletariat and its allies have resorted to, and will do so in the future to armed insurrection, to armed insurrection, to armed struggle for their rights, for the overthrow of the exploiting power as dic-tated by history and establishment of a superior democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, for transition to socialism.

And this armed struggle, civil war, is the most justified the most heroic struggle which demands of the workers, of the working people, readiness to go to the end in their combat with their class enemies. A war like that, just as a war by the oppres peoples for their national freedom, is quite justified, because the use of violence against the violators may seem improper only to hypoto opportunists and

Class-conscious workers re-

ed by this decisive class battle, revolution—whether it takes place in the form of an armed clash between the fighting re convinced in the victory of socialcamps, or whether it assumes not depend in the least upon the mere desire or unwillingness of the working class to go one or another way.

Therefore, leading the masses towards revolution the Marxists do not bind themselves by any definite

intensity which will be reach.

"Marxist tactics," wrote V. L Lenin, "lies in the combination of different methods of struggle, in the able transition from one to another, in the steady edification of the class consciousness of the masses and increase in the range of their collective action, each which in particular may be now offensive, now defensive while all together they lead to an increasingly deeper and resolute conflict." (Ibid, Vol. 20, p. 190.)

Civil war is one of the forms, but it is by no means the only form of class struggle between the workers and the bourgeoisie, between the ex-ploiters and the exploited. The specific nature of this form lies in the fact that it is the sharpest form of class struggle conducted with the use of armed force, of armed

It is perfectly clear how bsurd it is to identify this form of struggle, which solves a relatively limited task of pression of the class emy by armed force, with the socialist revolution which is called upon to replace capitalism by socialis

Marxists referred time and again to two basic forms of development of the socialist revolution, the peaceful and non-peaceful ways. Therefore, to ascribe to the Communists recognition of civil war as a generally necessary condition for the transition to socialism to say an obvious lie.

inevitable conditions for the transition of any capi-talist country, to socialism. It would not have been The exploiters will not necessary to dwell at the sacrifice their power and their privileges voluntarily; moment on such generally known truths, if it had not they can be overthrown only in a stubborn tlass struggle which develops into revolution. been for the fact that life has put forward new questions:

Choice Of Forms result of the class struggle; it is in fact itself the class

(1) Which of the two forms of development of revolution is preferable and for what

(2) In what conditions is it possible to force the bour-geoisie to abandon armed struggle and ensure the neare. ful passage of power into the hands of the working class and its allies?

Analyzing the and non-peaceful ways of development of socialist revolution as such, the Marxists have always given and still give their preference to peaceful revolution.

The road to socialism which ads through civil war is not the ideal for the Communists: it is most painful way for society as a whole, because it is connected with bloodshed, with the loss of human life, with destruction of the productive forces, with the stoppage and disruption of production which tell upon the development of society.

Now that the question of socialist transformations is becoming increasingly urgent to quite a number rist.

of highly advanced countries, the Communists rec-kon with the prospect that civil war in these countries would produce especially grave consequences. Already in his time V. I.

Lenin wrote: "We must clear-ly realize what new calamities civil war would bring to any country. These calamities country. These calamities would be all the harder, the more cultured the country is. Let us picture to ourselves a country with machines and railways in a civil war which would interrupt communica-tions between regions of the country. Picture to yourselves the situation in regions which for decades had which for decades mad been accustomed to live by ex-changes of industrial produc-tion and you will understand that any civil war would bring additional hard privations, and that is what the greatest Socialists anticipated." (Ibid, Vol. 27, p. 425.)

Taking into consideration all these circumstances, the Communists consider most sts consider most the transition to desirable socialism without civil war. The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Leninist Party, pointed out the Moscow Declaration of the Moscow Declaration of 1957, are striving to carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means.

The preference of the emphasized also in the State-ment of the Meeting of Representatives of Com and Workers Parties: Realiza. tion of this possibility would accord with the interests of the working class and of the the whole people, with the com-mon national interests of the

However, while working undeviatingly for the peaceful way of development towards socialism, Marxists-Leninist stand today, as they always had, on the ground of a sober estimate of the facts: they understand that the choice of the means of struggle depends upon the situation; they know that, however, great the hardships encountered by a coun try in civil war, it is pre-ferable to the endless humilia-tions and horrors brought by the system of capitalist sla-very which is prolonging its life by means of bloody terre

punitive expeditions And if the working class ises to armed struggle in hese conditions, that is its inalienable, sacred right which cannot be wrestthe bourgeoisie a logical servitors.

That is why Marxists have always decided the question of the forms of revolutionary struggle concretely, in acco dance with the situation Thus, at the time when

imperialism was the dominat-ing social force, Marxists, raising the question of the ways of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat reckoned with the fact that in all countries the bourgeoisie was armed against the pro-letariat, that the international positions of socialism were still very weak which also unfettered the hands of the bourgeoisie and made the import of armed counter-revolution quite real; and, therefore, although the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism was not exclud-ed, the most probable prospect was an inevitable civil war in the transition to the dictatorship of the proleta-

This most probable prospect was adopted as the basis-for the programme of the Communists. V. I. Lenin wrote: "It is much more likely, of course, that, even in small states, socialism will not and for that reason the only programme of international Social-Democracy must be recognition of civil war, though violence, is, of course, alien to our ideals." (Ibid. Vol. 23, p. 57.)

Peaceful Transition

But even at the time when the entire situation made the non-peaceful way of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat most probable, the Marxists emphasized that not everywhere must the proletariat

V. I. Lenin wrote that the tariat would prefer to take over power peacefully; more than this, after the bourgeois-democratic tion of 1917, he empl that the situation was exceptionally favourable for peaceful development of the revolution, and in 1919 he hailed the peaceful establishment of the dictatorship of the pro-letariat in Hungary.

The falsifiers of Marxism gloss over these facts.

Now that a drastic change has taken place in the inter-national situation as a whole, there are greater possibilities for peaceful transition to socialism, without civil war.

This fact dictates the need another question: the conditions for the peaceful deve-lopment of revolution.

@ It may be asked: upon the latter, the peaceful and non-peaceful ways of development of socialist revolution in one or another country depend? Although it is as yet

difficult to enumerate all the circumstances which determine one or another way of the revolution it is enough to turn to historica geoisie choses to precipitation civil war only when the relationship of forces makes it possible for it to count

What does it mean con-cretely? It means, firstly, that he bourgeoisie counts on real military assistance by inter national imperiali secondly, that it counts on greater or smaller mass sup-port of its counter-revolutionary operations inside the country.

That was the case in Soviet Russia, when the deposed bourgeoisie unleashed a civil war only when it received support in the shape of direct foreign intervention and of kulak uprisings within the country.

That was the case also in the Hungarian Soviet Repub-lic when the bourgeoisie, which surrendered power peacefully to the peacefully to the working class, unleashed a civil war when the relationship of when the relationship of forces in and outside the country became more favour-able for it. An entirely different course

* SEE FACING PAGE

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develops as the result of the armed insurrection and civil class struggle, can take place in peaceful as well as in nonways. ways of development Rebuff To

peaceful coexistence of different states, of the realistic character of peaceful ways of

preventing a military conflict between the two systems, the ist movement toda reckons with the possibility of not only non-peaceful but also peaceful ways of transition to peaceful ways of translation to socialism. This is interpreted in a very curious way by the hourgeois press. Some of the falsifications, allege that the communists are departing

The crop of these allega-tions in the bourgeois press has become especially rich following the publication of the Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which has clearly de-Parties which has clearly d fined the domestic and foreign policies of the Communists.

Bourgeois

Ideologists

bourgeois ideologists.

tant to admit their

from their principles.

Recognizing the need for

was taken by developments in

of the dictatorship of the

proletariat, the bourgeoisi dared not unleash a civil war

finding itself in isolation from the masses and from in-

ternational imperialism which could not resort to open armed intervention thanks to

the existence of the Soviet

Furthermore, the level of

Furthermore, the level of organization and the maturity of the working class and of its vanguard were not the same in each of these cases and that influenced to a conditionable degree the develop-

siderable degree the develop-ment of the socialist revolu-

tion along one or the other

In some of the capitalist countries, international and internal conditions are de-veloping favourably enough

carry through a peaceful socialist revolution.

It is a fact that the supe-

riority of the forces of so-cialism over the forces of capitalism is becoming in-creasingly clear in the world arena today.

That reduces the poten-

geoisie to unleash a civil

geoisie to unleash a civil war, because to the extent that socialism is developing into the decisive factor of social development, the possibilities of imperialism to counter-revolution.

On the other hand, a fur-ther regrouping of class forces is taking place within

the capitalist countries where the isolation of the

growing.

counter-revolution

the working class

way.

where, after the establish

People's Democrac

Thus, commenting on the section of the Statement which deals with war and revolution, the Capital Times wrote on December 10, 1960: This means, of course the original Marxist teaching, according to which .commu-nism will consolidate itself only after a war for existence with capitalism, has been revised by the contemporary followers of Marx

In this sense, at least, the international meeting in Moscow was of colossal historic significance.

The struggle against it is Of course, all these hourbeing developed around de-mocratic demands and that enables the working class and its Marxist-Leninist geois allegations about the departure of the Communists from their principles do not correspond to the real facts; and its Marxist-Leninist parties to rally around itself parties to rally around wide sections of the people the mono confusing principles methods of struggle, the bourand thus deprive the mono-polistic bourgeoisie of the ally without which a civil war unleashed by the bourgeoisie is thus tru lity to adapt its inventions to certain real changes which have taken place in the world, sie would be doomed to and, accordingly, to the tac-tics of the communist movement.

Consequently, to Marxistinists the socialist revolu-It is enough to recall that tion is by no means identical at the beginning of the 20th century V. I Lenin and the Marxist-Leninists reckoned with the inevitability of war with civil war between classes; the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism, which invariably veen states and considered

war the most real, and civil war the most real, and, with certain reservations, inevitable ways of declarations

Today, Marxists-Leninists deny that world wars are in-evitable in existing conditions and emphasize the need for

All important events in life today can be understood cor-rectly only if account is taken of the fact that an uninterrupted struggle is under way between the forces of capita-lism and socialism, between the imperialist bourgeoiste and the working class, more-over, each of these social forces brings its own methods, its own ways of solving social

Decisive Factor Of Our Time

The mentioned changes in the relationship between the non-peaceful and pea-ceful means of implementing policy are connected with the decisive factor of our time: a change in th dominating forces of inter-national politics is taking place (and to a considerable degree has already taken place), and dominating me-thods of its implementation are changing accordingly.

Precisely this historic change in the relationshi of forces between capitalis and socialism leaves its imand socialism leaves its im-print on the possible solu-tion of the problems of war and peace among countries and on the possible ways of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat,

Wars, just as political revolutions are concomitants of the class society.

With the development. the class struggle and the lism, the radiant world of the growth of the forces of sociafuture, the time when st revolution place capitalism by s everywhere and for increasingly clearer; it will thus leave no ground whatever for war and obviate the need for new revolutions.

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N July 22 the Polish built. A whole series of ne production branches like large chemical plants, shipnation celebrates the 17th anniversary of the National Liberation Day building, and machine-building industries, have come into existence

17 Years Of

— commemorating the proclamation of the Ma-

nifesto of the Committee

of National Liberation-

an event which forebode

pasic and fundamental

transformations in the

were either killed or died as

were either kined or died as a consequence of the war and occupation and 38 per cent of all the national wealth was either destroy-

Seventeen years of un-interrupted progress has put Poland on the map of leading industrial nations of the world. Industrial

.5 times the pre-war level.

Today Poland produce

in two weeks as much as pre-war Poland produced

Per Capita

Production

That the Polish

lifted itself out of its back-wardness in a relatively short period of time is

confirmed by the fact that

Poland's per capita indus-trial production which be-

fore the war stood much below the world average, is today twice as high as the

real average.

A powerful heavy indus-

trial base, assuring smooth development of all bran-ches of industry, has been

ed or plundered

roduction

in a vear.

ife of Poland.

Poland's

Progress

The transformation of ward agricultural-indus trial land into a develope industrial - agricultural country he has completely ut unemployment also induced. mental change in the pulation structure. The har of people engaged in agriculture has reduced by one-third.

Seventeen years back Poland was the most painfully afflicted country in the world, both from the points of view of human and material losses. Two hundred twenty of every 1,000 inhapitants were either killed or died as As a result of the realizaof the economic plans, disproportion in the parts of the country, a heritage of the period, has lessen sened considerably, new areas such as, Nowa Huta near Crackow, have appeared on the map of Poland.

The changing face of Poland has also its natural impact on the standard of living of the vast sections vast sections of the po-pulation.

Rapid increase in the number of dwelling houses has resulted in reducing congestion in cities. The congestion in cities. The consumption of meat has grown 25 per cent over the pre-war level. An efficient network of health service s free medical care

Boost To Education

Another sphere radical char changes have taken within the past seventeen years, is educa-tion. Illiteracy has been completely wiped out and education made free and compulsory.

************* Despite the decline population, the number of youth attending middle and vocational schools has grown four times, while in ligher educational institu tions the number has tre bled.

The number of dents per 1000 inhabi-tants is today substan-tially higher than in many economically and culturally advanced states like Belgium, Swe or Italy

In the field of foreign policy, July 22, 1944, inau-gurated a new era, reject-ing the inter-war policies which culminated in the September 1939 tragedy. Poland today is a country surrounded on all sides friends and allies.

A country which suffered from the Hitlerite invasion with unusual severity, Poland supports the Soviet proposals for universal and complete discovery proposals for universal accomplete disarmament, in the solution of which lies the hope of all mankind.

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PAGE TEN

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NEW AGE

PAGE ELEVEN

Seven in 1959, was more than double the national income of so highly developed a country as Switzerland.

Swept by desert sands, and washed by the waters of the Persian Gulf, the tiny Kingdom of Kuwait with a population of two-and-a-half lakhs, offers a unique sight. Its Burgan area is pockmarked with small knobby metal objects, known as "Christ-mas Trees"

HEY are there in place of the familiar oil derricks because in Burgan, the oil gushes to the surface without pumping. The estimated oil reserves of this world's largest single oil field, in 1955, were of 27.5 billion barrels, which represent 17.80 per cent

In the entire production of Middle East, which was esti-mated at 20.6 per cent of the world's production in 1956. Kuwait's share was the highest — 54,982,000 metric tons annually. And its oil revenues in 1958, amounted to over 415 million dollars.

Big Seven In The Oil World

It is reported that nearly half of the oil and oil products used in the U.K. come from Kuwait alone. Of the total oil shipments that passed through the Suez canal, as

blood /

eels which make up the body and the brain and thus sustains life itself. Think of the dangers you face when this blood becomes impure. Often, Iching, Scabies, Ul-cers, Eczema, Boils, Rashes, Gout and many other com-plicated diseases beast trans-

plicated diseases beset upon you and make your life miserable.

PAGE TWELVE

Every drop

purifies your

much as 64 per cent were from Kuwait even till 1955. This immense oil wealth is still in the grip of the oil monopolies, and in Kuwait it is Britain that gets the

In fact, oil industry, is one of the most monopolised industry in the capitalist world. The Big Seven in the capitalist world — members of the International Oil Cartel - are: the British Petro leum Co.; the Anglo-Dutch Royal Dutch-Shell, and the five American companies the Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony Mobil Oil Co., Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Inc., and Gulf Oil

lion's share.

The fixed capital of the Big Seven was estimated at 34,500 million dollars in early 1960 which amounted to 35.5 per cent of all the fixed capital concentrated in the oil industry of the capitalist world.

The reserve capital of the Big

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Among themselves, this group of oil trusts control more than four-fifths of the prospected reserves, three-fifths of the output, and more than half of the transporta-tion and oil refining, in the capitalist world.

Operating over the heads of the Governments of the oil-extracting and oil-consuming perialist powers. countries, setting its own quotas of extraction and even

It is precisely this power of the oil monopolies which is behind the present show of force of the British imperis lism, and it is precisely this wealth of the Middle East which, with the changing times, is gradually slipping out of the hands of the im-

of the profit. Profits on capital invested in the oil industry amount to 20 per cent in the U.S., 35 per cent

in Venezuela, and 100 per cent in the Middle East.

In the heyday of colonia-

Oil Co. (later the British Petroleum) and the Gulf Oil Company (an American Com-pany), for the setting up of Kuwait Oil Co., owned and nanced equally by the two companies.

Though a joint British American company, the K.O.C. has been mainly managed by the British. (A characteri feature in the Middle East oil is that, so far, American share holdings in the oil companies operating in that region, are much greater than the extent of American ope

COLONIAL STINK IN ITS OIL

of oil consumption as well as the prices structure and levels in the capitalist world mar-ket, this cartel has, in fact, turned into a "super-state".

Largest Profits In Middle East

It is principally in the Middle East, Venezuela, North Africa and Indonesia that the Big Seven control biggest and

And it is in the Middle

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of blood impurities, tones

up the liver, increases the

appetite and thus helps

formation of new, rich

blood which ensures

sturdy health for you

lism, Britain had established its supremacy in this part of the world. Treaties which date back to 1820, signed be-tween Great Britain (usually through the then Govern-ment of India) and the various Sheikhs, plus the various Sheikhs, plus naval control of the waters were the principal instruments of British colonialism to maintain its supre-

Kuwait was drawn into Britain's Persian Guif Treaty system in 1899; and five years fore the outbreak of the First World War, the question of oil arose, when the rich oil fields of South-Western Iran had long been well establish-ed. In 1912, the Abadan refinery went on stream.

And in 1913, Britain was in possession of the letter of commitment from the Shaikh of Kuwait, specifically relat-

In the mild words of David Finnie, an authority on this problem: "In view of the agreement it is very probably one of Cox's (Sir Percy Cox, the then British Political Resident in the Persian Gulfown compositions, presented to the Sheikh for him to sign."

But in plain language, it is a most outrageous instance of colonial grab. In part, it

"We are agreeable to everything which you regard advantageous ... We will associate with him (an Admiral who was to be sent to Kuwait by the British Government—R.A.) one of our sons to be in his service to show the place of vice, to show the place of bitumen in Burgan and elsewhere and if in their view there seems hope of obtaining oil thereform we shall never give a concession in this matter to anyone except a person appointed from the British Government."

Sordid Story!Of Colonial Plunder

Such is the sordid story of colonial plunder that now wants to go by the name of "protecting Kuwait's independence."

Soon, however, Britain had to share its spoils with an-

Soon, however, Britain had to share its spoils with another imperialist partner, the U.S. In December 1933, an agreement had to be signed between the Anglo-Persian

On the Kingdom Kuwait, Britain's control has been complete. The British political agent there, has been the go-between in KOC's dealing with the Kuwait Government. In the Kuwait Government, many officials were, and very likely still are, British. They were holding such key posts as Controller of the Deve-lopment Board, Port Supe-rintendent, and Assistance Controller of the

Britain's Control Over Kuwait

Among the senior staff of K.O.C., numbering 900, less than ten were Kuwaitis (as late as in 1954)—or there were none, according to other American reports of that

Even among the workers, the national composition of Work Force of K.O.C. (end of 1953) showed that Kuwaiti among the rest 37 per cent were Indians and Pakistanis. and 22 per cent were Arabs from outside Kuwait.

In all respect, hence, Ku-

But since then the bloom of colonialism the world has al-ready travelled a long way off. In today's world, the old colonial domination cannot continue for long, even on the tiny Kuwait with the Sheikh or without him.

Today the inevitable breakup of the oil empire is already on the agenda. And it is this fear which is behind the British military build-up in

Writing. On The Wall

The Socialist countries first of all the Soviet Union's entry into the world oil mar-ket, the growing demands of the newly independent countries at the bargaining counter from the oil monopolies, the increasing manifestations in the Arab countries to pool their efforts, as witnessed at the two Arab Oil Conference Such is the sordid story of colonial plunder that now wants to go by the name of "protecting Kuwait's inde
the two Arab Off Conferences, to build up a united anticartel front, and the developing anti-cartel movement in other erstwhile "strongholds" of the pil empire are the writing on the wall which must have told upon the ner-ves of the British government while launching upon its "Operation Kuwait

-RAZA ALI

JULY 23, 1961

GERMAN—DANGER MOUNTS

After weeks of consultations and negotiations, the Western Powers have sent their reply to the Soviet note on the German peace treaty and the de-militarisation of West Berlin. The Western reply is a combination of a deathlike rigidity and an impotent rage—a dangerous mixture.

T the time of writing, the full text of none of the Western notes is available. Any comment, therefore, has necessarily to be tentative. main outlines are clear enough.

In the fullest account to-

the Times of India's London Correspondent writes (July 19): "The three West-ern notes delivered in Mosern notes delivered in Mos-cow yesterday have once again rejected the Russian right to sign a separate peace treaty with East Ger-many and reaffirmed the West's determination to stand by its rights and obli-gations in Berlin. But the door has been carefully left door has been carefully left open for further negotiation

United States, British and French notes make it clear that the Western Powers are prepared to negotiae a German settlement— nd in the absence of it an and in the absence of it an interim agreement on Berlin—in the light of the proposal they put forward at the last meeting of Foreign Ministers in Geneva in 1959."

He adds: "The Western Deward have not yet made up

Powers have not yet made up their mind on what basis negotiations can take place with the Soviet Union on Berlin since President Kennedy has still not decided how far the West should go in seeking a negotiated set-tlement." To work out "an agreed allied position", the Western Foreign Ministers are to meet in the first week

The first point to be noted, then, is the display of truculence. They are themselves unwilling to sign or suggest any early end to the intolerable situation of a lack of a peace treaty with either an united Germany or the two German States

They repeat their outrage. ous suggestion that the pro-blem of German unification as well as that of a peace treaty with a unified German State can be solved by elec-

Considering that the population of West Germany is 54 millions and that of the German Democratic Republic 17 millions, the suggestion amounts to nothing less than the obliteration of the first peaceloving and Socialist German State

The Western Powers are fully aware that this sugges-tion has been rejected and can never be accepted by the Soviet Union. They are also fully aware of the just Soto be solved by negotiations between the two German States on a basis of equality

The justice and realism of the Soviet stand flows from the fact that the two any two States but two different and antagonistic social systems — soicalist monopoly-capitalist. It would be quite wrong to suggest the immediate dis-mantling and destruction of either social system is the pre-requisite for Ger-

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German peace treaty.

. It is this fact that is the basic obstacle to quick solution of the problem of Ger-man unity—a fact which refusal to implement the denazification and democrati-sation clauses of the 1945 Potsdam Agreements between the USSR, USA and UK.

In view of these inescapa-ble realities it is nothing else than truculence to insist that the Soviet Union has no right to do anything to relax ten sion or remove the hotheds of war until and unless a forced unity is imposed on Germany. Similarly, it is equally out-

rageous for the Western Powers to take up a posture that they will do everything and anything possible to defend the "freedom" of West Berlin. Nobody has threaten-ed that "freedom".

Time and again, the Soviet

Union as well as the German Democratic Republic have stated that the social and political set-up of West Ber-lin is not to be disturbed and is to be left entirely for desicion by the West Berliners themselves. Time and again, both these Socialist States have stressed that they are ready for any amount of guarantees that the free city What in fact the Western

Powers are after is the re-tention of their occupation rights in West Berlin and city as the biggest espion-age centre in the world as well as the likeliest single point of ignition of ano-ther world conflagration.

In addition the Western Powers are determined to violate the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic over its own territory when they point-blank declare that they will main-tain communications with that city as before—irrespec-tive of the signing of a peace treaty between that country and the Soviet Union.

Their reckless obstinacy is underlined by their refusa to countenance any kind of change in the occupied status of West Berlin. The Times of India writes: "The Wester Powers are also apprehensive that Mr. Khrushchov might be tempted to extend his 'troika' theory to the Berlin problem as well as to insist on the inclusion of some neutral States in any nego-tlated settlement for the continuance of the Western presence in the city.

The leader of the Western camp on the German and Berlin question is that arch-reactionary and revanchist Adenauer. His arrogant bellifrom the fact that the two cosity can be best illustrated German States are not just by his reaction to the July 7 proposal of West Berlin's Mayor, Willy Brandt, who can certainly not be accused of any partiality for peace or for the Soviet Union. Brandt had proposed that the West consider the German question as a whole, discuss the political and military

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

status of a reunited Germany and propose a peace conference of 52 Governments, after prior consultations with the representatives of the two German States

"Dr. Adenauer's reaction, however, has been brus-que and bitter: Mr. Khrushchoy is anxious to hear just this sort of thing.' If Herr Brandt became Chancellor, Brandt became Chancellor, the best thing would be to emigrate to the United States, he told a rally of Christian Democratic women. Thus, Herr Brandt's suggestions, like most suggestions concerning the German concerning concerning the German question, are branded as dan-gerous appeasement." (The Economist, London, July 15)

After this completely gative approach and the indication by Adenauer indication by Adenauer that not the least change in the status quo will be tolerated, it is difficult to accept Western bonafides about negotiations. Actu-ally the Western note is the best evidence that the Soviet Union's decision to increase its military expen-diture and suspend unilate-ral reduction of its armed forces was not made a moment too early.

It is only the demonstra-ted superiority of Soviet military strength and its not to be intimidated that has prevented the eruption of a war over West Berlin. But Soviet restraint and patience should not be misun Its determination to sign a German peace treaty Western manoeuvre of negotiations without making a

single negotiable proposal will only boomerang.

This should not be taken to mean that no negotiations are in the offing. It has been noted by all that Britain is singularly unwilling to be burnt to a cinder for the sake of Adenauer's ambi-

International public opinion is also becoming creasingly vocal that there should be some break from the present deep freeze in West Berlin and West Germany. Confronted with these forces—above all Soviet strength—the West may have to climb down in the near future. But that time is not yet nor will it come on its

LAOS-INDIA'S HELPFUL STAND

N EWS has only just come in of the resumption of the 14-Nations Geneva Conference. Simultaneously reports have appeared that Boun Oum has accepted the invitation of Souvanna Phou-ma to resume the tripartite negotiations begun at Zurich at the Cambodian capital, Pnom Penh.

Once again the stalling tactics of the U.S. have suffered a sharp reverse. At Geneva the U. S. delegates had done their best to prevent the conference from getting down to a discus sion of points of substance guarantees for the neu-trality of Laos and the pro-International Control ComRepeatedly it had harped on the theme that the most important and, indeed, essential point to discuss was the supposed violations of the cease-fire in Laos and equip-ment for the International SUDDO Control Commission It was not deterred by the most re-cent report of the Control Commission, which had stat-ed that the ceasefire was being observed, with some very to accept the suggestion that the Laotian parties to the

Side by side, it did its best to wreck the process of Lac-tian unification which had got off to a good start at Zurich. The rightwing strong-man General Phoumi Nosa-van was ordered to Washington, where he prattled about refusing to work in or with a Government in which the Pathet Lao forces were represented. On his return to Laos Boun Oum and he tried the trick of getting the Na-tional Assembly to more or less demand that the King take up the Prime Minister-

conflict would themselves supply the Commission with whatever equipment it re-

ship or enlarge his own po-wers so as to render the Pre-miership a mere formality. Both these schemes have come to naught. The reasons are: the staunchness of the Pathet Lao and Souvanna Phoums forces: the determined stand of the Chinese, Vietnamese and Po-lish delegates at Geneva for Laotian independence, the essential unity of views on the subject between the So-cialist and neutralist dele-

It was after Krishna Menon had presented his 15-point proposal to the Geneva Conference on July 15 that the U. S. imperialists realised their utter isolation. To the end they had been hoping that the present border dispute between India and China would need they have the present border dispute between India and China would need the present border dispute between India and China would need the present border dispute between India and China would need the present border dispute between India and China would need the present the pr India and China would pro vent these two Great Asian States coming together on a common approach to the Laotian problem.

Their dismay reached its climax when not only Burmese but the Chir legate rose to publicly con-gratulate the Indian statesman for his eloquent demon-stration "of the basic un-Socialist and the neutralist nations that led to the U.S.

The Indian draft protocol is drawn upon the basis of certain sound principles.

First, it places the main responsibility for the execution of the ceasefire agree-

ment on the Laotians them-

selves.
Secondly, it states: "The
Laotian Government having
declared its neutrality, it follows that the preservation of this neutrality is their con-cern, interest and obligation."

Thirdly, the Commission is to supervise and control the withdrawal of all foreign

military forces from Laos.

Fourthly, "The Commission shall decide major questions by agreement among its

Whatever partial amendblems of the functions of ments may have to be adopt-international Control Com-ed these four basic principles mission.

On his return to New Delhi Krishna Menon expressed optimism about the prospects of a settlement over Laos. He said that the "Indian proposal was likely to be accepted with modification, the other two proposals—one by the Soviet and the other by the Franco-American Governments—having become polarised. The Laotian delega-tion was happy about the Indian proposal... India's approach to the whole problem was that Laos should be treated as a sovereign State and it should not be placed under tutelage or trustee-ship." (The Hindu, July 17)

This firm anti-imperialist stand deserves wide publicity and firm support by the democratic forces in the co

CONGO_ PROSPECT FOR **ADVANCE**

HE news that the Congo-lese Parliament may be meeting by the end of this week demonstrates that the forces of Congolese freedom have not been defeated but on the point of further

The Stanleyville Government, headed by Gizenga, had always and most resolutely Parliament as the only mea of restoring law and order. At the same time, it had insister that Parliament could meet only at a place where the U. N. could guarantee the safety of the deputies and the peaceful conduct of business. Both these demands

The U.S. imperialists had hoped that the murder of Lumumba had cleared the way for their representative Kasavubu to wield supreme power. They had hoped to rally all the reactionary for-ces together under Kasayu-bu's leadership and then ar-range a "legal" U. N. opera-tion to liquidate the Stanley-ville regime ville regime.

Neither of their nefarious schemes have fructified. Kasavubu has proved quite incompetent to bring about even a semblance of unity. be and Kalonii quite openly defy him. At the same time, economic blockade, military intimidation, the foulest slander, have all failed to shake the Gizenga

Dangers to Congo's establishment of full freedom and securing of national unity exist in plenty. Particularly alarming is the machinations going on at Elizabethville between Tshombe and Mobutu. The U. N. Congo Command and the U. N. executive au-thorities are scarcely to be trusted, to say the least. Kasavubu's lieutenant Ileo wants the constitution to be decided upon by Parliam question of Government

The Congolese patriots having overcome so many dan-gers in the past, however, there is room for confidence that their advance will ac-

-MOHIT SEN

(July 19) PAGE THIRTEEN

ROUSE NATION AGAINST U. S.!

criticism of and discontent

The U.S. rulers need the big provocation, something bordering on chaos in Kashmir, in order to bring India to heel, which refuses to change either its independent foreign policy or to surrender th progressive features of her Plans. U.S. policy has suffer-ed blow after blow in country after country, U.S. rulers think Kashmir is a soft spot and intervention here would yield a badly needed victory for the U.S. policy-makers and plot-

The Indian official circles cause they were full of illu-sions about the friendliness of the Kennedy administration to wards India. The bitter news

rom Washington upset them.

The India Press Agency has fairly correctly stated Indian official reaction: over-all feeling in New Delhi has been that President Ayub's American trip along with the Washington communique has Washington communique has only helped to further poison Indo-Pak relations instead of improving them."

This is however, not the im leading English dailies in the capital will have. The New Delhi press is pro-Western, controlled by reactionary monopoly groups. In devious ways they had pleaded earlier for an Indo-Pak Defence Pact and after the election of Ke nedy they had hailed him as the man after their heart under whom they hoped to demon-strate that the Indo-U.S. relations could and must be im

Severe Disarray

They are now in severe disarray. It is no rethinking that they are doing, but trying to peddle their p wares in the one new tricky way they now can. They are underplaying, for all they are worth, the sinister significance of new U.S. military and econmic aid and pled-ges to Pakistan. This is how then seek to they seek to serve the interests of their U.S. patrons in the present context.

The Special Correspond the Hindustan Times of the Hindustan Times (July 15). dished out the fiction: "Non-official political observers here maintained that there was no cause for concern the reference to the Kashmir issue in the communique.

The reference to the extension The reference to the extension of U.S. military assistance to Pakistan also did not appear to observers here, at first glance, as denoting any fresh developsteps! Such comments can be multi-

This was written on the same day on which the joint Communique was published and on the same front page, under the caption "No Cause for Concern—Delhi Reaction."

Again, the Hindustan Times

(July 17), under "Ayub's Mission" editorially wrote, "President Ayub had publicly placed before the people of Pakistar a much higher order of pick-ings from his visit to Washing ton than he now says he is satisfied with."

As regards Kashmir, the Birla organ thinks Ayub "got PAGE FOURTEEN

ic opinion here often shows itself to be unduly sensitive to any suggestion that the Kashmir issue can be reopenend." The Birla rag would be willing any day to sell out Kashmir to win the favour of the Masters of the Dollar.

take exception though

little encouragement". As to what the communique itself contains it comments thus:

To this India can hardly

The Times of India editorial (July 13) under "Blackmail" stated: "By his churlish behaviour President Ayub can only embarass his hosts in the USA."

The above was earlier; later, after the publication of the communique; in its July 17 editorial, it took the safe under the well-known journa-listic trick, "it is difficult to assess at this stage the precise outcome of President Avul its worst, but it is not admitted. Such is the intellectual dishonesty of the monopoly scri-

Tactics

The British ruling class is reputed to have mastered the art of under-statement. The editorial of the British owned Statesman (July 15) under the caption "Pakistan and USA", is good exercise in this art, herein it is stated that the main object of President Avub's visit to Washington was "clear-ly to raise the wind."

"Like other statesmen from "Like other statesmen from this part of the world, he needs U.S. dollars to assist his current plan. Like others before him, he found the Americans generously open-handed to an extent unprecedented in history." Pakistan is painted up as being just like India and U.S. the Father Christmas to hoth!

seems to have had a good pub-lic in the USA, and this is not he in the USA, and this is not surprising. He is a personally likeable man, open and ap-proachable in very much the American fashion. He holds a capable Press conference, as does Mr. Nehru who also went down well with Washington's National Press Club." Again Ayub is dolled up in the image

"Also President Ayub has the special advantage of being committed; his remarks on the continuing danger of Com-munism in Asia were very much Ayub committed while Nehru is not. If parity is sought, Nehr

plied. Though the reactionary Press in the Capital is in a quandry—it can't any more openly plead hugging the Pak Dictator to the Indian bosom Dictator to the Indian bosom— it is, however, trying its desperate best to save its cherished and dirty mission of making New Delhi more friendly with and responsive to Washington. It therefore does all it can to underplay the sinister significance of increased military aid to Pakistan and ed military aid to Pakistan and the new move for U.S. inter-vention in Kashmir.

Under-playing the new threat to the nation, and

palming off the cunning foe as a good friend, is to blind-fold our people before the ning danger. Such is the crime against the nation that the monopoly press is indul-ging in. National interests ging in. National interest do not stir them because nathese pen-pushing hacks of U.S. imperialism.

Pakistan Upset

After the discredit suffered especially in reference to India President Kennedy began with a new approach of flattering words and courtly overtures to wards our country. This had upset the over-committed (to the USA) Pak Dictator. As he fore his own people and pre-surised the big master in Washington, the New York, Problem Times (July 1) put the new U.S. policy, and explained the U.S. dilemma, in the following unambiguous words:

"The United States has answered Pakistan's misgivings with assurances of more econo-mic aid and continued support for the United Nations' resolution on Kashmir. Good relations between the United States and Pakistan require care and thoughtfulness on the part of this country. They also re-quire a realisation in Pakistan that the world interests of the United States make our friend-ship with India of great importance without diminishing our concern for Pakistan'

be kept as the well-fattened, satisfied mistress. Independent and uncommitted India was to be courted and trapped to help save the crumbling U.S. dreams the world over, and above all in the vast Afro-Asian region.
The United States Secretary

of State, Dean Rusk, in his Na-tional Press Club speech, on July 10, made it clearer stating that the U.S. was an than 40 nations ally of more than 40' nations and had an interest in more 'uncommitted' nations

as well.
The Scripps Howard Staffwriter, W. Fridenberg, commenting on the above wrote:
"This is a polite way of telling Pakistan that it is not the only pebble on the heach"

Rusk Speaks

Rusk went on to state, "If there are differences between us and friendly nations about one or another aspect of the passing parade of events, these are more likely to be resolved by conversations than by public quarrel." This was public quarrel." This was an obvious reference to Ayub's campaign and indicated the way out that was ultimately

pursued with success. Rusk added: "If two of our friends find themselves in d culty with each other, it is not always conducive to agreement for it to be publicly known that we have been offering friendly counsel." Here, however, Ayub successfully pressed

The New York Herald Tri-

tions as seen through U.S. eyes:
"President Ayub knows full
well that the interest as well
as the desire of the United
States is to promote peace and stability in Asia, above all be tween two of the key countries in the region, Pakistan and India. It is unfortunate, that the rivalrly between them inspires suspicion whenever United States seeks to strengthen ties with one and then the other."

U.S. policy obviously is to try out different approaches towards Pakistan and India so as to tie them up in the same string; but then the difficult manouvre rivalry between the loyal servitors of Pakistan and half-proud half-servile aidseekers from India.

Kennedy's problem has been that he has to retain Pakistan as a loyal militant ally — Pakistan being the biggest and strongest Asian nation in the system of U.S. military alliances — while simultaneously to weaken the independent role weaken the independent role of India's foreign policy and win its cooperation as far as possible for the US side in the present critical world situation, or at least to neutralise and paralyse India in controversia world affairs. He has resolved this problem in the traditional American imperialist way, with only slight difference of ap-

Pakistan has got most of Pakistan has got mos-what it clamoured for; it got guarantee of meeting half the cost of its Second Plan; it also got more and continuing aid, including dangerous new weapons that India lacks to help change the balance of military forces in the region. Above all it got a guarantee of a new and slick U.S. intervention in the Kashmir affairs.

All this has been U.S. policy towards Pakistan even in the Dulles days. It has continued. under Kennedy, and this is what Ayub's visit to U.S. has

proven clearly enough.

The difference is that the new policy moves and increased U.S. aid to Pakistan is not ed U.S. aid to Pakistan is not blatantly propagandised to con-trast with the weakness and helplessness of independent India. The U.S. Tulers have been made to realise that India is neither weak, nor helpless, nor friendless

Pakistan continues to be built up and strengthened as America's main base in the region, not only against the mighty Communist powers on its north but above all, as a pressure-point agains India. This is the true signi

India. This is the true significance of the new round of the military aid to Pakistan and of the U.S. promise to stoke up the smouldering Kashmir fire.

This apparently seems to disrupt the other corresponding manoeuvre of U.S. to make friends with India. However, the U.S. rulers think that India will swallow more than it did ever, Ayub successfully pressed Kennedy to mention the explosive Kashmir issue in the pubed. They think that the dire bune (July 11) emphasised an-other aspect of Indo-Pak rela-accepting the situation with (July 18, 1961) need of foreign aid will make work, and hope for India acquiesce this time

only formal diplomatic pro tests, when she would otherwise denounced it with all her strength before the world public opinion and have roused her own masses against this in-creased threat to her security.

Rightwing Hopes

Another calculation of the Another calculation of the U.S. rulers is that the pro-American Rightwing elements in Indian political life have be-come so influential that they will keep India in Practice passive and quiescent

This crooked cunning has some element of realism in it. The U.S. calculations are based on the presumption that the patriotic Indian people — because of its reactionary friends control of the press — would not really know how grave is the menace to their country's independence, their own welfare, and peace and amity on their own borders and hence their protest against the latest would not indignantly ignoble and provocative U.S.

This is an utterly wrong calculation. The new gerous U.S. game against our country will be effectively countered by all sections of Indian patriotic opinion, taking

counsel and operating together.

As Ayub intensifies his bragging and blustering against our country, especially over Kashmir, India's public opinion is likely to be turned anti-Pakistani by the reactionary press and prevented from regarding America's rulers as the main enemy — the real villian behind the scene who talks double. The anti-Pakistani twist must be guarded against. Pakistan is not the enemy builthe against

but the enemy's puppet.
The real direction of India's thought, passion and action must be against American imperialism. The anti-Pakistan campaign will incritable degenerate into an anti-Muslim campaign and lead to Jabalpurs all over the country, which again, by weakening and disrupting India, will serve U.S. aims in another again.

Danger

The situation is not less grave than at the time when the U.S.-Pak Military Alliance was first announced; that had spon-taneously evoked inside our country a nation-wide country a nation-wide wave or protest against U.S. imperia-lism and had led to the streng-thening of India's foreign policy and to winning more friends abroad Once again a countrywide and united national campaign is called for in the new and far more dangerous situation.

India has grown not weaker, but stronger and more mature, during the last few years. The American imperialists and their agents inside our country rely upon exploiting our und existing weaknesses. Let us rally our strength and wisdom to resist the latest U.S. move latest U.S. move against our nation, in the name of all that we hold dear, live

JULY 23, 1961

ANDHRA AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' DEMAND

The demand to implement the recommendation of the Panel on Land Reforms of the Planning Comnission to distribute the cultivable waste lands free of cost among the agricultural labourers, has been highlighted in a memorandum submitted to Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh by the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Workers Union. Following is the text of the memorandum:

This whole question of dis-

ernment orders. The an

was discussed recently by the Executive Committee of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural

Workers Union which adopt

ed a resolution on it at the Rajahmundry meeting of its Executive Committee on June

Executive Committee on June 3, 1981. We are herewith

sending you the full text of the resolution for your infor-mation and for necessary action:

The Government of Andhr

Pradesh has announced that the poor cultivators of waste lands would not be evicted and that all cultivable waste

lands would be distributed and pattas would be given to the landless poor. Chief Minister Sanjeevalah had also

declared that the distribution

would be completed by New Year's Day 1981. The Govern-

ment later announced that the whole work should be

completed by the end of 1961.

This Committee took into

consideration the policies pursued by the Government in this connection and the various troubles that the cul-

tivators of waste lands are

The poor cultivators expected that they would get pat-tas to the lands under their

occupation and that their troubles would end. But their expectations did not fructify. The Government issued eject-

ment notices to the cultiva-

tors of gairan lands, get num-bers and tank bed lands, etc., in Telangana.

Similar notices were issued

to the cultivators of tank bed lands in Kovur and Nellore Taluks and in other taluks of

other districts. The Govern-

ment had decided to include

in the reserve. forest, the lands now under cultivation as well as cultivable waste lands, in Nuswid and other

taluks in the State.

experiencing.

O N behalf of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural tribution of waste lands is Workers' Union, please permit us to submit this memorandum on the question of distribution of waste lands is agricultural labourers for some time, and they are feeling uneasy at the recent government. randum on the question of distribution of Government waste lands and granting pattas to lands already under the occupation and cultivation of agricultural labourers.

You are aware of the fact that this question has been hanging fire for a pretty long time. The Andhra legislature had unanimously passed a recolution in 1954 ing to the Andhra Government immediate assignment of Government cultivable waste lands. In the same year the Hyderabad Government issued gasti 14 for granting pattas to cultivators of Government waste lands and for signment of unoccupied nds. But we are sorry to say that this assignment and granting of pattas are yet to be completed in the over-whelming majority of cases.

This matter had been raised by our organisation several times before your government. Innumerable brought to the notice of the Government, requesting for patta grants. The public announcement you made to the effect that assignment would be completed by the beginning of 1961 raised great hopes and expecta-tions among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. But we are sorry to point out that the work in this direction is proceeding at a snail's pace and it will take decades to complete the work at this rate.

Implement The Panel Recommendations

On the other hand, the Government orders issued during the last few years are greatly harming the interests of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and other landless agriculturists. Seve-ral categories of waste lands are excluded from distribu-tion. Some categories are reserved for sale by public auction; eviction notices are of waste lands; some lands under the cultivation of agricultural labourers for decade ast are being resumed for etting up Government seed arms. All these measures make this distribution of waste lands an empty carica-

JULY 23, 1961

Similarly, the cultivators of unobjectionable porambokes of streams and drains, etc., are being ejected by the Government. In the Agency tracts of Bhadrachalam, etc., there are areas of land cultivated We understand that the Panel on Land Reforms. set up by the Planning by Harijans and tribal people for the last 20 years and more and over which they enjoy hereditory rights. This is not ble waste lands free of cost. We request the Andhra yet recogn sed by the Govern ment which has not granted pattas with the dire result ion and, thus, set an example to other States in this that the village karnams entake bribes and even evict the actual cultivators and hand them over to the landlords.

As a result of the denial of pattas, cooperatives are not granting loans to these poor cultivators. Exorbi-tant panel rates are being imposed on the poor culti-vators. In several villages, the village karnams are ex-torting bribes for pattas, villages, for granting lands and for

In many districts, the housing problem has assumed serious dimensions. The poor who have constructed dwellings in porambokes and waste lands are being evicted by the Government, In Ro area, even pattas granted are being cancelled and the lands are being given to the political sufferers.

Cultivators **Evicted**

palli Taluks of Chittoor dis-trict and in the other districts seema the Govern

DISTRIBUTE THE CULTIVABLE

WASTE LANDS

ment administrative machi-

nery is actively helping the landlords and the village bosses to evict the poor culti-vators of banjar lands. In

Anantapur district the land-

lords are not surrendering the

also is helping the landlords

Moreover this Committee considered with apprehension

the Government order of May

6, 1961, which envisages the sale of 23 thousand acres of

banjar lands commanded by the Krishna barrage, in Kri-

shna and Guntur districts, by

public auction. Already the Government is driving away

large number of poor culti-

vators from the lanka lands in the rivers Krishna and Go-

davary and is handing them over to the landlords. Till to-

day the major portion of the Kolleru banjars is being as-

This Committee denounces

the action of the Government

in violating all previous pro-mises and adopting policies

views expressed by the legis-lature several times in the

which go directly agai

Govt. Violates

opinion that imple

Previous Promises

This Committee is of the

of such harmful policies results in ejecting the poor cul-

past.

signed to landlords · by

signed on pattas to the land-less poor. The Government 5 The banjar land com-manded by irrigation pro-

waste lands which

in this

peals to the Government to reconsider its policies and take measures for the immediate solution of the problem on the following lines: 1 The Government should

not insist that in Telen-gana 1/10 of the cultivable land in the village should be reserved as gairon land and those cultivating this land should be given pattas. Under no circumstan ejected from these lands. nilarly all the poor cultivators of the get numbers, etc., should be immediately given pattas.

2 The tank porombokes throughout the State, now under the occupation of poor cultivators, should be assigned to these cultivators on pattas.

All the categories Government lands under the cultivation of poor cultivators for a long time should be immediately assigned to them on pattas.

All the leases of waste lands given to the land-lords should be annulled and

such lands should be distri-buted to the landless poor. Similarly all waste lands now

under the occupation of land-lords should be resumed and

distributed to the landless in

manded by irrigation projects should not be excluded

from distribution on the score that this land is in the com-

manded areas. The waste

lands now under the occupa-tion of landlords should be resumed and distributed to the landless. The waste lands commanded by new projects

should be given no nattas.

excluding the land set apart for canals. The waste lands

where no such alignment of

canalas is yet completed should also be distributed and

given out on pattas on the condition that the Govern-ment may resume when need-ed for canal construction.

6 The Government order for the public auction of waste lands commanded by Krishna Barrage should be

Government should give up the policy of putting to public

auction lanks lands in the Krishna and Godovary rivers and reassign those lands to FLG. Societies on nominal

7 In the Agency areas of Andhra region the land-

lords, contrary to the regula-tion of 1917, have come into possession of lands either by way of occupation or other

means. Such lands should be

resumed from them and given

on pattas to the tribal people with heriditary rights. Simi-larly other lands also should

immediately withdrawn.

ter the names of others as while it helps the landlords be given on pattas with heri-cultivators of these lands and to grab all these banjar lands. ditary rights.

Hence this Committee ap-eals to the Government to econsider its policies and clude waste lands under cultivation, in reserve forests. Cultivable lands in the forests should be excluded from the reserve forests and given for cultivation to the landless poor.

> 9 The poor people who have constructed their dwellings in porombokes and other waste lands should not be evicted from such lands.

10 This Committee declares that if the Government refuses to reconsider its poli-cies and continues the present policies it itself has to take the responsibility for the harmful consequences that flow from them.

11 This Committee appeals to all the cultivators to to all the cultivators to carry on a campaign for the reversal of the present poli-cies of the Government which are hitting the landless poor, for defending the lands under lands under any circumst-ances. This Committee assures that the Andhra Pra-Agricultural Workers a will stand steadfastly as side of the cultivators Union will stand steadfastly by the side of the cultivators in their just struggle for the defence of their lands.

Full Support To Kisan Struggles

This Committee also ap-peals to all the sections and classes of people, to all poli-tical parties and organisa-tions and to all democrats and well-wishers of the peasants and agricultural labourers to sympathise with the cause of the banwith the cause of the ban-jar cultivators and landless poor and give full support to them in their just strug-gle for these waste lands.

We request the Govern-Andhra Pradesh and particularly you, as the Chief particularly you, as the Chief Minister, to give sympathetic and urgent consideration to this memorandum and to do justice to millions of agricultural labourers, poor peasants and other landless cultivators and solve this humanical control of the tivators and sol

NEW AGE

EDITOR: P. C. Joshi

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tivators of waste lands and throws them on the roads NEW AGE

PAGE FIRTHERN

RUSH AID TO FLOOD VICTIMS!

CPI Statement

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement to the

of India expresses its deep anxiety and concern at the widespread floods that have recently occurred in Kerala, Orissa, Tamilnad, Maharashtra and Mysore. The floods have wrought have and there have have have the floods have there have have the floods hav there have been heavy losses in property and life. After Kerala, heart-rending tales of deaths are now coming from Poona.

"Our Party sends its sympathies to the families sympathies to the ramines of those who have lost their lives as a result of the floods and shares popular concern about the victims of this calamity.

"It is high time that in view of the recurrent, and in some cases, controllable but uncontrolled floods, the Government reviewed the entire situation and took the most effective measures to control the floods. The problem is one

that needs to be confronted and tackled with all possible preventive measures that science and engineering may offer.

"The need of the hour is of course the fullest mobi-lisation of resources for the relief and rehabilitathe relief and rehabilita-tion of the victims. In this respect great responsibili-ties naturally devolve on the State and Central Govthe state and central gov-ernments and our Party would urge upon these authorities, particularly the Central Government to do their utmost.

"At the same time, the Party appeals to the people throughout the country generously to contribute to flood relief funds. In this great work the efforts at the official and non-official level must be properly cothe official and non-omciai level must be properly co-ordinated so as to achieve the maximum possible re-sults in relieving the dis-tress and suffering of the unfortunate millions who have been hit by the floods.

"The situaton in the affected areas demand affected areas demand united efforts on the part of the public as well as such coordination."

DELII EXPERIS' VIEWS

* From Our Special Correspondent

Never before in living memory have such devastating floods done so much damage in so many parts of the country, and at about the same time. Daily press is full of news of how life that flew its normal course for Indian humanity, has become a tearful tragedy in these flood-affected areas.

HE economic loss to the nation has been colossal. No responsible official spokesman is prepared to give out any estimate of the losses. Some idea of the grievous economic loss suffered by the country can be had from the fact that the loss in the Kertale glore more add. rala alone may add up to over Rs. 100 crores.

Everybody is shocked. The foremost question that is being posed from all around is:

What have India's planners been doing during the last two Plans that the country finds itself so helpless to face up to the flood menace, despite huge sums spent over our giant multipurpose irrigation and power projects and so on?

The official experts make the following key points to explain the present havoc:

The report of the High-Level Committee on floods was circulated to the State Governments more than a year ago. It is the first centralised effort to deal with the trailsed effort to deal with the flood problem on a country-wide basis. However, the State Governments initiated no comprehensive measures in any of the areas which had been marked out as "flood areas".

most of the pojects were mainly irrigation and power projects, and only incidentally or indirectly were they meant to tackle flood control. On the whole a very disproportionately small amount was sanctioned during the earlier two Plans for a specific and vitally necessary flood-

control measures

After the bitter experience of the latest floods, official experts very strongly stress that the Third Plan allocation of Rs. 80 crores for flood protection is totally inadequate.

A distinctive feature of the floods this year has been that they spread out to vast areas in the Southern States which had not been marked out as the usual "flood

The New Delhi specialists are of the view that real big floods in these areas cannot be adequately dealt with by pre-planned flood-control flood-control measures.

They however concede that the flood damage can be considerably reduced by what are called "administrative methods", for example, well organised system for forecasting the floods to warn the people in time, so that life and property can be saved, through timely evacuation to safer areag :

They press that the South needs immediate stream-lining of the present metereological forecasting arrangements, which proved both in-adequate and ineffective in the present crisis.

The New Delhi experts also stressed that Assam, North Bihar, Orissa, North Bengal, East U. P., Punjab and Andhra are the areas most vulnerable to the flood havoc, and that it is in these areas that the flood-control measures during the Third How. during the Third Plan must be concentrated upon.

High-Level Probe Needed

Need for a high-level review of certain problems both of an administrative and policy nature—posed by the floods in different parts of the country is felt here in highly placed official circles.

URING his visit to Kerala, Sri Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, Union Irrigation Minis-ter, was told by the Kerala Government that they held the Madras authorities responsible for the heavy floods in the river Perlyar, and would demand adequate compensation...

The release of water from the Periyar Dam without due notice to Kerala, according to the State Government, was against estab-lished practice. Further, it is also stated that the manner of releasing water from the dam was such as cause sudden damage to the regions below.

Playing With Lives

MEMORIA ELLE

Water from the dam was all of a sudden let out when it had reached a level of 152 feet whereas the authorities could have started letting out water at a much lower level.

The issue is likely to be raised in the Southern Zonal Council meeting at Bangalore on July 21. The issue which

is engaging attention of the Central authorities is whether some form of consultation between the States concerned and the Centre can be devised to avoid similar situations

The hair-raising decision of Orissa's Chief Minister, Sri Bijoyanand Patnaik, in con-Bijoyanand Patnaik, in con-travention of technical ad-vice, to store water in the Hirakud dam up to 629 feet— only one foot less than the optimum of 630 feet—has also given rise to a great deal of concern.

It is noted here that if the Hirakud dam had given way as a consequence of the Chief Minister's directive, the result would have been an unprecedented calamity for Orissa.

Rash Decision

In brushing aside the most competent technical advice on the issue, Orissa's Chief Minister was taking an un-precedented risk for comparatively small gains, it is pointed out.

The release of water from the dam, after it had attained the dam, atter it nad attained the level of 590 feet, as advis-ed by experts and laid down by the engineers who cons-tructed the dam, would have raised the level of water in Cuttack and Puri by two or Cittack and Furi by two or three feet. The danger from this would be much less as compared to the risk involved in the Chief Minister's deci-

Whether a Chief Minister can over-rule technical advice in the face of such dire consequences, is a moot question posed in certain official circles here. While it is unlikely that this issue will be discussed on the formal plane, the need for some form of unwritten convention on such matters is acutely felt here.

The breach of the Panshet dam, which is yet under construction, resulting in the flooding of Poona is considered by dam experts to be the result of serious negligence. Surprise is expressed here that waters should have breached the dam in the construction The breach of the Panshet dam in the construction Stage.

The practice is to divert the waters through specially built channels while a dam is being constructed. Some failure seems to have taken place in the diversion mechanism re-sulting in the breach of the Panshet dam. (IPA.)

POONA FLOODS

"The floods in Poona, unlike in other places, were not due to natural causes, but man-made." This is the firm opinion of the Parliamentary Board of the Sam-yukta Maharashtra Samiti which met in Nagpur on July, 16.

IN a resolution adopted at that meeting, the Samiti-has demanded an open enquiry into the causes of the flood. The resolution further says that the enquiry should cover the type of materials used in constructing the dam and arrangements made to and arrangements made to protect it.

"Similarly," the resolution goes on, "it is not enough to entrust the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction the flood affected areas to the officials. The Government should take the help of the people in this work.

"It was due to the failure of the authorities to collect all information about the impending floods and passing it on to the people and thus keeping them warned in time about it, that has resulted in such heavy loss of life and property."

Comrade S. A. Dange. President of the Samiti's Parliamentary Board speaking to pressmen said that it was the callousness of the officers and their failure to see the gravity of the situation that is responsible for the floods in Poona and the calamity following it.

Despite the fact that they knew about the disaster that was going to overtake Poona twelve hours in advance, they did not alert people and ask them to go to places of safety. On the contrary, people were told that there was no ground for fear.

Dange has said that the authorities and the Government machinery had failed to gauge the gravity of the situation and to take people into confidence.

Very soon the Parliamentary Board of the Samiti is going to Poona to pay a visit to the flood affected areas.

NEW AGE