

"THIS GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY"

RUMANIAN PRESIDENT LAUDS INDIA'S PEACE AND CONSTRUCTION EFFORTS

★ FROM ZIA-UL HAQ

Fulsome tribute was paid to this "great and beautiful country", India, its people and leaders who are "pre-occupied with raising their country's economy and setting up favourable conditions for the continuous raising of material and cultural levels", "interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace", by President of the Council of State of the Rumanian People's Republic, Gheorghiu-Dej, on October 18 when he arrived in the capital after having visited many other centres in the course of his eight-day state visit to this country.

THE Rumanian President, who is also the First Secretary of Rumania's ruling Marxist-Leninist Party, the Workers' Party, and an eminent leader of the World Communist movement was given a warm reception at the Palam airport by President Radhakrishnan, Prime Minister Nehru and others. The Rumanian President is accompanied by Premier Ion Gheorghiu-Maurer, Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu, and others. A State banquet was given in his honour by the Indian Pres-

ident the same evening at which Dr. Radhakrishnan said: "Our countries lie far apart. We speak different languages, follow different customs adopt different traditions. Yet there are certain common ideals which bind both our countries—the promotion of the well-being of our people and prevention of war. These are two great objectives which we have together."

In course of his reply President Gheorghiu-Dej said: "It is for us a great pleasure, as repre-

sentatives of socialist Rumania and the Rumanian people, to visit this great and beautiful country as we will, realise, better the efforts, the pre-occupations of the Indian people and of the country's leaders; and also in order to achieve still closer friendship and relations between our two countries and peoples."

He stated further that the Rumanian people, "like the Indian people are pre-occupied with raising their country's economy and setting up favourable conditions for the continuous raising of material and cultural levels of their peoples. The Rumanian people like the Indian people are interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace. It is to these purposes that the forces of the Rumanian and Indian peoples are devoted in the various international meetings. The representatives of our two peoples, in many important problems, have common positions and extend their assistance."

Paying rich tribute to Rumania and to Gheorghiu-Dej personally, the Indian President in course of his address earlier said: "You, Sir, were elected leader of your Party in 1945 and have been guiding the affairs of your country all these years. The ravages of war were healed. The passions roused were quietened, the unity of the people from Moldavia, Transylvania and Muntenia—Christians, Jews and Muslims—has been established and you tried your best and succeeded to a large extent in raising the economic standards of your people."

"Your agriculture has shown remarkable progress; your industrial production has been tremendous. More than all, by your educational scheme, you have abolished illiteracy."

"These are some of the ideals which we are attempting to pursue, though within the framework of democratic institutions. Our goals are the same, but our methods are different. Yet the objectives bind us."

Common Ideals Of Peace

Both Presidents spoke of the common ideal of peace. Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

"War is the common enemy of all mankind and we should try to work together to see to it that war is abolished in this world. We agree on certain fundamental principles so far as international affairs are concerned—non-intervention in other peoples' affairs, territorial integrity, equality, mutual respect and aid to one another. These fundamental principles bind us both together. So both in domestic and international fields we work with similar objectives."

President Gheorghiu-Dej declared: "Indeed, peace is the dearest thing which represents the ar-

dent desire of all peoples of the world. It is worthwhile working untiringly, shoulder to shoulder, to bring our contribution to the settling of outstanding problems in order to attain a stop in the arms drive which endangers the peace of the world, to achieve general and complete disarmament and to set up a climate favourable to good understanding and co-operation among peoples, no matter what their social systems."

"This is the principle by which Socialist Rumania is being guided, like the other socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. We are endeavouring to bring our contribution together with other peoples and States for release in international tension."

President Radhakrishnan particularly acknowledged Rumania's aid to India in developing our national oil industry. "We

appreciate the interest and the assistance you are rendering in the development of our oil industry", he said. Speaking at the banquet he told the Rumanian President:

"We have been able to establish close cultural and commercial relations with you. You are the first people to develop an oil industry in Europe and we have obtained aid from you, assistance from you, in the building of the Gauhati refinery. You have been of considerable help. Your technicians are working today in Jwalamukhi, Trombay, Adampur and Gandhinagar. Our students are there being trained by you and we have some of your students also..."

Dr. Radhakrishnan expressed his conviction that "this close collaboration" will be further strengthened by President Gheorghiu-Dej's visit who, he said, had been "responsible for establishing these friendly relations".

REDUCE PRICES, TAXES Four Lakhs Sign Memo

★ From S. SHARMA ★

TRIVANDRUM, October 16.

A mass memorandum, signed by over four lakh persons from villages and towns of Kerala was presented to Chief Minister Shankar on October 15 by a deputation led by leader of the Opposition C. Achutha Menon.

THE deputation consisted of all 25 leaders of trade unions, the Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party. Prominent among them were Sugathan, P. Gangadharan, A. K. Poduval, P. Balachandramenon, T. C. Narayanan Nambiar, S. Kumaran, C. Janardanan and Communist legislators.

The memorandum called upon the State and Central Governments to take urgent measures to control the spiralling rise in prices of all essential commodities—a feature that is threatening the very foundations of our economy and Plans. Among measures suggested in the memorandum are opening of fair price shops and fixing of rice ration at four measures per week per head, taking over of wholesale trade in rice by the State, exempting food articles such as rice, vegetables, eggs from sales tax, removal of duty levied on coarse cloth, and cancellation of increase in Railway fares.

The memorandum indicted the taxation policies of the

State and Central Governments for having contributed to a serious situation menacing our economy and the people's livelihood.

The presentation of the memorandum by the high-power delegation marked one stage of the state-wide campaign against the rise in prices and taxes initiated under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, State trade unions and the Kisan Sangham a month ago.

Hundreds of meetings were held in rural and urban areas. Nine district centres witnessed militant rallies last week when copies of the memorandum were presented to Collectors. The day before over 3,000 workers had paraded through the State capital's streets.

At the mass meeting held at Ponnara, G. Sridhar and P. T. Punnose and R. Sugathan warned the State and Central Governments of people's wrath if steps were not taken to control prices and reduce taxes.

RAHULJI : CONDITION IMPROVES, STILL CAUSING ANXIETY

★ From Masood Ali Khan ★

MOSCOW, October 16.

EVERYTHING is being done here to save the life of Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityanana, the great Indian scholar.

He is being treated in one of the best hospitals of the Soviet Union on the outskirts of Moscow and is under the highest medical care. But his condition continues to cause anxiety due to his old age and a complex of illnesses from which he is suffering.

The doctors here have come to the conclusion that Rahulji must have had a second attack of cerebral haemorrhage (micro-haemorrhage in another region of the brain) in the recent past which has caused loss of speech.

Rahulji had an attack of cerebral haemorrhage on top of long-standing diabetes and hypertension in December last year. After treatment in a hospital in Calcutta his condition had improved to some extent though loss of memory, difficulty in the articulation of speech and some amount of muscular paralysis had persisted. By the time he reach-

ed Delhi his condition had shown rapid deterioration.

Some time ago Rahulji was admitted to the neurological department of the Soviet hospital in a grave condition and was unable to move or speak. Here a study has been made of the patient's family history, his past and present illnesses and on the basis of objective neurological findings, electro encephalography, electro cardiograph, retinoscopy, field of vision tests, etc., the doctors think that he must have had a second haemorrhage of the brain some time ago.

Rahulji is showing some signs of improvement. His blood pressure has come down and the blood sugar level is now normal. He is showing signs of active muscular movement and has started to utter some words though not distinctly.

From the point of view of prognosis his condition still continues to be grave though the doctor-in-charge, who is waging a real battle against all odds is hopeful about the recovery of his muscular strength and the power of speech for which prolonged and patient treatment would be required.

WHY ECONOMY REMAINS INERT

LATELY there has been a spate of documents throwing light on the state of India's economy, and the fact that almost all of them have been official imparis authority to their findings. It is, therefore, with a heavy heart that one goes through them, for, the picture they portray is far from heartening.

In fact, it is positively dismal if one were to judge it from the standpoint of a nation said to be marching towards socialism.

The Second Five Year Plan witnessed an average annual increase of 4 per cent in national income. The Third Plan was expected to improve upon this figure, and attain a five year increase of 30 per

cent. In the first year of the Plan, that is 1961-62, however, the increase has been only 2.2 per cent. With population also increasing by the same percentage the per capita income has remained at a standstill.

In other words the country remained virtually inert during the year, contrasting markedly with the exuberance it showed in previous years.

How did such a situation arise? The Central Statistical Organisation attributes it to only a nominal increase of 1.6 per cent in agricultural production during the year (as against an increase of 8.1 per cent in 1960-61), and to an equally dismal state of affairs on the industrial front. The index of industrial production

ECONOMIC NOTES

for 1961-62 went up by only 6.0 per cent, as against an average annual increase of 11.1 per cent targeted for in the Third Plan.

This was even less than an average annual rate of growth of 7.1 per cent attained during the Second Plan. Even during the first Plan the average rate of increase was of the order of 6.8 per cent, which means that from all accounts the first year of the Third Plan proved to be the worst in this line during the ten years of planned development.

SHORTFALLS UNIVERSAL

Thus, the shortfalls, responsible for a poor showing in 1961-62, were not the characteristic of only one sector.

They were rather universal. Officially, the malady in the agricultural sphere has not been diagnosed so far, but the reasons for the difficulties in industry have already been reviewed in another Central Statistical Organisation study. According to this study (reserved for "official use only") the principal reasons for the tapering off of the rate of growth are:

- (a) the shortage of agricultural inputs due to crop failures (or cotton in the later months and for jute manufactures in the earlier months);
- (b) under-utilisation of capacity due to shortage of transport, power and coal (for coal, jute and cement);
- (c) shortage of demand (sugar, salt, trucks and bicycles);
- (d) the failure to achieve full utilisation of rated capacity in the public sector steel plants for organisational and technical reasons;
- (e) the absence of uniform rates of increase in creation of additional capacity (manufacture of machinery and electrical appliances, etc.)

What do these "reasons" convey? First, agriculture, as a hand-maiden of industry, has failed to deliver goods. Secondly, transport and power, about which we hear so much have led to under-utilisation of capacity. Thirdly, even where the will, and means, to utilise capacity are fully there, shortage of demand, which means demand at price which manufacturers enjoin, inhibits production. The public sector, which should set the pace, falters because of bureaucracy marking its operations, and a number of industries fail to produce optimally due to an uncoordinated scheme of licensing.

Thus, be it for shortfall in agriculture, or for under-utilisation of capacity, for one reason or the other, it is from all accounts an incompetent and inadequate planning which lets the economy go the way it will.

Otherwise, why could a wild awake set of planners, and a dedicated group of executives, not provide for enough transport and power when they decided to embark on large-scale industrialisation? Alternatively, why could they not have been less indiscriminate in licensing industries (in the private sector, and mostly of consumer goods) when they had to axe the allocations for power and transport at the time the Second Plan had to be "rephased"? They did not do it, nor have they considered it feasible to bring down the price of sugar to enable the people to buy it. All these are problems, created by "defaults" in the past and the present. They are equally capable of solution if the authorities can even now decide to act, and bring the economy under their effective control.

Further, under its first year commitment AID (US Agency for International Development) departed from normal loan policy and extended 220 million dollars in non-project loans. These cover purchases in the US of metals, synthetic rubber, tire cord yarn, cotton black, wood pulp, etc.

In other words instead of being "philanthropic" the US authorities have in fact been helping to dissolve their uneconomic stockpiles in helping India.

How this "device" works in favour of US industries has been brought out in another Survey released recently in New York. According to this survey about 80 per cent of the money used for grants, and nearly 100 per cent of the funds for commodities, financed through loans, are spent in the United States. Viewed in the context of the generally accepted fact of US prices being generally above world quotations, the purely selfish character of such "aid" becomes evident.

done a good deal of explaining to soften the US businessmen's obduracy regarding aid to India. Judging from press reports too it would seem that in "helping" us these businessmen are in fact taking a risk.

Once in a while, however, the falsity of such "pretensions" is exposed by documents, published by Americans themselves. They show that in helping us they are in fact only helping themselves.

One such document is a special report, appearing in the October 8 issue of International Commerce, a publication of the US Department of Commerce. Written by an officer in the Department's Bureau of International Programmes, Jackson B. Hearn, this report notes that "India's rapidly expanding economy is creating a growing market for US goods".

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WHERE IS THE RISK?

The Commerce Department's Report also points out that "more and more American businessmen are getting together with Indian firms, either in joint ventures or licensing arrangements, to manufacture their products in India". It also cites figures of such deals (68 in the first half of 1962 compared to 75 for the entire 1961) to show that "prospects are bright for a further growth of US investments in India".

These investments, the Report reveals, increased by 30 million dollars during the last year. One wonders if this were possible if India was really as much of a "risk" as the US propagandists paint it to be.

After this does it behove Morarji to do the "explaining" which he is supposed to have done in the States? Rather, he should be explaining to our people as to why our country has been made into such a safe haven for US monopolists.

—ESSEN

October 16.

OCTOBER 21, 1962

LENIN

EXTRACTS FROM AN ARTICLE WRITTEN IN 1918 APPEARING IN ENGLISH FOR THE FIRST TIME.

THE Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda recently printed hitherto unpublished chapters of the first draft of a famous article on "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", written by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, at the end of March 1918.

They were brought to light as a result of the transcription during the preparation of a new edition of Lenin's works of shorthand notes dictated by him. The extracts which follow appear for the first time in English.

Lenin began work on the article charting the way forward for the young Soviet Republic, which will next month celebrate its 45th anniversary, after the conclusion of the Brest Litovsk Peace Treaty with Kaiser Germany.

Having secured peace—albeit at a bitter price—the Soviet Government was able for the first time to turn its attention to the problems of economic reconstruction and development.

But the respite was to be all too brief. Churchill, out to "strangle Bolshevism in its cradle," was soon to dispatch British troops to the North Russian port of Murmansk, and the War of Intervention was to begin.

This new document once again demonstrates how even at that early stage Lenin was thinking in terms of peaceful coexistence, competition and economic cooperation with capitalism.

It shows, too, how the man whom H. G. Wells was to call "the dreamer in the Kremlin" was already looking forward to the society of the future, in which the advances of science and technology would be used to provide a richer, fuller life for the common man.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN NEW SITUATION

In our first extract, Lenin discusses the importance of economic problems in the new situation:

CHAPTER V

The task of governing the State, which has now moved into the foreground of those

such prerequisites are lacking in our country, but can with comparative ease be borrowed by it from the practical experience of neighbouring and very much more advanced countries, which history and international intercourse have long ago brought into close contact with Russia.

confronting Soviet power, also has that special feature that it is now a question—perhaps for the first time in the modern history of civilised peoples—of Government in which not politics but economics is assuming primary significance.

Customarily it is activity primarily or even purely of a political nature which is linked with the word "government". But the very foundations, the very essence of Soviet power, like the very essence of the transition from capitalist to socialist society, lie in the fact that political tasks occupy a subordinate place in relation to economic tasks.

Now, especially after the experience of more than four months of the existence of Soviet power in Russia, it should be absolutely clear to us that the task of governing the state means primarily and above all the purely economic task of healing the wounds inflicted on the country by war, restoring the productive forces, the organisation of accounting and control over production and the distribution of products, raising the productivity of labour—in short, the task of economic reorganisation.

This task may be said to fall under two main heads:

1. Accounting and control over production and distribution of products in its very widest, most universal forms, and
2. Raising the productivity of labour.

These aims can be achieved by any group or any state in transition to socialism only on condition that the fundamental economic, social, cultural and political prerequisites for this have been created to a sufficient degree by capitalism.

Undoubtedly, without large-scale machine production, without a more or less developed railway system and postal and telegraph services, without a more or less developed system of educational establishments, neither the one nor the other aim can be achieved systematically and on a nationwide scale.

Russia is in a situation in which a whole range of the primary prerequisites for such a transition exist. On the other hand, a whole range of

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CHAPTER VI

THE fundamental task of every society in transition to a socialist system lies in securing the victory of the dominant class (or, more correctly, the class which is becoming dominant), the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, as has been set out above.

This task now confronts us in a substantially new way, quite differently from that in which it has presented itself during many, many decades of universal experience of the proletariat's struggle with the bourgeoisie.

By victory over the bourgeoisie we now, after the achievements of the October Revolution, after the successes in the Civil War, can and must understand something very much higher, although in form more peaceful: victory over the bourgeoisie, having been politically achieved and militarily consolidated must now be achieved in the sphere of the organisation of the national economy, in the sphere of organisation of production, in the sphere of nationwide accounting and control.

The more large-scale became production, the denser became the nationwide network of economic establishments, embracing tens and hundreds of millions of people in the modern largescale state, the greater the bourgeoisie's success in solving the problems of accounting and control.

We must now solve this problem in a new way, relying on the dominant position of the proletariat and the support it receives from the majority of the working people and exploited masses, taking advantage of those elements of organisational talent and technical knowledge which have been accumulated by the preceding society and which belong 90 per cent and perhaps even 99 per cent to the class which is hostile to the socialist revolution.

EMPLOYMENT OF EXPERTS

After discussing in Chapter VII the need for the introduction of measures to compel members of the old propertied classes to engage in socially useful labour and for currency reform, Lenin goes on in Chapter VIII to underline the need for the employment by the young Soviet State of capitalist experts and specialists, both Russian and foreign:

If the socialist revolution had triumphed simultaneously throughout the world or at least in a number of advanced countries, the problem of drawing specialist-

technicians from among the leaders of the old capitalism into the process of the new organisation of production would have been greatly facilitated.

Backward Russia would not then have had to think of solving this problem itself, because advanced workers from the West European countries would have come to our aid and relieved us of the greater part of the difficulties in that most difficult task of the transition to socialism which is known as the organisational task.

Now, in an actual situation in which the onset of the socialist revolution in the West has slowed down and is delayed, while Russia has to take accelerated measures to reorganise herself—simply even to save the population from hunger and subsequently to save the whole country from possible armed invasion—now we have to borrow from the advanced countries not the help of socialist organisation and the support of the workers, but the aid of the bourgeoisie and capitalist intelligentsia in those countries.

The Socialist Soviet Republic is confronted with a task which may briefly be formulated thus: we must introduce the Taylor system and the scientific American raising of the productivity of labour throughout Russia, combining this system with the reduc-

DIFFERING ROLES OF RATIONALISATION

Lenin goes on to discuss the differing roles of rationalisation and new techniques under capitalism and under socialism.

CAPITALISM on its largest scale has created systems of the organisation of labour which, against the background of the exploitation of the mass

way to a tremendous increase in the productivity of human labour.

The scientific research begun in America in connection with the introduction of the Taylor system, in particular motion study the Americans say, has yielded a vast amount of material making it possible to train the working population in immeasurably more advanced techniques of labour in general and of the organisation of labour in particular.

The negative aspect of the Taylor system lay in that it was implemented against the background of capitalist slavery and was a means of extraction from the workers of double and treble quantities of work for the old pay, regardless of whether the hired workers were able to give this double or treble quantity of labour with the existing number of working hours without injury to the human organism.

The Socialist Soviet Republic is confronted with a task which may briefly be formulated thus: we must introduce the Taylor system and the scientific American raising of the productivity of labour throughout Russia, combining this system with the reduc-

and peaceful co-existence

tion of working hours, with the utilisation of new production techniques and the organisation of labour without any injury to the working population

On the contrary, correctly guided by the workers themselves, if they are sufficiently aware, the application of the Taylor system will be the surest means of bringing about the further tremendous reduction of the obligatory working day for the entire working population, will be the surest means of ensuring that we within a brief period of time should achieve an aim which might be expressed approximately as follows: six hours of manual work daily for every adult citizen and four hours of work on the administration of the state.

But at the same time, it should not be forgotten that there is tremendous scientific progress in the Taylor system, systematically analysing the production process and opening the

For example, the famous Taylor system, which has become widespread in America, is famous precisely because it constitutes the last word in the most unbridled capitalist exploitation. It is, therefore, understandable that such great hatred and indignation among the working masses.

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PAGE THREE

OPPOSITION AND GOVERNMENT IN LEGISLATURES

Editorial

WHAT ARE the rights to which Members of Parliament and of State Legislatures are entitled? What are the obligations which they are enjoined to fulfil? What are the rights and duties of the Treasury Benches and of the Opposition?

These questions have come to the forefront in relation to the working of Parliamentary institutions in our country. Particularly sharply have they been posed in the last few months when several State legislatures became the fields of bitter conflicts between the Treasury Benches and the Opposition, and sometimes between the Speaker and a section of the House. A few such incidents have also taken place in the Central Parliament.

The effort of the ruling party has been to dismiss these incidents as the result of undesirable activities resorted to by the opposition. Among the opposition parties themselves, the Socialist Party has come in for special criticism, since its representatives have been responsible for several of these incidents.

As regards some of these specific incidents, it is well known, the ruling party is not alone in criticising the attitude adopted by the representatives of the Socialist Party. The Communist Party and spokesmen of certain other sections of the opposition too have publicly dissociated themselves from what amounts to obstructive tactics adopted by the Socialist Party in the Legislatures.

This, however, should not be allowed to be used by the ruling party to justify its tactics of steamrolling the opposition. Nor can it be disputed that some of the measures taken against "offending" legislators have been completely unfair. At least in one case—that of the suspension of two members of the U.P. Assembly, Nathu Ram and Lakhi Singh, on September 27 last—the Speaker himself had subsequently to admit that correct procedure had not been followed.

Our parliamentary institutions have been depending on British precedents, codified in May's Parliamentary Practice for guidance to members and Presiding Officers. This, it will be admitted by all impartial observers of our parliamentary scene, is totally inadequate. The political background against which Parliamentary institutions are growing and developing in our country is entirely different from that of England whose

model we are now constitutionally obliged to follow. One could understand our original decisions to model ourselves on British institutions when democracy was being established for the first time. But, as we gained experience in the working of these institutions, it became necessary for us to review their working in practice and solve the problems which are arising in our own country.

The most important aspect of political reality in our country is that the Congress Party is having a virtual monopoly of power. Both in the Central Parliament as well as in most of the State Legislatures, it is having what is called a "brute majority". As for the opposition, it is divided into so many groups.

Furthermore, the ruling party is so anxious to maintain itself in power that it does not hesitate to resort to any device in order to beat down its political opponents. Even the august office of Speaker, who should not only be, but also appear, impartial if the opposition is to have confidence in his rulings, has more than once become the subject-matter of shameful bargaining between the ruling party and some political groups.

Defence of the rights of the opposition—the different groups and individuals that are opposed to the ruling party—acquires, under these circumstances, great importance. Any attack on these rights should be considered as an attack on the very institution of Parliamentary Government. It should, therefore, be considered as a matter of serious concern to all champions of parliamentary democracy that occasions have arisen when all the opposition groups in several State legislatures have very often jointly protested against the attitude adopted by the Treasury Benches. It would not do any good to the growth of healthy parliamentary conventions if the ruling party denounces every protest registered by the opposition as obstructive tactics, derogatory to the dignity of parliamentary institutions.

No champion of parliamentary institutions would countenance those who indulge in protest for the sake of protest. Those who indulge in such tactics should, no doubt, be sharply criticised. That, however, should not blind us all, not excluding the leaders of the ruling party, to the need for protecting the rights of the opposition. Hence the need for a thorough review of the procedures adopted—on paper as well as in practice—inside Legislatures.

Aid That Helps The Giver

WHEN the Finance Minister recently went to the USA he is said to have

PAGE TWO

NEW AGE

CEYLON VISIT

THE Prime Minister of Ceylon is reported to have used the recent visit of Prime Minister Nehru to Ceylon to have the problem of 'stateless citizens' in Ceylon once again subjected to discussion between the two Governments.

The problem is, undoubtedly, difficult. The two Governments do not see eye to eye with each other on this question.

Several tens of thousands of persons have had their applications for registration as citizens of Ceylon rejected. According to the Government of Ceylon, they are of 'Indian origin' and should, therefore, go back to India. They, however, are not prepared to prefer the 'country of origin' to the country in which they were born and brought up.

Nor is the Government of India prepared to accept the position that all those who are of 'Indian origin' should necessarily leave Ceylon and be accepted as Indian citizens. It would only welcome those who wish to emigrate to India of their own accord and qualify themselves for Indian citizenship.

This is a serious human problem involving the lives of tens of thousands of people. It is something more. It has also led to some amount of strain in the relations between the two Governments. All previous attempts to solve the problem ended in deadlocks. It is yet to be seen how the present effort will proceed.

There are several other is-

ues which are of common interest to both countries and on which, therefore, the two Governments should exchange views. Which of these were discussed between the two Prime Ministers is not known. It is, however, to be hoped that at least the methods to have all such problems discussed have been decided upon.

The recent London Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers showed how necessary it is for Asian countries to have a common approach to the problems of economic development. It was this that made India and Pakistan—two countries whose mutual relations are by no means good—put forward more or less the same proposals at the Conference.

The deliberations of the Conference showed that Ceylon shared with India and Pakistan the fate that is in store for them when Britain joins the Common Market.

It has become clear that Britain will not be deterred from joining the Common Market on the ground that India, Pakistan and Ceylon would not get the terms which they consider are necessary if their economy is to be protected. What then are these three countries to do? Are they to agree to the proposal made in some quarters that an Asian Common Market should be formed? Are they to pursue the proposals, made sometime ago by the neutral powers, that a World Trade Conference should be held? These and other questions are of

NOTES OF THE WEEK

great importance for India and Ceylon, as they are for several other countries.

It is not known whether this or any other problem of common interest to the two countries was discussed between the two Prime Ministers. It is, however, reported that one result of their discussions was that the two Governments now agree that no useful purpose will be served by holding another Bandung Conference at this juncture.

If this is true, it is unfortunate. For, while it is true that the prospects for the Conference now are not so bright as they were at the time of the first Bandung Conference, it should not be beyond the resourcefulness of statesmen in Asian countries to hold the Conference and yet to keep out of its purview those subjects on which it is futile to have any discussions now. After all, even at the time of the first Bandung Conference, the relations between some countries—say, for example, between India and Pakistan—were by no means good. This, however, did not act to the detriment of the successful deliberations of that Conference.

It is true that the number of countries between whom the relations are strained now is much larger. The task of the new Bandung Conference is, therefore, going to be more difficult. It should, however, not prove impossible to work out an acceptable basis on which the Conference should be convened if only all the countries recognise the urgency and importance of the problems which should receive their urgent consideration.

The question, therefore, is whether the Congress Party wants—and, even if it wants, whether it is anxious—to put its foot down on those who would resist any measures to curb the profiteering resorted to by the big landlords, wholesalers and bankers.

This, if accepted, would knock the very bottom out of the efforts being made by the Planning Commission to 'hold the price line'.

The question, therefore, is whether the Congress Party wants—and, even if it wants, whether it is anxious—to put its foot down on those who would resist any measures to curb the profiteering resorted to by the big landlords, wholesalers and bankers.

This is important for the two countries, not only because the strained relations between two countries are bad in themselves, but also because they lead to the worsening of the communal relations in both countries.

He had then wanted the expulsion of the PSP Ministers from the Ministry and the formation of a purely Congress Ministry. Now that his objective has been fulfilled, he is furious that those who had then extended their support to him are now ranged against him. Hence his attack on the Communist opposition.

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on the Tripura-Chittagong border are yet to be known. It is, however, heartening that a cease-fire has been agreed upon.

The boundary dispute in this area dates back to the pre-independence days. Even in those days the exact boundary between the then Tripura State and the Chittagong District of Bengal was not clearly demarcated. Two villages in the disputed area became the point of tension between the two countries recently. Exchanges of fire led to an explosive situation.

There were several other areas in which border dispute existed between the two countries. Each of them naturally led to clashes, but most of them had been settled through painful but persistent efforts at negotiations. The Tripura-Chittagong border, however, remained still to be settled.

The controversy that recently developed between the two countries on the question of Pakistanis infiltrating into West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, followed by the Government of India's decision to throw them out created a tense situation all over the borders of India and East Pakistan. It was, under these circumstances, that clashes between the armed forces of the two countries took place.

The cease-fire, of course, does not solve all the problems involved. It is, however, obvious that, without the initial step of a cease-fire, discussions on the substantive questions involved cannot take place. It is to be hoped that, the initial step having now been taken, it will be followed up by an earnest effort to settle all the questions involved.

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Communalism—Congress Weapon

Two members of the Kerala State Legislature who participated in the debate on the motion of no-confidence moved by the Communist opposition read a communal meaning into the fact that such a motion was being moved.

Their argument was: "You did not move any no-confidence motion so long as Pattom Thanu Pillai, a Nair, was heading the Ministry. The moment a non-Nair became the head of the Government, you want to attack the Ministry headed by him."

STRANGELY enough, one of them is the very Janardanan who, as an independent, had moved a no-confidence motion against the Ministry headed by Pattom Thanu Pillai. He would not have had his motion admitted by the Speaker had not the Communist opposition stood in their places in support of the motion as is required under the rules of the Legislature. During the debate and voting on the motion too, he got the support of the Communist opposition.

It was, even at that time, known that Janardanan's opposition was not to the policies of the Ministry as a whole, but to the personality of its head, Pattom Thanu Pillai. (His original motion was one which expressed want of confidence in the PSP Ministers. Only when he was refused permission under the rules to move no-confidence against a part of the Ministry did he amend it to include the whole Ministry.)

The Communist opposition for its part was opposed to the Ministry as a whole and its policies and practices. Its support to Janardanan's motion was support to

ters and some other leaders of the Kerala PSP, that PSP should withdraw from the Ministry and function as an opposition party. Inside the Legislature itself, the spokesmen of the PSP no doubt opposed the no-confidence motion and made their usual attacks on the Communist opposition. They were, however, bitter against the efforts being made by the Congress to entice some of the members of the PSP Legislature Party and thus disrupt their Party.

On questions of policy too, they made it clear that their support to the Congress Ministry should not be taken for granted; it depends on the policy being pursued by the Congress and its Ministry.

Above all, the PSP has announced its decision to contest the by-election in Pathanamthit constituency which has fallen vacant due to the death of its representative who was a Praja Socialist. There is every likelihood that, in all the three constituencies for which by-elections are shortly to be held, the PSP will have its own candidates as against the Congress.

Such a stand taken by the PSP may not threaten the Congress with any immediate danger to its Ministry. With the support of four former Praja Socialists who are now independent, the Congress may have an absolute majority in the legislature.

Furthermore, it may be able to get the support of a few more who are now sitting in the PSP benches and who may transfer their allegiance to the Congress

in case of necessity. Congress leaders, therefore, may well hope that, notwithstanding all that the PSP may do, their Ministry is safe.

Against these optimistic calculations should, however, be set the reality that Congress itself is by no means united. It is well-known that the former Chief Minister who after all was the leader of the minor partner in the coalition could dominate the Ministry only because he was able to take advantage of the personal and group rivalries inside the Congress itself. There was no love lost between the Congress Legislature Party and the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee. Nor were the relations between the various personalities inside the Ministry itself those of cooperation and comradeship.

As a matter of fact, the very delay in the replacement of the coalition Ministry by a Congress Ministry was the result of the widely-entertained fear that the exit of the PSP will be followed by acrimonious debates inside the Congress organisation as to who should be the Chief Minister and who should hold the best portfolios. It was only when the arrogance of the PSP wing in the Ministry reached unmanageable proportions that the decision was taken to turn them out of the Council of Ministers.

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Minister, the political scene in the State was full of speculation regarding the composition of the new Ministry. Claims and counter-claims were being made by this or that individual or group for their legitimate share in the division of spoils left after the exit of the PSP Chief Minister and the likely exit of the other two PSP Ministers.

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ON KERALA

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in New Delhi, October 15-17, adopted the following resolution on developments in Kerala.

THE Secretariat heard a report on the developments in Kerala which led upto the appointment of former Chief Minister Thanu Pillai as the Governor of Punjab, the installation of the new Chief Minister, the withdrawal of the PSP Ministers from the Coalition and the appointment of an additional Congress Minister.

The Secretariat is of opinion that the appointment of Pattom Thanu Pillai as the Governor of Punjab is a step whose implications go beyond the confines of Kerala. It raises the question of the constitutional and political propriety of the Congress Government at the Centre using its administrative authority—the right of appointing Governors—to find solutions for the political and organisational problems facing the Congress Party in a particular State.

Such use of the office of Governor amounts to bribing the leader of another Party to suit the convenience of the Congress Party and has been rightly condemned by many in the country, including some leading Congressmen.

The Secretariat noted that this is not the first time that a post which, under the Constitution should be above Party considerations is made the subject-matter of furious bargaining between the Congress and its alliance partners. The office of the Speaker was similarly used twice in Kerala itself. It was, through their bargain on Speakership that Congress could maintain unity with the Muslim League.

The Secretariat noted further that the withdrawal of the PSP from the coalition has knocked the bottom out of the coalition character of the Ministry in Kerala. It was as a coalition that the Congress approached the electorate during the last mid-term elections. Even then the Congress was not able to win an absolute majority of seats in the legislature. On the collapse of the coalition, therefore, the Ministry should have resigned and sought a fresh verdict of the electorate.

The Secretariat endorsed the decision taken by the Kerala State Council of the Party, that, under the circumstances, it is constitutionally and politically necessary for a fresh appeal being made to the electorate in order to find out whether they endorse the formation of a purely Congress Ministry.

The Secretariat decided to authorise its spokesmen in Parliament to raise the question involved in these developments at the next session of Parliament. It also decided to ask Party units to educate public opinion on the constitutionally and politically unjustifiable measures taken by the Congress High Command and the Union Ministry with respect to the shameful bribery involved in the elevation of Pattom Thanu Pillai as Governor of Punjab. The Party demands that the appointment of Pattom Thanu Pillai as Governor of Punjab should be revoked, the present Kerala Ministry asked to resign and arrangements made for a fresh election.

Admirable Sentiments

AN indication of the ways and means through which the Central Government proposes to tackle the problem of prices was given by Planning Minister Nanda to the Price Sub-Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party.

The essential idea behind the proposals being worked out by the Commission seems to be to check the gains being made by intermediaries without touching the producer or the consumer. Rationing is not envisaged at all; the farmer would have a minimum price for his products assured, there would not be any attempt to force the farmer to part with his produce unwillingly; at the same time, middlemen would be prevented from cornering stocks and using them to exploit temporary scarcities.

These are no doubt, admirable sentiments. Nobody will take exception to them, except, of course, those who are shameless enough to plead the case of big landlords, wholesalers, bankers, etc., who make fabulous profits by exploiting the mass of producers, as well as the consumers. The question, however, is: How are these pious sentiments going to be translated into practice?

Nearly five years ago, the principle was accepted by the Planning Commission, the National Development Council and the Union Government,

Cease-Fire In Tripura

DETAILS of the cease-fire agreement between India and Pakistan

—E.M.S. Namboodiripad
October 17.

On NEFA Situation

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution on October 17:

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern at the serious happenings on the NEFA border. There have been clashes between the Chinese and Indian armed forces, leading to loss of life.

The situation is all the more alarming in view of the fact that only a few weeks ago strong hopes had risen in the minds of our people that a climate for negotiations was being created and that meetings between the two sides for the necessary preliminaries were in the offing. All these hopes have been belied by the new tensions that developed on the NEFA border.

This border has been comparatively free from disturbances especially in view of

the fact that there has existed the McMahon Line, a virtually demarcated border line, between India and China. Thus one least expected serious differences and clashes on the McMahon Line.

Reports of the Government of India show that the Chinese forces have crossed to the South of the McMahon Line and thus violated Indian territory, though the Chinese deny this. The Communist Party of India has always maintained that the McMahon Line is the border of India. Hence all necessary steps to defend it are justified.

The National Council resolution of our Party at Hyderabad lent its support to the Government's efforts at negotiations, while taking necessary steps for the defence of the borders.

To Perpetuate Rule In Kerala

the exposure that he was making of the corruption indulged in by Pattom and his Praja Socialist colleagues.

The demand voiced by the Communist opposition was an enquiry into the corruption charges of all Ministers, regardless of whether they were Congress or PSP Ministers. Janardanan, on the other hand, had wanted enquiry into, and action against, only the PSP wing of the Ministry.

He had then wanted the expulsion of the PSP Ministers from the Ministry and the formation of a purely Congress Ministry. Now that his objective has been fulfilled, he is furious that those who had then extended their support to him are now ranged against him. Hence his attack on the Communist opposition.

The other member who took the same line as Janardanan was none other than Stephen, the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee. This acknowledged spokesman of the Congress organisation had no better argument to support his Ministry than that it is now headed by a member of a relatively backward community!

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A Ministry that has to function under these limitations is bound to face tremendous political difficulties. They cannot be obviated by the administrative and organisational measures taken by the Union Home Minister to save the Kerala Congress from disruption.

The argument advanced by Janardanan and Stephan appears to them, under these circumstances, to be a useful weapon. It is not directed solely against the Communist opposition, though that was its role in the Assembly debate on the no-confidence motion. It is to be used against all the individuals and groups inside the Congress which are likely to challenge the leadership of the present Chief Minister.

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Bhowani Sen: Evolution of Agrarian Relations in India—People's Publishing House, New Delhi, February 1962. Price: Rs. 8.50.

THE decisive paradox, perhaps, of our national situation is that while the most conspicuous failure of the Government is on the front of agrarian relations and product, the most serious weakness of the Left and democratic movement is the failure to build a countrywide militant and organised peasant movement.

Achilles' Heel

The Congress Government has frequently raised the slogan of self-sufficiency in food and has, as frequently been, compelled to be on the failure of this slogan. It has proclaimed the most radical programme of agrarian reforms and each time has had to officially admit its equally radical failure.

The Communist Party and other democratic parties and personalities (including a wide range of the top flight economists of our country) have sharply nailed down this failure. They have warned of the menace such failure presents to the cause of national regeneration and our nascent parliamentary democracy. From 1958, at any rate, the Communist Party has advanced as its key slogan — Turn Your Face to the Peasantry!

And yet, it has to be admitted, the level of organisation and even activity on the peasant front remains the Achilles' heel of the democratic movement.

Some of the points necessary to understand this paradox — and to remove it — are given to the careful reader of the volume under review.

Bhowani Sen has long been reputed as one of the foremost Marxist theoreticians of the agrarian question in India. To formidable learning and analytical prowess is joined the rich experience of decades of work among the peasantry. Science and action have combined to make Bhowani Sen uniquely fitted to give us an understanding of the agrarian relations in India — its history as well as the trends to the future.

He modestly states in the preface that pressure of work and illness prevented him from giving the finishing touches to his book and that having been written over two years certain repetitions and discrepancies might have marred its quality.

But every discriminating reader will feel deeply grateful to the author both for the palpably enormous reading that has gone into the making of Evolution of Agrarian Relations in India, as well as for the lucid analysis.

He devotes the first chapter to the statement of the nature of the agrarian problem. Assembling an impressive array of tables and quotations it is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that despite everything there is a monopoly of land ownership of a rather steep kind in the Indian countryside.

And yet the crucial point to be borne in mind is that that monopoly of ownership does not simultaneously mean cultivation enjoying economics of large unit-size. Nor does it mean that the large cultivators employ more capital per unit of cultivation. It is, therefore, monopoly of a most

vicious and production-depressing character signifying strong remnants of feudalism combined with capitalism on an extremely weak technical base.

The crux of the agrarian situation, considered by itself for a moment, is that the top 30 per cent of the cultivators account for two-thirds of the annual gross capital formation or capital expenditure in agriculture. But in terms of expenditure per acre of the cultivated area, it is the same for the large as well as the small cultivators.

The capital with the large cultivators is largely spent on purchase of land!

The author correctly concludes: "In our country, the possession of large holdings is not analogous to rationalisation of agriculture; on the contrary, the general tendency of the large landholders is to withdraw funds from agricultural production for purposes which are socially wasteful." (p. 24)

After demonstrating that it is

ment is the preponderance of cultivation on small holdings instead of largescale cultivation ("generally there is no correlation between concentration of land and agricultural workers," p. 179). But in Western UP, in the canal areas of the Punjab, certain parts of Bihar and the coastal districts of Andhra, largescale capitalist cultivation has made its appearance.

Third, that this capitalist development has a weak technical base but the rate of growth of the use of improved agricultural implements and of machinery (with wide regional variations) is quite high, though starting from a low base.

In this connection a detailed survey is made of the agrarian legislation since independence. A great deal of this is available in the earlier work of Bhowani Sen himself and in Daniel Thorne's seminar Agrarian Prospect in India. The addition is of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill (1959) whose special features, even within the serious limitations, are indicated as the model for future agrarian legislation.

From the study of the provisions and implementation of Con-

modity exchange and commercialisation has sharpened pre-capitalist forms of exploitation (for example, the correlation between urbanisation and the extent of sharecropping).

Noting the disintegration of the peasantry and the increasing growth of the agricultural labourer class, the author (drawing heavily upon the celebrated and controversial article of Baudhyan Chatterji in Enquiry No. 2) cautions against treating this phenomenon as a precise indicator of the rate of growth of capitalist relations.

Accepting the composite calculations of Satyabrata Sen (Enquiry No. 1), the author comes to the conclusion that "25 per cent of the agricultural families are employers of labour and 40 per cent of the same families live exclusively by hiring out their own labour. The intermediary group constitutes 35 per cent. This is a record of a very high degree of class differentiation in the countryside." (p. 158)

But, as Baudhyan Chatterji has shown (and as Bhowani Sen accepts), hiring out of labour cannot be equated with wage-labour in the strictly scientific sense. He is of opinion that about 16 per cent of the rural labour force is entirely of a hired wage-earning category employed by employer-households.

Since agricultural workers constitute about 40 per cent of the total rural labour force, "it follows that 40 per cent of the agricultural workers are engaged by peasants mainly employing hired labour and by other self-cultivating landowners. This can be considered as the capitalist sector in our agriculture, at least its upper limit." (p. 177)

Thus, he comes to the conclusion that capitalist relations in India's agriculture is still quite weak but is a growing trend and that there are wide regional variations in this regard.

Second, that one of the specific features of this capitalist develop-

ment is the preponderance of cultivation on small holdings instead of largescale cultivation ("generally there is no correlation between concentration of land and agricultural workers," p. 179). But in Western UP, in the canal areas of the Punjab, certain parts of Bihar and the coastal districts of Andhra, largescale capitalist cultivation has made its appearance.

Third, that this capitalist development has a weak technical base but the rate of growth of the use of improved agricultural implements and of machinery (with wide regional variations) is quite high, though starting from a low base.

In this connection a detailed survey is made of the agrarian legislation since independence. A great deal of this is available in the earlier work of Bhowani Sen himself and in Daniel Thorne's seminar Agrarian Prospect in India. The addition is of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill (1959) whose special features, even within the serious limitations, are indicated as the model for future agrarian legislation.

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A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIA'S AGRARIAN PROBLEM

And yet, it has to be admitted, the level of organisation and even activity on the peasant front remains the Achilles' heel of the democratic movement.

Some of the points necessary to understand this paradox — and to remove it — are given to the careful reader of the volume under review.

Bhowani Sen has long been reputed as one of the foremost Marxist theoreticians of the agrarian question in India. To formidable learning and analytical prowess is joined the rich experience of decades of work among the peasantry. Science and action have combined to make Bhowani Sen uniquely fitted to give us an understanding of the agrarian relations in India — its history as well as the trends to the future.

He modestly states in the preface that pressure of work and illness prevented him from giving the finishing touches to his book and that having been written over two years certain repetitions and discrepancies might have marred its quality.

But every discriminating reader will feel deeply grateful to the author both for the palpably enormous reading that has gone into the making of Evolution of Agrarian Relations in India, as well as for the lucid analysis.

He devotes the first chapter to the statement of the nature of the agrarian problem. Assembling an impressive array of tables and quotations it is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that despite everything there is a monopoly of land ownership of a rather steep kind in the Indian countryside.

And yet the crucial point to be borne in mind is that that monopoly of ownership does not simultaneously mean cultivation enjoying economics of large unit-size. Nor does it mean that the large cultivators employ more capital per unit of cultivation. It is, therefore, monopoly of a most

vicious and production-depressing character signifying strong remnants of feudalism combined with capitalism on an extremely weak technical base.

The crux of the agrarian situation, considered by itself for a moment, is that the top 30 per cent of the cultivators account for two-thirds of the annual gross capital formation or capital expenditure in agriculture. But in terms of expenditure per acre of the cultivated area, it is the same for the large as well as the small cultivators.

The capital with the large cultivators is largely spent on purchase of land!

The author correctly concludes: "In our country, the possession of large holdings is not analogous to rationalisation of agriculture; on the contrary, the general tendency of the large landholders is to withdraw funds from agricultural production for purposes which are socially wasteful." (p. 24)

After demonstrating that it is

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Since The XXII Congress Of CPSU

ADVANCE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

By R. PALME DUTT

A consignment of 250 pairs of leg irons has just been despatched a few weeks ago by a Birmingham firm to the Southern Rhodesian Government. This respectable Birmingham firm, specialising in the production of this philanthropic ironmongery, reminiscent of Uncle Tom's Cabin, explained to the press:

"Demand for our products is briskest from Africa, since so many countries there are now policed for the first time and are becoming more civilised" (Evening Standard, July 31, 1962).

Such is the conception of "civilisation" of the colonialists. Evidently colonialism is not yet dead. But its death rattle is audible.

THE Sixties of our Century, declared the Report of N. S. Khrushchev at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, "will go down in history as years of the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism." "The rise of socialism," proclaims the Programme of Communism adopted at the same Congress, "marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples."

Twelve months have passed since the 22nd Congress. Three years of the decade of the Sixties, during which the disintegration of colonialism is due to be completed. Let us take the occasion of this Anniversary of the Congress to consider how far the fulfilment of its prediction has proceeded further these twelve months.

NEW STATES

During these twelve months a whole series of new independent States have replaced former colonial territories. In the forefront Algeria has won the fruits of seven years of heroic battle and compelled French imperialism to recognise the independence of the Algerian Republic. In other parts of Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda and Sierra Leone have become independent States. In the Caribbean, Jamaica and Trinidad have established their independence. Many others are on the threshold.

But from all points of view, the growth is rickety; because the policy pursued is not one of radical change but of compromise with the outmoded (i.e. feudal) social elements, not one of creating conditions for the capitalist development of peasant forms in general but of converting feudal landlords and rich peasants into capitalist landlords." (p. 150)

Embryonic Stage

All these indicate the "dissolving stage of feudal relations", that "capitalist cultivation is as yet in an embryonic stage" and that we are in "a state of transition from feudal landlordism to agricultural capitalism." (pp. 281-82)

Naturally enough, the book does not attempt to work out the strategy and tactics of the peasant movement at the present stage. But in the preface to the book there is mention of the path of democratic planning, of the peasants' path of land to the tiller, elimination of usury, State trading in agricultural commodities and democratisation of the administrative apparatus.

Obviously there are points in common between the adherents of this path and those of the progressive bourgeois democratic path. The coming together of these two forces in the cause of agrarian reforms alone can ensure that decisive intervention in our transitional agrarian structure, which is the need of our nation and the essential prerequisite for democratic advance.

Similarly, in the Portuguese colonies and in South Africa repression is daily intensified. Further, imperialism ceaselessly attempts news aggression against the nations which have established their independence.

● Cuba is in the front line, of menace from the aggressive actions of US imperialism; -the measures of blockade, the threat of direct armed assault, the hysterical bloodthirsty campaign



Africa Rejoices—A victory celebration in Somali

perialists, who were so enamoured of the United Nations so long as they could use its automatic majority for their own aggressive purposes, now turn to gloomy warnings about the future of the United Nations.

Thus the British Foreign Secretary Lord Home declared at the end of last year:

"If the emphasis is taken off the first duty of the United Nations, which is peace-making and security, and laid on the acceleration of independence and the eradication of colonialism... then it would sow the seeds of its own destruction."

LORD HOME & MR. STEVENSON

Home was only echoing what the United States United Nations representative Adlai Stevenson had just said a few days earlier:

"If this organisation adopts different criteria to judge the use of force in international relations — one for the communist world and for the new States of Africa and Asia, and one for the other sovereign nations of the world — it would plant the seeds of its own destruction."

Similarly a Nato diplomat was reported as saying:

"Every day it seems that a new flag goes up outside the building, and every time it means another leftist vote." (Sunday Times, 24/12/61).

Nor is this lamentation of the colonialists over the United Nations without basis. For the new majority in the United Nations, with the socialist and newly independent States acting together against colonialism, is an anti-colonialist majority. On the basis of this majority the United Nations Assembly has been able to play a role in the fight against colonialism.

In December 1960 the United Nations Assembly carried the famous anti-colonial resolution for "immediate steps" to end colonialism everywhere." This was carried by 89 votes to none with 9 abstentions. The names of the

nine abstaining States are worth noting: United States; Britain; France; Belgium; Spain; Portugal; South Africa; Australia; Dominica. A roll-call of the imperialist powers, with one satellite exposing all their hypocritical professions about their having abandoned colonialism.

In December 1961 the United Nations Assembly, recalling the 1960 resolution, for immediate steps to end colonialism, established a special Committee on Colonialism consisting of 17 members, to watch over and make recommendations for the implementation of the 1960 resolution.

The Soviet Union memorandum to this Assembly pointed out that there were still 86 colonial territories, directly colonial or mandate or trust territories, with a population of 71 millions, awaiting freedom.

Since then the Committee of Seventeen has been able to play some role in giving hearings to representatives from the oppressed colonial territories.

But there is much still to do. The battle is not yet over. This is already manifest in the intensification of the national liberation struggle in the remaining colonial territories. Imperialist repression lashes out with ever more savage blows as the struggle of the peoples rises.

TERROR AND AGGRESSION

During these last few weeks in Southern Rhodesia a reign of police terror has been established, with the banning of the national liberation movement ZAPU.

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Algerians elect their National Assembly. A scene of polling on September 20.

NEW AGE

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ALGERIA FOR SOCIALISM,



Vintage near Tiemcen, Algeria.

for liquidation of colonialism

Ahmed Ben Bella, Prime Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, in his speech following the unanimous vote by the UN Assembly on October 8 to admit Algeria, thanked the delegates and said that "our first thought today goes to the martyrs who gave their lives so that Algeria might become independent."

FOR seven years, he continued, the Algerian question had been brought to each session of the Assembly. "We have appreciated," he said, "the foresight of the representatives of those countries who have always argued that Algeria must obtain her independence through the exercise of complete sovereignty by the Algerian people." Algeria was particularly grateful to its Arab brothers, to the African and Asian countries, to the

socialist countries and to all those who sided with the Algerian people.

He said that liquidation of colonialism would be the credo of Algeria's political and diplomatic actions, and he mentioned Rhodesia or South Africa and South West Africa, Algeria would support rapid and total liberation.

"The Arab brothers" of Palestine, he went on to say, must have their legitimate rights restored. It was dangerous for peace and international stability if this problem remained unsolved.

Algeria, he said, would pursue a policy of non-alignment but without adopting a "passive attitude."

A concerted effort was needed to narrow the immense abyss which separated the few highly developed countries from what was now being called the third world, Ben Bella continued, but the underdeveloped countries must first of all rely on their own efforts. The new scientific discoveries could greatly help to modernize backward economies, but such measures could be realized only if international tensions were eased, Algeria, he added, believed that international differences must always be solved through negotiations.

His government, he declared, would respect the agreements entered into with France, the more so since they linked Algeria with the French people whose majority had deplored the war in Algeria.

He expressed the wish that other countries still under colonial rule, such as Angola and Rhodesia, or "artificially excluded" from the UN, such as the People's Republic of China, would find their lawful place in the UN.

He said the UN must become truly universal, and organizational changes were necessary to reflect correctly the increased membership.

TWO nations whose fight to assert their sovereignty and national independence has inspired all lovers of freedom and justice all over the world are meeting across the oceans for the first time in freedom.

Ahmed Ben Bella, Prime Minister of the first Government of the newly proclaimed Democratic People's Republic of Algeria is visiting the land of Revolutionary Cuba, after having met Cuban President Oswaldo Dorticos at the United Nations.

On this occasion of great significance we publish here on these pages the first policy statements of Independent Algeria as well as the address by the Cuban President before the General Assembly.

INSPIRING FRIENDSHIP



Fraternal Support

ADDRESSING the General Assembly of the UN on October 12, Algeria's Foreign Minister, Mohammad Khemisti denounced US aggressive designs against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. Khemisti said that "efforts to attack and undermine the political regime chosen by the friendly people of Cuba" were a threat to international peace.

He said that Revolutionary Cuba had "no aggressive intentions" and urged that the US and Cuba resolve differences on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

Mohammad Khemisti began his remarks by saying that the principle of peaceful coexistence prohibited interference by one state in the domestic affairs of another. He said each state had the right to choose its own political system and Cubans also had the right to seek their economic and social liberation.

Speaking on the Berlin problem the Algerian Foreign Minister said that the crisis there must be settled on a basis that recognizes the realities of the German situation, implying the recognition of the fact of the existence of two German States and West Berlin being situated in the heart of GDR territory.

Khemisti reiterated non-alignment as the basic line of New Algeria's foreign policy. As far as Algeria's internal policy was concerned, Khemisti said his Government rejected capitalism as inappropriate. "Algeria will find its own road, a socialist road," he said.



An anti-US demonstration by the youth in Havana, Capital of Cuba.

Cuba Wishes Only For Peace

President Oswaldo Dorticos Torrado of Cuba told the UN Assembly on October 8 that his nation would do everything in its power to avert a US-Cuba crisis. He declared, to Assembly applause:

"Cuba has been ready, and is ready, to do everything useful to lighten the tensions about Cuban-US relations that threaten world peace."

He challenged the US delegation to state whether the US was ready to take similar steps.

PRESIDENT Dorticos said that reiterated and insulting statements had been made about Cuba by Senators and Representatives in the United States.

Use is most wholeheartedly made, in the most absurd fashion, of all circumstances to feed this campaign of aggressive hysteria against our country, until it culminates, for example, in the ridiculous statement that the establishment in our territory of a fishing port, following friendly and amicable relations with the Soviet Union, also implies a threat of armed aggression, which jeopardizes the security of the United States itself, namely, that they are raising to the level of threat of war the use of codfish and herring.

We know that this atmosphere of hysteria, we know that this campaign, we know that this interminable series of slander and libel are part and parcel of pressures being exercised by the Government of the United States.

We know that that pressure exists, but we also believe that it is the Government of the United States itself that is responsible, when all is said and done, for this pressure.

This pressure is the unavoidable result of the policy of constant and permanent aggression and harassment that has been followed since the new Administration took over in this country (the United States).

For example, not in the United Nations, but as obvious contempt for the United Nations, there is an invitation sent out to the foreign ministers of Latin America to meet at the State Department and they are invited to conspire to join the domestic subversion of my country.

Why was the system not invoked at the time of the aggression, why was the system stepped at the time of the invasion of the Bay of Pigs?

Without consulting any of the international bodies, with contempt for one and all, the Government of the United States, by taking un-

not intend nor shall we ever carry out any activities extending the ideology of our revolutionary process to any other countries or parts of this hemisphere. We shall not make a gift to the United States of a pretext for armed aggression.

Gentlemen, from the beginning of the deterioration of the Cuban-United States relations, Cuba has been constantly ready to negotiate.

And as Cuba is ready, so we have the moral right to challenge the delegation of the Government of the United States to tell us whether the Government of America is equally ready to take the necessary and useful steps to overcome the present international tensions around Cuba.

Cuba is not an aggressive country. The problem of Cuba is the question of the sovereign decision of a people and a right of that people to self-determination. Cuba did not wish to add its name to the roster of those involved in the cold war.

Cuba only wishes to develop its economy, assist its agriculture and plan and carry out a good future in peace. Cuba is ready at any given moment to prove those aims.

We are not a hemispheric problem. Cuba is not the problem of this continent. Under-

Cuba's peace bid, threatened by subversion within its borders and aggression from without. Certainly, the concluding paragraph of his statement did not improve Washington's standing with the emerging nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, trying to forge their independence under threat of aggression by their former colonialist oppressors. Stevenson menacingly declared:

"We will constantly work to reassure the Cuban people that they have not been forgotten or abandoned and make clear to freedom-loving Cubans, both within and without that country, that they can count on the sympathy and support of the American people in their efforts to escape the grip of Soviet domination and recapture their own revolution..."

Stevenson made the fantastic statement that if the Soviet Union "continues to try to prevent the social revolution of the Americas, it will increasingly excite the indignation of the people of my country and of other American states."

Stevenson also demanded arrogantly that as evidence of its willingness to improve relations with Washington Cuba's "place to begin would be the severing of its multiple ties to the Soviet bloc."

development is a hemispheric problem. Hunger, famine and need are hemispheric problems, but Cuba is not.

The preparation and the training of armed forces specifically on the part of the Government of the United States in different countries of this continent in order to unleash repression against popular movements in the continent until the danger of a new colonial warfare has been unleashed on this continent; this is a hemispheric problem, not Cuba.

In his indictment of Washington, Dorticos charged: It is not Cuba that upsets peace in this continent. It is not Cuba that attacks sister republics, but Cuba is the victim and doubtless will be pointed out as the next victim of interference and new aggression and new obstacles to its development.

Stevenson, chief U.S. delegate, instead of accepting

Land Reform—Basic Objective

Making the Policy Statement of his Government at the Constituent Assembly meeting Ben Bella, Premier of the first Government of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic, on September 28 first paid tribute to those who had laid down their lives in the seven years of war, thereby bringing to an end the colonial rule of 132 years and winning independence and freedom for the Algerian people. He also paid tributes to the Algerian people and the Algerian National Liberation Army for their bravery.

EXPLAINING the Government programme, Ben Bella said, "The Programme of Tripoli adopted unanimously by the supreme organisation of the Revolution constitutes the provisional charter of the Government until the convocation of the National Congress of the National Liberation Front."

He said that the struggle for independence would be followed by the democratic and people's revolution, a revolution "which, under the terms of our Charter, will be the conscientious building of the country within the framework of socialist principles and power in the hands of the people."

He added, "the development of Algeria which should be rapid, harmonious and directed towards the satisfaction of the primary economic needs of the people, should necessarily be formulated within a socialist perspective in the framework of the collectivisation of the

major means of production and of rational planning."

He said, "Certainly, the aspirations for Socialism are the fundamental aim of the less developed peoples whose backward political and economic structures were brought about by imperialism's colonial rule." He pointed out that the broad masses of people who suffered untold hardships in winning independence wanted genuine independence and did not want to become victims of exploitation in disguise or of aboriginal paternalism.

But he added, "We must take into account the after-effects of colonial rule. We must also take into account the numerous implications of the Evian Agreements which the Government has solemnly undertaken to respect."

Referring to Algeria's relations with France, he said that it was necessary to draw from these agreements, a concrete plan of co-

operation between the two equal, sovereign and independent States.

This cooperation, he pointed out, should in no circumstances become an obstacle to the realization of Algeria's pressing economic and social objectives, including agrarian reform and the elevation of the peasant's social status. A necessary pre-condition for this cooperation was the Algerianisation of the cadres of the country; Algeria's characteristics and culture must be respected in such cooperation.

Speaking of the long term tasks ahead, Ben Bella said: "The main aspects of these tasks are agriculture, industrialisation and construction."

He pointed out that "land reform is a basic objective of the Algerian revolution." This was stressed by the Programme of Tripoli: First, Algeria, as an agricultural country, must destroy the structure under which the peasantry is exploited for the benefit of another class. The colonial land-owners are almost exclusively Europeans.

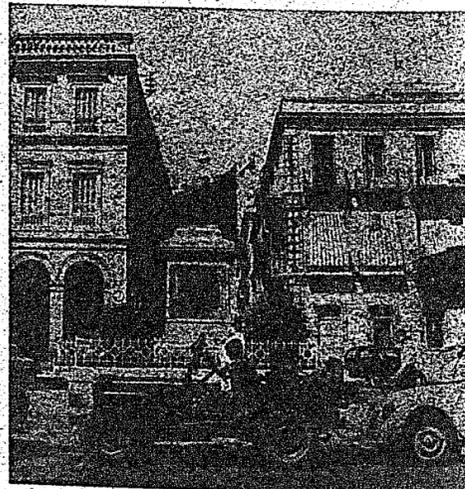
"Another reason is that our peasantry which constitutes four-fifths of our population, has made heavy sacrifices during the war of liberation and has been subjected to frightful consequences. The peasants have the right to expect that the revolution while bringing about independence would also bring them benefits, which are completely proper."

Agrarian reform, he said, was the pre-condition for all construction work in Algeria and should be carried out as quickly as possible.

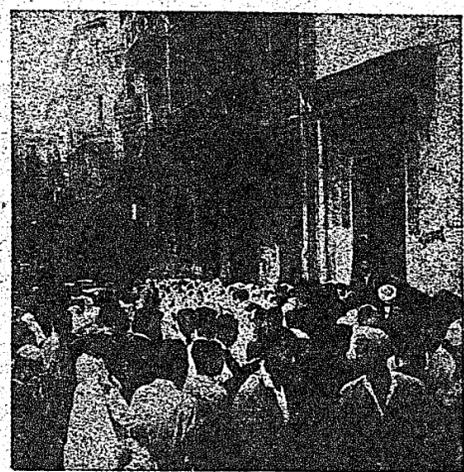
On industrialisation, Ben Bella said: "Algeria possesses much power resources, especially natural gas and petroleum, and it also has mineral resources. Therefore, it can plan for industrialisation in many departments of production within the shortest period of time."

He stressed: "Agrarian reform and industrialisation are the two fundamental tasks to which the Government will attach importance. They will also enable us to absorb large numbers of the unemployed."

He then dealt with the construction policy. "The Government will not only pay attention to the neglected urban areas, but also to the industrial and rural areas hitherto ignored. The Government will work resolutely for the removal of slums and dilapi-



The conqueror ejected—Here stood the statue of Bugeaud, the French General who conquered Algeria. The French took the statue away before leaving Algeria.



Crowds gathered before the polling stations in the Kasbah of Algiers on Sept. 20 when elections to the first Algerian National Assembly took place.

East Germany Today Is Europe's Fifth Industrial Power

By P. K. Kunhanandan Nair

In Berlin and all other towns and villages of GDR, 17 million Germans celebrated the 13th anniversary of their Socialist State in lavish festivity and happiness.

Imperialist western powers, to please German militarists violated the Potsdam Agreement and arbitrarily divided Germany, setting up a separate West German state (Federal Republic of Germany) on September 7, 1949.

A month later in their self-defence the democratic forces of Germany constituted in East Germany a People's Democratic Republic.

Thus history's first workers' and peasants' German State was born on October 7, 1949. On this day the dreams of Marx and Engels were realised on German soil which gave birth to the great Communist Manifesto a century before. Capitalism and German militarism was buried deep not to resurrect again in this part of Germany.

The youngest Socialist state in Europe which has been turned into the biggest post-war international controversy by the imperialists has left behind 13 eventful years successfully.

From Ashes And Ruins

From ashes and ruins the GDR started to build up a modern Socialist industrial power. The most important factors of the widely differing starting positions in the Eastern and Western part of post-war Germany included much greater destruction caused by the war in the territory of the present GDR and especially the difficulties that resulted from the widely differing natural conditions and historically conditioned social division of labour. West Germany has at its disposal not only rich raw material deposits but also the more developed industrial areas especially of raw material processing and basic industries.

In 1936 the share of the present East Germany in all German production was only 2.9 per cent in hard coal mining, 5.3 per cent for iron ore mining, 1.6 per cent for pig-iron production, 7.6 per

cent for crude steel and 8.3 per cent for rolled steel production. With contempt the German monopolists and imperialists used to call East Germany "the potato land."

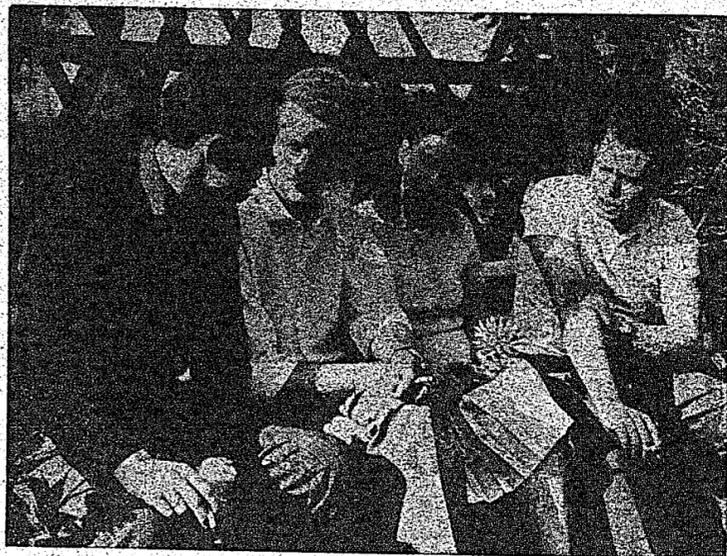
The new order ended the power and rule of Junkers and exploiters on this 'potato land.' After paying heavy war reparations East Germany was further depleted.

In order to destroy completely the power of the monopolists who were king-makers in the past the workers and peasants' State confiscated all the plants and resources of giant industrial magnates. Among them were 38 plants of the Flicks concern, 59 plants of AEG Electricals, 93 plants of the Continental monopoly combine, nine plants of Mannesmann firms and many plants of the Krupp.

In West Germany the US imperialists on the other hand gave back to them the confiscated plants of the war criminal monopolists in order to strengthen the hands of the militarist regime.

With the confiscated war crippled industry and its heroic working class, the GDR started on the complicated path of socialist construction. In 13 years socialist industry reconstructed hundreds of new plants and factories, hydro-electric projects and irrigation works owned by the people. Among the biggest are the Lanchhammer Combinat for producing coke from lignite, the big iron works on the Oder River, the giant ship-building yards in Rostock, a huge paper factory and a giant oil refinery and petroleum combine in Schwedt on the Polish border and a semi-conductor plant in Frankfurt on Oder.

Relying on the power and ability of the working class as well as on the cooperation and fraternal aid from Soviet Union and other Socialist countries the working people of GDR succeeded in overcoming the main economic



About 3,100 people returned from West Germany and West Berlin within the last 3 months to the GDR. Four of them (from left to right) Hans-Hoachmin Jahnig, Dieter Weckseisen, Renate Guthke and Rolf Berghans are seen in the reception centre in Berlin-Blankenfelde. Hans Joachim Jahnig left the GDR in 1955 but he did not find a new home in West Germany. He spent most of his time in camps and in the Federal Army. Seamstress Renate Guthke left in 1960 because of personal difficulties and returns now with her fiancé Dieter Weckseisen because they did not find a secure existence in West Germany. Rolf Berghans too returned because he would not serve in the Bonn NATO Army.

disproportion and difficulties in building up an efficient socialist industry. In 1961 socialist enterprises accounted for about 90 per cent of gross industrial production.

Today GDR is the fifth industrial power in Europe. Industry has become the most important sphere of the national economy. Last year industry accounted for 70 per cent of gross social production. In 1950 it was only 56 per cent. In comparison with 1950 in the development of production the following levels have been achieved in 1961.

(Base 1950=100)	1957	1961
All industry	311	399
Metallurgy	316	351
Chemicals	316	351
Electricals	316	351
Precision & optical instruments	343	343
Textiles	254	254
Foodstuffs	311	311

In the first six months of the

1962 targets of the Seven-Year Plan overfulfilment has been recorded in several branches of industry.

A large part of these successes can be traced back to the fraternal cooperation of Socialist countries, on the basis of mutual aid, equality and full respect for each other's sovereignty. GDR, a member of COMECON is now carrying, through international socialist division of labour, a systematic reorganisation of the economy along with all Socialist countries to establish the correct proportions among various economic branches within one single socialist world system. GDR is specialising in several vital branches of heavy and chemical industry.

Basic Changes Benefit People

The basic changes brought about in the production relations and social conditions by the new democratic system have benefited the working people who were once slaves and wage-labourers of German monopolists and Junkers. The new socialist relations have eliminated, for example, unemployment completely.

The economic flowering under Socialism without any inherent crisis has made remarkable change in the income level of GDR families. In 1957 very few people had a high income. Gradually lower income groups began to decline and the higher income groups increased. The following figures illustrate this healthy phenomenon.

Chart showing changes in income level of family—	1957	1961
Income-Group	37.3%	30.3%
Less than 500 marks	46.8%	36.4%
500 to 800 marks	11.2%	22.4%
800 to 1000 marks	4.7%	16.9%

Average monthly net income of a family in 1957 was estimated to be 590 German marks. Today it has increased to 778 marks. A German family consists of an average five members. Birth rate is low. Husband, wife and one or two children and sometimes a grand mother — this is the general

size of a German family. All the able-bodied persons including the wife and mother work and earn. Students get stipend from the State.

A perfect system of social insurance, free medical aid and free education and many other facilities through trade unions make the life of the working people much more comfortable. In each school of the GDR, there is one teacher for every 23 children. In West Germany, the figure is one teacher to 31 children.

For every 10,000 of the population, there are 105 students at universities and technical colleges in West Germany the figure is 35. In the GDR, 55 per cent of University students come from working class families. In West Germany it is only 5 per cent.

Agriculture is the weakest link in the socialist economy today. But measures are being taken to set it right. In 1950 in mechanising the agriculture 36,435 tractors were employed by the State. Today there are over 90,000 tractors working round the clock. Combines and harvesters increased from 389 to 9,186.

Increased personal income has created a big rush for consumer goods. Anything that appears in the shop window disappears in a minute. There was potato shortage last year due to crop failure. This year, the harvest is good. But there is meat shortage now. The State and agricultural co-operatives are taking a series of resolute measures to improve the situation in GDR agriculture.

From its very inception the GDR pursued a consistent policy of peaceful co-existence. The GDR made over a hundred proposals for negotiations with West Germany since the two States were formed in 1949. Some of the most important proposals of the past two years for achieving peace in Germany and Central Europe are worth mentioning. These were not take-it-or-leave-it deals but suggestions to serve as basis for negotiations.

In September 1960, the GDR proposed a three-year plan for neutralisation of both German

ANDHRA POISED FOR SATYAGRAHA

Opposition To Additional Land Revenue Bill

From V. Hanumantha Rao

Satyagraha will be launched all over the State after November 1st, if the State government fails to withdraw the Additional Revenue bill and takes steps to distribute cultivable waste lands by that time.

THE Provincial Council of the Communist Party took a decision to this effect when it met during the second week of last month. Later, the Action Committee set up by Swatantra Party also took a similar decision.

Peasants' Conventions at district, taluq and block levels are being held all over the State in preparation for the forthcoming peaceful struggle. Batches of peasant leaders and kisan sabha workers are also doing "padayatra" from village to village, organising peasant gatherings and collecting names of volunteers ready to participate in the satyagraha.

In Bhimavaram taluq of West Godavari district, during the first week of September, three squads went on foot, covering a distance of 180 miles, 62 villages and 15 bustees, holding processions, meetings and group meetings. They have covered all but 30 villages in this taluq and have decided to cover the rest as well.

Approached by the Kisan Sabha workers, large number of satyagrahis have enlisted and there is competition between village and village in the same district and between districts to send more satyagrahis.

In Rytupalli village in Karimnagar district, one from each house offered to join the satyagraha. In another village in West Godavari, a peasant pleaded with the leaders to allow him to become the first satyagrahi in the district.

As many as 2500 volunteers are estimated to participate in the Satyagraha from the district of Srikakulam alone, which is known for its backwardness. Such was the upsurge in West Godavari district that it is rather difficult to count numbers. In Gunur district, an organised effort is being made to cover the whole district through group meetings and block meetings in preparation for the struggle. Similar reports have come from other districts also.

More and more panchayats and panchayat samithis have come out with resolutions expressing their disapproval of the increase in land revenue, demanding re-consideration of the same. Congress leaders too, even after the enactment of the legislation, are expressing their opposition through public statements and speeches at public meetings.

Divide And Rule Policy

Government, in its usual attempt to confuse and dampen the enthusiasm of peasants, has started spreading the idea that it would not like to be harsh against peasants in hard cases. The Chief Minister has been going about the districts trying to put across this idea. By showering sympathy on a handful of peasants tilling the fallow lands under canals and rivers, the Chief Minister seems to think that he

can divide the peasantry on the issue.

This attempt to bypass the fundamental issue was nailed down by the provincial council of the Communist Party in its resolution, which stated that it does not in the least satisfy the peasantry since there will be no basic change in the enhanced land revenue. The very fact that within a few days of the enactment of the legislation, the Chief Minister had to come out with proposals for alteration, shows that the Act was unreasonable and passed in a great hurry, the resolution stated.

It may be recalled here that over a lakh of peasants demonstrated in all district and taluq headquarters on July 24th, protesting against enhanced taxation. An unprecedented demonstration of 25,000 peasants was staged in Hyderabad before the Assembly premises. Nearly two and half lakh people signed a memorandum, which was submitted to the Chief Minister.

This opposition of the people to the Additional Revenue Bill was reflected in the Assembly by opposition parties, when they moved over three hundred amendments to a twelve-clause bill, trying to persuade the government to bring about such changes as would impose no burden, or, in the alternative, throw less burden on the less fortunate. But the attitude of the Government was an eye-opener and embarrassing to many Congressmen themselves.

Even at the Select Committee stage, when it became evident that Government was not prepared to budge an inch, Communist Party representatives made consistent attempts to tone down the worst features of the bill through

a host of amendments. It failed to produce the desired results. Later, by seeking police permission to hold a demonstration before the Assembly, by requesting the Chief Minister to come and address the gathering, and again, by patiently arguing with the Government for over six days in the Assembly, the Communist representatives had tried in every way to impress upon the Government the anti-people character of the Bill.

This reasonable approach by Communists has paid dividends today, when thousands of peasants are responding to the call, irrespective of political faiths and are preparing for a peaceful satyagraha struggle in a big way.

The second demand raised by the Communist Party is expeditious distribution of cultivable waste lands.

It is a ten year old promise made in the Andhra Assembly when it was at Karnool. The distribution is going on at a painfully slow pace. Several categories of waste lands are being excluded from the purview of distribution. Many who had been tillers of these lands for the last ten to fifteen years have been evicted and these lands given to political sufferers. Exorbitant penal rates are being imposed on cultivators of waste lands and evictions are being made.

Such is the reasonableness of the demand that the Revenue Minister himself had to admit the slow rate of progress of distribution.

Speaking at the Collectors' Conference on October 4, he confessed that though the programme had been in operation for more than three years, all the cultivable waste land had not yet been

distributed. It is really very embarrassing for the government to face the clamour for lands on the one hand and have assignable waste land on the other," he said.

This slow pace of distribution, it might be noted, is despite the appointment of a special staff for the purpose and despite the fact that a harijan Chief Minister who is expected to have some soft corner for harijans, initiated this scheme and conducted a special drive.

Flood Damage

This year too, Andhra had its own share of damage and distress due to floods. The unusually heavy rains inundated crops over two lakh acres in the State. The crops were under water for a period ranging from four to twenty days.

The damage may not be as catastrophic as it was in Punjab or elsewhere, but the effects of the damage to crops on the prices of foodgrains in the coming year is foreseeable even now.

The estimates of actual damage have still to be assessed, but it is freely stated here that production would go down this year and consequently, prices would shoot up still further.

A study of the places affected by floods reveals the most disturbing feature that floods occurred at the very same places as in last year and in the years before. If any, the disaster had only spread to newer areas. It was the same Kolleru lake, same Budameru, same

SEE OVERLEAF

★ FROM FACING PAGE

Bastion Of Peace In Heart Of Europe

States to the UN General Assembly.

● In December 1960, it suggested a "minimum truce plan" between them pending progress in disarmament, a ten-year truce renouncing the use of force.

● In July 1961, the GDR proposed neutralisation, a peace treaty and German Confederation proposals to the FRG.

● In December 1961 it proposed a minimum co-existence proposal — each to respect the sovereignty of the other State negotiating trade and recognition of each other's passports.

● In March 1962, the GDR proposed a German Disarmament Plan to the UN and a plan to save Central Europe from conflicts.

All these proposals were rejected by the Adenauer Government: to be exact it refused to read them for, according to them there is only one German State — the Federal Republic of Germany.

West Germany was not only saying no to offers from a State whose existence it refuses to recognise. It was calling for a stronger NATO, more and better weapons with nuclear war heads and was officially rejecting the present European borders.

Instead of recognising the reality of life, the Western side launched an economic war against the GDR, violated its State frontiers and embarked on a policy of espionage, aggression.

Total damage suffered by the GDR economy uptill the Berlin Wall was put up, resulting from currency swindle and speculation and from trading in human beings, is estimated at 30,000 million marks.

Serious acts of provocations and aggression have been launched against the GDR State frontiers from West Berlin and West Germany. In the first eight months of this year, apart from many other provocations there were over 60 cases of opening fire against the GDR frontier guards.

The number of agents smuggled from West Berlin to socialist countries and arrested there runs into several thousands. On GDR territory alone several radio stations set up from West Berlin have been discovered since 1959.

In West Berlin not less than 90 offices of imperialist secret service agencies whose names and addresses have been published by GDR security organs recruit espionage agents.

GDR's Policy Of Peace

Against all these odds, the GDR follows a foreign policy of peace. It uncompromisingly opposes colonialism. This was demonstrated by the firm support to Goa's liberation, West Irian and Algerian freedom struggle, while the West German State supported Portugal and French imperialists and declared an embargo on Cuba.

There is identity of views between the GDR and the most important South-East Asian countries on such important international issues as the struggle to maintain and stabilise peace and achieve peaceful co-existence, for general and complete disarmament, in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and to maintain and strengthen national independence.

The GDR is training about 2,000 technicians, doctors and engineers from the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa in its technical universities and industrial establishments in Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Karl Marxstadt and Berlin.

Not less than 150 Indian students are getting free education with stipends to become engineers, doctors, specialists.

Apart from training industrial cadres for building independent economy, the GDR also helps to build industrial plants and projects in India, Indonesia, UAR, Iraq, Cambodia and several other countries. From 40 African countries, Negroes and Muslims are rubbing shoulders with whites in the GDR schools.

The GDR is strong and stable today. No imperialist power on earth can wipe it off the map of Europe, however much they dream. More and more peace-loving statesmen recognise the reality. GDR has established consulates general in Indonesia, Bur-

ma, Cambodia, Laos, UAR, Iraq, Syria and Finland. In Guinea and Ghana it has trade representations with consular rights. It has full diplomatic relations with all Socialist countries including Yugoslavia and Cuba. The GDR trades with all capitalist countries including West Germany, which considers it an enemy.

A peace treaty is going to come. The last word on the occupation of West Berlin by the imperialists will be said.

The position of Western powers in West Berlin has been weakened

recently by their aggressive and provocative policies. It is high time the Government of India realise this rapid change and start moving with the times. Let them give full diplomatic recognition to the GDR and open the way for other non-aligned countries to act, who are waiting for India in this regard.

Many happy returns to this young socialist State of heroic German working class who gave to the world the great Marx and his all-powerful teachings of Marxism.

ACTIONS ON ANTI-WAR-DAY IN ESSEN, WEST GERMANY



With meetings and vigils the West German atomic war opponents began their actions on the anti-war day of the Federal Republic on September 1, 1962, 23rd anniversary of the beginning of World War II, in several towns and places. Poster reads: "Peace to all nations — no more a September 1, 1939."



Indians at Leipzig Fair, Sept. '62. Economic relations between India and GDR grow from year to year.

PEACE EMISSARIES' WORK

By ROMESH CHANDRA

The work of the delegations of the Gandhi Peace Foundation to the USA and the USSR has naturally received public interest in our country. U. N. Dhebar and G. Ramachandran have returned to India, after meeting Premier Khrushchov, the leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee and other Soviet citizens.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI and his colleagues B. Shiva Rao and R. R. Diwakar have been in the USA and met President Kennedy, the UN officers and heads of delegations of the big powers and American peace workers and have gone on to Britain.

What does it all amount to? Sending delegations to heads of governments to persuade them to work for disarmament is not a novel form of peace action. The World Peace Council and other peace bodies have been doing this fairly regularly for the last ten years and more. It is a useful form of action — inasmuch as it secures wider publicity for peace efforts and the reports of such meetings with Government leaders have always helped to strengthen the disarmament campaign.

SELF-IMPOSED RESTRICTION

As is clear from the reports, the main problem discussed by these delegations with the heads of the Soviet and US Governments was that of nuclear tests. Rajaji went so far as to say that the question of disarmament was for the Statesmen to solve — he and his delegation were concerned only with nuclear tests. This itself was a self-imposed restriction, which reduced the significance of the discussions the missions had with the heads of governments.

It is not clear why this limitation was placed on the work

of the immediate banning of all nuclear tests.

It was, therefore, natural and correct that the Dhebar mission should have sought at the very start of their talks with Chairman Khrushchov, the support of the Soviet Government for the non-aligned nations' proposals.

OF PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE

Of profound significance was the reply of the Soviet leader to the Dhebar delegation — and this has been rightly hailed among peace-loving people in this country as constituting irrefutable proof of the Soviet Union's anxiety to end all nuclear tests without delay.

Chairman Khrushchov categorically declared that the Soviet Government is ready "to accept as the basis of the solution of the question of ending all nuclear tests the proposals of India and other neutral States, tabled in the Disarmament Committee".

And further: "If the Western powers are not willing to reach an understanding now on the banning of all nuclear tests, the Soviet Union agrees to sign a treaty on the ending of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, provided negotiations are continued on the ending of underground tests as well, and that all nuclear powers forbear from holding such tests for the period of the talks pending the attainment of agreement."

Here is a clear and categorical position taken by the Soviet Union, which should be widely made known to our people. In the first place, the Soviet Union is prepared to accept India's proposals for a test ban.

Only the intransigence of the USA which refused to accept the non-aligned nations' proposals, holds up the signing

of a nuclear test ban treaty today, and therefore the responsibility for the continuation of tests rests on the USA squarely.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go further: if the West still refuses to sign an all-in ban the Soviet Union is ready to sign a test ban treaty for all, except underground tests provided, there is a solemn obligation entered into by all powers concerned to conduct underground tests while negotiations continue on the means of policing such tests.

Here again is an eminently fair proposition. But the West refuses to accept, insisting that it be allowed to continue its underground tests — while a ban be placed only on other tests. The reason is clear enough — the USA wants to continue underground tests for which it is thoroughly prepared and which would give it considerable military advantages over the Soviet Union. All the Soviet Union asks for is a solemn undertaking not to carry out underground tests pending an agreement — but this undertaking the USA refuses to give.

I. J. Singh goes so far as to criticise and support American "objections" to the non-aligned nations' proposals.

proposals (proposals which have now, following the Dhebar mission's interview with Chairman Khrushchov, been tabled by India in the UNO itself) and seeks the banning of all tests — underground as well as in atmosphere, in space and under water.

A conscious effort is now being made by the pro-US agencies to play down the significance of Chairman Khrushchov's interview with the Dhebar delegation and his proposals. J. J. Singh, in a letter published in the Statesman (October 9) seeks vainly to "show" that there is nothing new in what Khrushchov has said — and that after all it is the Soviet Union which refuses to accept the US proposal to ban all but underground tests!

I. J. Singh goes so far as to criticise and support American "objections" to the non-aligned nations' proposals.

THE VOICE OF U.S.A.

The Voice of the USA in India is not confined to J. J. Singh. The Hindustan Times (October 9) has editorially repeated the same tune, abusing the missions as "fatuous" and Dhebar as "naive".

Let every participant in the Disarmament Campaign use every opportunity to tell the truth to the Indian people regarding the responsibility of the USA for the continuation of the nuclear tests. The Dhebar mission to the USSR has helped to make the truth known to millions — and all the efforts now being made by the American lobby to confuse the issues again must not be allowed to succeed.

DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND

What is amazing is the fact that the Rajaji delegation evidently has not vigorously canvassed support in the USA for the non-aligned nations' test ban proposals. He has made some laudatory statements about the US President, and some commendatory remarks about the Soviet Union. But Rajaji appears not to reflect at all Indian public opinion, which stands solidly behind the Indian Government's Geneva

WOMEN MEET

*FROM BACK PAGE

closely connected with the problem of co-existence which he said "was not live and let live so much as live to let live". He said that "unilateral disarmament" for the USSR was impossible, only a complete and general disarmament is the solution. He called upon the Indian women to strengthen Nehru's hands for this cause. He pointed out that women could be a great force if they act together.

Sunderlal, who gave an inspiring call to the women to defend life and future received great applause from the delegation.

Perin Romesh Chandra gave a lucid account of the "World Congress for Disarmament". Satya Roy, young professor of Delhi, placed a very factual and comprehensive report on the effects of disarmament. Geeta Mukherjee of West Bengal moved the resolution on Peace and Disarmament with a call for collecting about two-lakh signatures on the Appeal of Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace and for observing a week for "Women Demonstrating and Marching for Peace" from January 1 to 7 1963. It was supported by Smt. Manorama Satin of Benaras.

Different States responded to the proposal with enthusiasm and the target was fixed at about two lakh signatures. Rukmini Ammal of Tamilnad undertook to collect 5,000 signatures personally.

A resolution greeting the liberation of Goa was moved by Annapurna Bhandarkar and supported by Sarah Latifi both from

Bombay. A resolution on India-China border conflict was moved by Nalini Mehta of Gujarat and supported by Kulkarni of Bombay.

Two resolutions on Racism and greetings on Liberation of Algeria, West Irian and the freedom movements of Asia and Africa were moved from the chair.

The afternoon session was devoted to the question of Women's Education and was inaugurated by Shanti Kabir.

Sarojini Maheshi, M.P. in a very lively speech said that "one does not live for the sake of living only, but one must live well and education is a means to live well". She dwelt on the need of setting up one school for every village. In this connection she pointed out that the Government has put a ceiling of Rs. 1000/- on aid for erecting a school-building. This was absolutely insufficient.

Rajni Kumar of New Delhi, Principal Springdale, presented a factual report relating to women's education in primary, secondary and vocational fields, which clearly brought out the lag existing between the education of boys and girls.

Saraswati Subbiah, M.L.A. of Pondicherry, moved the resolution on Education. While supporting her, Pankaj Acharya of West Bengal gave an account of the recent collection of 50,526 signatures by West Bengal unit of NFIW on certain important demands of women's education. Shakuntala Sukhan of the Punjab said that compulsory primary education

should be strictly enforced for girls side by side with boys. Padmavati of Andhra dwelt on the necessity of imparting education to working women. She said that they should be educated about the Factory Acts and free education should be imparted to them after factory hours. Smt. Gupta observer from Bombay said that many of the higher secondary schools lacked equipments. The nationalised text-books are often not printed on time. The afternoon session ended with the passage of the resolution.

Morning session on the 14th was devoted to the problems of housewives and the question of raising women's status in the family. It was inaugurated by Subhadra Joshi, MP. In her speech she described the inferior status still forced upon the majority of Indian women in their family. She discussed the shortcomings of the laws already passed. She said that in case of a second marriage by the husband the wife had to go to the court at her own expense.

How can the wife who has thus deserted find means to fight a case? Why could not second marriage without divorcing the first wife be made a cognizable offence? She said "a woman does not want to be a goddess, she wants to be an equal partner."

A resolution on "Christian Marriage Bill" was proposed by Renu Chakravarty, MP. She pointed out that the law which governed Christian marriages at that moment, was 10 years old. She



Aruna Asaf Ali, Kapila Khandwala and Renu Chakravarty at the Women's Congress.

said it was a gross discrimination against women that they could not seek divorce on the same grounds (adultery) on which a man could seek divorce.

Mrs. Latifi while supporting the resolution pointed out that the proposed bill was seeking to give recognition to particular churches while leaving out others. This would lead to a discrimination against certain churches and consequently their followers.

The resolution on the need to reform Muslim law was moved by Sarah Latifi and was supported by Jamalunisa and Rashid from Hyderabad and Mrs. Aktar Jahan from Bhopal. Mrs. Aktar Jahan pointed out how "Mehr" which was intended as a security for girl was often misused.

All these speakers expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the NFIW was taking up the questions of family status of women belonging to minority community as for example Muslims and Christians and expressed themselves in favour of introducing a uniform Civil Code for all citizens of India step by step.

The resolution on Social Laws was moved by Vimla Dang of the Punjab who gave a vivid account of the work done by our Punjab unit for the implementation of the laws.

This session was also addressed by Memobai. A resolution protesting against the soaring prices and adulteration of foodstuffs was moved from the chair.

The afternoon session of the 14th was devoted to the question of women's employment and was inaugurated by Durgabai Deshmukh. Smt. Deshmukh discussed the question from the point of view of constitutional status, of co-relation between education, training and employment. In a speech based on a thorough study of all these aspects she pointed out that in India today while the total number of employed women was increasing, it was their share in services which had increased while that in the industry had gone down.

Sudha Roy, a veteran trade unionist from West Bengal presented the report on the conditions of women's employment which brought out the desperate situation faced by rural women, unskilled women workers and even educated women in search of employment.

Tara Reddy of Bombay moved the resolution on Employment.

While supporting the resolution Ushabai Dange of Bombay indicated how the women's organisations' work could be coordinated with the work of trade unions by NFIW taking up the demands of maternity benefit etc.

She said that recently a tribunal upheld the decision of Dumex Co. which employed women in the Pharmaceutical work, to the effect that women workers if married would lose their jobs. Tai said that it was a peculiar situation where employers were denying to women the right to become mothers. "Were these people not born of their mother's womb?" she asked.

Ahilya Rangekar of Bombay proposed that an all-India Day be observed to protest against the phenomenon of pushing women out of even traditional industries. Mrs. Sarala Karkhanis of Bombay emphasised the necessity of creating part-time work on a much larger scale as this was an important avenue for giving gainful employment to house wives. Helen Miranda, an engineering worker in Crompton Parkinson stressed the necessity of introducing medical aid to workers.

Savitri Jadhav, a textile worker described how women were being retrenched and demanded an end to it.

Regarding social laws, it was decided to set up "Anti-Dowry Committee" of both men and women for the successful implementation of the law. It was also decided to set up a committee of the NFIW to consider necessary amendments to the existing social laws, and submit those to Parliament. It was further decided that broad campaigns against rising prices and adulteration of foodstuffs should be taken up.

The Congress elected Kapila Khandwala as the new President of the NFIW, while Aruna Asaf Ali and Anusuya Grantham were chosen patrons. Hajrah Begum, Sudha Roy, Dr. Dwarkabai of Hyderabad, Dr. Luxmi of Vijyanagar, Aruna Munnshi of West Bengal, Thaynagi Ammal of Tamilnad were elected Vice-Presidents. Renu Chakravarty, MP was elected General Secretary and Sarala Sharma, Chitra Sen and Vimla Farooqi were elected Secretaries. Salla Pendse was chosen treasurer.

The Congress concluded with an inspiring procession and public meeting at Purdah Bag.

Hooliganism In Bhopal

From Our Correspondent

BHOPAL: SOBER section of public opinion in the State Capital has roundly condemned the incident of Saturday, October 13, when a demonstration was organised by anti-Communist elements here against a civic reception by the Bhopal Municipal Committee to S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India.

The demonstration was nothing short of a vulgar display of blind anti-communism and was organised by a strange combination of PSP, communalists and the District Congress Committee. Taking advantage of the situation on the Sino-Indian border, an anti-Chinese Aggression Committee had been formed overnight to organise the anti-Dange demonstration.

The demonstrators acted like hooligans and threw all norms of public conduct to the winds. Some of them squatted before the main gate of the Sadar Manzil, the venue of a reception and tried to physically bar the entry of invitees to the reception. This conduct of the demonstrators was resented by invitees and some of them went back protesting against the rude behaviour of the demonstrators.

After waiting for almost an hour, Homi Daji, MP, requested the police to remove the squatters from the gate and clear the way for the invitees to attend the reception. But the police did not act and the demonstrators became further emboldened to attack Daji and other Communist workers who had assembled there with red flags.

When clash ensued between the rival groups, police intervened and burst teargas shells and resorted to a lathi-charge. The lathi charge was indiscriminate and did not spare the Communists, who had been attacked by the black-flag demonstrators, nor even the spectators.

As a result, a number of Communist workers, including some members of the Party's State Council sustained serious head injuries. Among those who were seriously injured were Mahendra Fuskete of Sagar, Siddiqi of Raipur, Modi of Seoni and Issac of Bhopal. Daji, Sarvate, Mukhtakar and many others also sustained minor injuries as a result of the attack of the demonstrators and police lathi charge.

In spite of all this hooliganism, the civic reception did take place and was attended by about five hundred invitees. In his address, the Chairman of the Municipal Committee praised the services of Dange to the nation and recalled his sacrifices during the independence struggle. The Chairman described Dange as one of the most prominent leaders of the country and pointed out that Dange was one of the pioneers of the labour movement in India. The address was well received by the audience with repeated applause.

Dange made suitable reply to the address and dismissed the whole incident lightly. He said that as a Communist he had seen many more difficult things and therefore he was not going to be deterred by a demonstration. Dange in his speech dealt with civic problems, especially the problem of town planning in a very forceful and coherent manner. The audience respon-

ded to his speech, full of sparkling wit and humour, with hearty cheers.

Attempts were made by anti-Communist elements to make further capital out of Saturday's incident and on Monday there was a partial strike of traders in the city, also at the instigation of the anti-Chinese Aggression Committee. Most of the shopkeepers who closed were the followers of Uday Das Mehta, a local Hindu Sabha leader.

The organisers of the strike also succeeded in stopping work at the Textile Mills and Straw Products by bringing pressure upon the managements through the INTUC. At the Textile Mills, the management is reported to have put up a notice to facilitate closure. Questionable means were resorted to also to force traders to close down.

On Monday a deputation of anti-Chinese Aggression Committee met the Chief Minister and requested action against the Police and Communists. They also demanded removal of the Municipal President, who is a Congressman.

It is reported in the local press that the Chief Minister took exception to the squating by the demonstrators before the main gate of Sadar Manzil and reprimanded Congressmen for joining hands with communalists.

The sober elements in the city have naturally reacted with revulsion against the ugly demonstration. Newspapers like Hitavada, Nava Bharat and Nadeem have questioned the propriety of Congressmen joining hands with communalists.

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ded to his speech, full of sparkling wit and humour, with hearty cheers.

OCTOBER 21, 1962

NEW AGE

Ben Bella's Policy Statement

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

dated houses. Demolished villages will be reconstructed on a large scale."

On the current tasks, Ben Bella said that the Government must maintain public order to ensure complete security to lives and property throughout the country.

Speaking on the unification and organisation of the People's National Army, he said that the reorganisation of the National Liberation Army would enable those who had left their ranks to take their place in the administrative, political and public life of the country. In a short while, the People's National Army would be

entirely unified, and would take part in social and economic work. To strive for the Algerianisation of the State administration was also an urgent task, Ben Bella said.

The Government would pay its fullest attention to education he said. Primary and secondary schools would be opened on October 15. Out of the 25,000 classes for a million students, 20,000 classes would open normally. The University would open on November 5. Priority would be given to sons and daughters of fighters and activists who had made contribution in the liberation of the motherland.

On the labour force, Ben Bella said that the Government would take all measures to ensure the labour force needed in autumn, and had decided to cancel the debts of the small peasants. Untilled land would be distributed among the small peasants. An official commission had been authorised to set up several committees to be the embryos of future agricultural collectives, he said.

On the Government's foreign policy, Ben Bella said that Algeria was an inalienable part of the Arab Maghreb. "The Greater Maghreb would slowly but certainly come into being."

AFRICAN MISSION

He continued: "Algeria has an African mission. In the big political and economic community, Algeria wants to take part in realising the solidarity and unity of Africa. Even before its independence Algeria had joined the Casablanca Charter Group," he said.

Ben Bella said: "Algeria has stood on the side of neutral and non-aligned countries. We will be loyal to our choice."

He added: "Algeria denounces parts and the policy of blocs. It abides by the UN Charter and a policy of peace. It is loyal to the friendship with all sides which was built up during its protracted war of liberation. It advocates solidarity among the peoples of all countries."

ANDHRA FLOOD HAVOC

*FROM OVERLEAF

Godavari, same Yerra kaluvu that burst the bunds.

There were cases where people had apprehended danger and warned the Government, but due to the inaction of government officials, the area was flooded. In some other areas floods occurred due to lack of provision of drainage facility and lack of repairs to tanks which have silted up.

Particularly heartrending is the lot of people in Adilabad town, whose only fresh water source was breached, repaired and again breached. A bucket of fresh water was sold at the fantastic price of Rs. 1.50!

Hyderabad city was also affected by the floods, for the first time during the last 30 years. More than ten people were dead due to house collapses, three thousand houses were washed away and thousands of people became homeless. Hundreds of Low Income group houses constructed by the Government leaked, exposing the inmates to rain and flood in their own houses!

While some margin could be given for the unexpected character of the heavy rains, still one cannot help feeling that the damage, to some extent at least, was man-made.

It was the failure of the government to take proper flood control measures during the last fifteen years that was at the root of the problem. Had enough attention been paid to flood control measures and delay in the execution of sanctioned projects

overcome, this damage could have been minimised. It is not often understood or appreciated what effect this year's after-year floods in the same area would have on the living standards of peasants. It is unfortunate that people should think that to have rivers, to have projects, is a curse to them.

Such natural calamities have brought to the fore the question of relief. The rules framed in good old days, when things were so cheap, are applied even today, with the result that hardly any relief could be felt by the recipients.

Repeatedly, the demand had been raised on the floor of the Assembly to change these rules so that relief offered may not remain illusory and imaginary, but to no effect.

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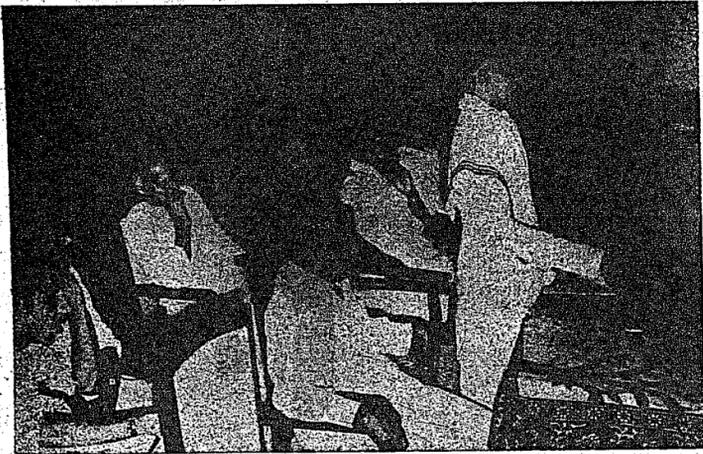
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PAGE TWELVE

NEW AGE

OCTOBER 21, 1962

PAGE THIRTEEN



K. A. Damodara Menon, Kerala Minister for Industries, addressing the Anti-Nuclear Convention at Trivandrum on October 3.

DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN

KARNATAK

BERTA Braganza, Secretary of the All India Peace Council, addressed several meetings in Bangalore, as well as a public meeting in Tumkur, in connection with Disarmament Week.

Several trade unions, whom Smt. Braganza addressed, have taken quotas for collection of signatures: the Corporation Worker Union, at a meeting presided over by Corporator D. S. Sriramulu, pledged to collect 5,000 signatures by November 15; textile workers in Malleswaram at a meeting presided over by Corporator K. Vajravelu, Secretary of the Union and addressed also by Communist leader N. L. Upadhyaya, pledged to collect another 1,000 signatures; a meeting at a welfare centre of the Hindustan Aircraft workers, pledged to collect 10,000 signatures; other unions, including Hotel Workers, Dress Manufacturers, Transport, B.E.L. and H.M.T. totalled another 5,500.

The meeting at Tumkur held in honour of Berta Braganza on October 11 was presided over by leading advocate V. C. Brahmaraayappa and attended by several municipal councillors, leading Congressmen and others. Over two hundred citizens agreed to form a preparatory committee to organise a broad District Conference for Disarmament and Peace. It is expected that at least 10,000 signatures will be collected in Tumkur.

MADHYA PRADESH

IN connection with Disarmament Week, a public meeting was held on October 7 in Gwalior, presided over by Mayor Chimanbhai Modi. The signature campaign has been launched jointly by several leading citizens in the city, who were also the sponsors of the public meeting.

Among these leaders of the city are the President of the City Congress Committee, the Secretary of the Communist Party, the President of the Mazdoor Sabha, Congress MLAs, the

INDIVIDUAL COLLECTORS

A LARGE number of individuals in towns and villages are collecting signatures to the appeal for disarmament and sending them directly to the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace. Among those received are 75 signatures from Gopal Krishna (Lucknow); 30 signatures from Brijinder, Secretary, People's Reading Room (village Patrigam, Pulwana, Kashmir) and five from village Cheemni (Cannanore, Kerala).

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation, the Secretary of the PSP, Secretary of the Peace Committee, Secretary of the Bhoodan Samiti, as well as leading lawyers, editors, social workers and others.

The meeting adopted a resolution on the lines of the Delhi Citizens' Committee resolution for October 2.

GUJARAT

ANWARBHAI Mirza, President of the Municipal Committee presided over a Disarmament Week meeting held at Petlad on October 6. All the leading citizens, including Municipal Committee members of all parties, businessmen, teachers, doctors, lawyers and others who were present signed the appeal and promised to collect 15,000 signatures within one month. The appeal was explained by Lalpat Rai (who was touring Gujarat on behalf of All-India Peace Council) and Nalini Mehta, one of Secretaries of Gujarat Peace Council.

The same night a public meeting attended by nearly 2,500 people was held in the Gandhi Chowk, which endorsed the appeal.

Lalpat Rai also addressed two meetings in Ahmedabad on October 7 of active workers and supporters who pledged themselves to collect 40,000 signatures in the next one month to give a start to the signature campaign.

PUNJAB

APPEAL for disarmament was unanimously adopted at a largely attended public meeting held on October 14 in Chheharta (Amritsar) under the auspices of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union after its contents had been explained at length.

The meeting was presided over by Munnilal Langotiwala, the President of the Union.

ANDHRA PRADESH

S. S. Mirajkar, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, visited other centres in Andhra Pradesh (after concluding his stay in Hyderabad—reported last week). On October 5 he arrived at Kothagudem and was taken out in procession through the city. In the evening a mass meeting of three thousand workers and other citizens heard Mirajkar speak for two hours on disarmament and world peace.

The Singareni Coalmine Workers' Union pledged itself at the meeting to collect 30,000 signatures to the Appeal of the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace.

On October 6, Mirajkar addressed two meetings at Vijayawada. The first was of students at the local Government College presided over by the Principal where over 100 students attended and promised to participate in the signature campaign. At the second meeting, attended by 400 citizens, Dr. J. Dakshina Murty, a leading medical practitioner, presided. Speakers, apart from Mirajkar, included Achanta Lakshmi Narasimham of the Gandhi Nidhi. The Vijayawada Peace Committee together with trade unions and others, have taken a quota of 50,000 signatures, out of which 5,000 have already been collected.

On his way from Kothagudem to Vijayawada, by bus Mirajkar was surprised when he was welcomed at a bus stop in a small place called Tirur. Learning that he was passing by in the bus, over 50 persons surrounded Mirajkar with slogans of Vishwa Shanti Zindabad.

One of the welcoming group produced a bunch of

MESSAGES

MESSAGES from abroad continue to reach the All-India Peace Council, supporting the Disarmament Week and the campaign for signatures to the Appeal. Among the messages received are the following:

From the National Council of the French Peace Movement: "The French Peace Movement sends you warm greetings for Disarmament Week and best wishes for great successes in the campaign of which this week marks the start.

"Knowing well the attachment of the Indian people to the cause of peace and the courageous struggles that they have ceaselessly waged against war, we are certain that

your campaign will find a great response. We hope that your efforts will mark a new — and perhaps decisive — step towards the world without arms of tomorrow."

From the Movement For Peace and the Sovereignty of People of Cuba: "In the name of and integrating the sentiments of the Cuban people, who are in the midst of a mighty struggle against the aggression of Yankee imperialism, we salute you warmly on the solemn occasion of the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi being observed as Disarmament Day and pledge ourselves again to intensify the campaign for respect for the self-determination of peoples, for general disarmament and world peace.

From the Italian Peace Council: Warm greetings and support to your appeal and the Disarmament Week.

foolscap sheets with the Appeal of the Indian Committee for Disarmament and Peace pasted on them—and over 200 signatures already obtained. The collector told Mirajkar proudly that he obtains signatures only after he has thoroughly explained the Appeal.

Mirajkar also held a very successful Peace Conference in Hyderabad as part of his work in Andhra Pradesh, which has given a big fillip to the movement.

A. S. E. Chari, leading Supreme Court Advocate, addressed two meetings in Hyderabad on October 6 and 7 in connection with Disarmament Week. His speeches on the question of disarmament were also a great help in intensifying the signature campaign among different sections of the people.

TAMILNAD

ON October 2, the Madras Peace Committee organised a mass meeting to inaugurate Disarmament Week. Over 1,000 people attended, filling the hall and many standing outside. K. S. Venkatraman, President of the Madras Peace Committee presided and Berta Braganza, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council, was the chief guest.

Representatives of mass organisations and others present pledged themselves to collect a total of nearly 40,000 signatures.

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UGANDA— 110th Member of U.N.

★ by J. BALLABH

On October 15, by a unanimous vote the Security Council recommended to the General Assembly that Uganda be admitted to the United Nations. Closely following Algeria, Uganda becomes the 110th member of the U.N.

AFTER 68 years of colonial subjugation Uganda became free on October 9. Rockets were fired and hundreds of hill-top bonfires were lit, as groups of happy Africans danced and sang in the beflagged streets of Kampala to celebrate the emergence of the new Independent East African State.

Uganda's freedom is a landmark in the process of rolling back of colonial tyranny from the African soil. The protracted struggle waged by its people made new advances in recent years and eventually forced Britain to agree to free Uganda.

Being the fifth African nation to gain freedom this year and the 28th since 1956, this tiny land, with 94,000 square miles of total area and nearly 7 million people, is surrounded by beautiful mountains, lakes and rich fertile valleys watered by rivers. It contains the source of Nile in Lake Victoria, which next to Lake Superior is the world's largest freshwater lake.

On the western border of Uganda rise the famous mountains of Moon and on the east the towering 14,178 feet high Mount Elgon. In between is the 500 miles stretch of open meadows and sparse forests.

MEETING GROUND

Uganda is the meeting ground of many different African tribes and religions. The Bantus live in the South, the Nilotic groups live in the north, the Karamojongs live in the north-east and the Bugandas, comprising nearly one-sixth of the total population and politically and culturally the most dominant, make the central nucleus.

British rule in Uganda rested on the support of tribal chieftains, who were employed as colonial officials. These people formed the backbone of the system of indirect government. The colonial rulers also preserved the institution of feudal land tenure and other attributes of feudalism, which proved favourable for separatist trends and internal strife. Their tactics diverted the masses from the freedom struggle and impeded their growing political consciousness.

However tactful they might be, the colonialists could never stop the advance of history. In the past few years, patriotic forces in Uganda gained a number of major successes. In 1960 they won enlargement of the Legislative Council, which in the past was a mere consultative body under the governor with limited legislative functions.

They also compelled the authorities to withdraw the "guaranteed rights of non-African minorities", on the basis of which more than one-third of seats in the Legislative Council were reserved for Europeans, even though they constituted a very small minority.

Yet another major victory for the people of Uganda was the obtaining of Britain's consent for elections to the National Assembly.

These elections were held in April 1962, contested by three main political parties—the Uganda People's Congress which heads the independence movement, the Democratic Party which is under Roman Catholic influence and is largely dependent on the support of Catholic missions and schools, and the Kabaka Yekka, which represents the feudal interests of Buganda.

OBOTE'S RECORD

The dominant political movement is the Uganda People's Congress led by Apollo Milton Obote, whose record in the liberation struggle is an impressive one. When only 28 years old he went to Kenya, worked in a sugar factory, as clerk in a construction firm, and an oil salesman, and while there became a founder member of the Kenya African Union led by Jomo Kenyatta. Returning to Uganda in 1955, he set himself the task of welding a united movement from conflicting political trends out of which was created the Uganda People's Congress.

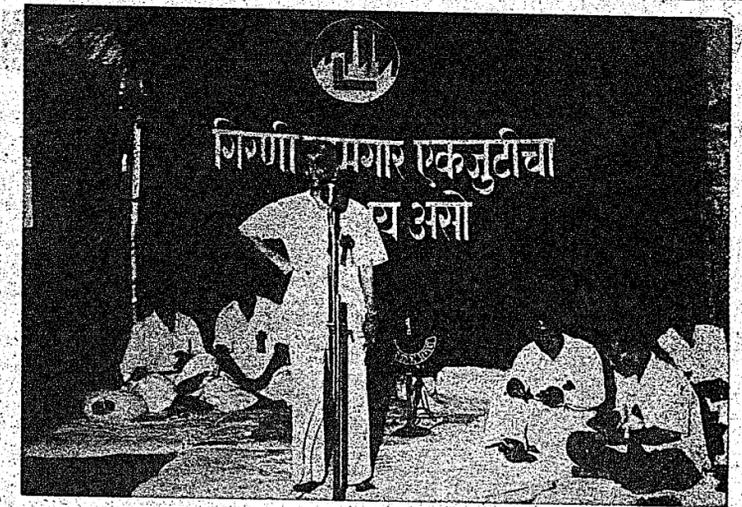
With the emergence of the UPC as the biggest party in the elections this year, Obote declared his main aim to lead a "massive revolt against poverty."

Although Uganda Peoples Congress polled 60 per cent of the total votes, it could not win absolute majority in a House of 82. With only 37 seats going to its candidates, it had to enter into a working alliance with Kabaka Yekka, which had won 21 seats. Thus Apollo Milton Obote, the President of UPC, became the Prime Minister of a coalition holding 58 seats. This alliance disappointed colonialist rulers who sought to provoke the separation of Buganda and hoped to continue their indirect control over Uganda through their stooges in the Democratic Party.

So, the Government is still an unstable alliance, with Obote forced constantly to judge the extent to which the Kaka Yekka can be influenced to support decisive measures designed to benefit Uganda as a whole, and not just to further its own special interests.

It is also a situation which leaves the door wide open to all kinds of splitting manoeuvres by the British.

New Uganda has inherited quite a few problems, which need united efforts for their solution. Imperialist exploitation has left the country a backward peasant economy,



Dange addressing textile workers' rally in Bombay.

BIG VICTORY FOR BOMBAY'S TEXTILE WORKERS

★ From Our Correspondent

The two-month old bonus struggle of the two lakh Bombay textile workers ended in a significant victory when Chief Minister Yeshwantrao Chavan who had mediated in the dispute, awarded on October 7 Rs. 10.7 crores as the quantum of bonus to be paid for the years 1959, 1960 and 1961.

THE Bonus Action Committee of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union, constituted in the Bonus Convention held on August 22, had effected wide mass unity of the textile workers on the bonus issue. In weeks of sustained campaign, particularly before the projected strike of September 24, the Action Committee had organised numerous meetings and demonstrations and brought new sections of workers into the struggle.

The call for one-day token strike evoked tremendous enthusiasm among the workers. The militant unity of the workers forged in this struggle and particularly over the slogan of the strike was successful in bringing about the mediation in the dispute by the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Following his offer to mediate, the Action Committee had deferred the projected strike.

The Committee had however called upon the workers to be vigilant and did not relax its efforts to stage the strike, in case mediation failed to bring in satisfactory results.

The Chief Minister announced his Award on October 7. At a mass rally of textile workers held on October 8, the Action Committee welcomed the Award. It was hailed as a big victory achieved in the bonus struggle.

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Action Committee, congratulated the workers for having shown determination in the struggle and enforcing the adamant mill-owners to concede the bonus. He pointed out how it was the unity and determination of the workers that had forced the mill-owners to ultimately give up their dilatory tactics.

Dange called for equitable distribution of the bonus among workers of all the mills. The Rashtriya Mill Mazdur Sangh while negotiating the quantum of the bonus with the owners, he said, should take this stand. The meeting was addressed among others by S. G. Patkar, M.L.A., R. D. Bhandare, and Y. V. Chavan.

By a resolution, the Committee has expressed its disapproval of any move compellingly to pay any part of the bonus in the form of National Savings Certificates.

prices and growing taxes. The meeting will also discuss problems relating to organisation in general and the specific issues relating to working youth and women.

On November 18 and 19 meetings of the trade federations in coal mining, metal and engineering and transport have been convened. A Report on Activities reviewing developments since the last session of the General Council and outlining the tasks will be placed before the Council by S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC.

The Council will meet in the new premises of the AITUC on the Rani Jhansi Road (PPH Building, Second Floor). The Council will concentrate its attention on the wage problem and the struggle for adequate wages in the context of rising

AITUC COUNCIL MEETING

THE General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress will be meeting in Delhi from November 13 to 17, says an announcement from the central office of the AITUC. It further adds that the Working Committee also will be meeting on November 13.

The Council will meet in the new premises of the AITUC on the Rani Jhansi Road (PPH Building, Second Floor).

The Council will concentrate its attention on the wage problem and the struggle for adequate wages in the context of rising

set up a Special Commission, which made good contribution by training enough Africans to fill half of the key jobs in the civil services. The Commission has also recommended to train more Africans to replace foreign specialists.

A considerable number of people in Uganda is of Asian extraction. These include 70,000 Indians. The Central Council of Indian Associations, which speaks for the majority of Indian population, said in a statement that they were proud of playing their part in the development of the country and pledged their loyalty and support to the new government.

Obote saw little chance for East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, until Kenya was free. He promised to throw full weight behind neighbouring Kenya's demand for independence.

WOMEN OF INDIA MEET

Fourth Congress of NFIW

(From Our Correspondent)

The 4th Congress of National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW) was held in Delhi from October 12 to 15. From the point of view of representation of States it was a really representative one.

AMONG the delegates numbering about 250 there were women from the States of the Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad including Pondicherry, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Not only were the States represented—they were represented by big delegations.

It was a pleasure to see the delegation from Maharashtra. Side by side with veteran workers like Mrs. Suhasing Jambekar and Mrs. Ushatai Dange, there was young working girls engaged in pharmaceutical, engineering industry and a number of housewives. From West Bengal, representing the most active unit of the Federation came thirty-five women, among whom were leaders like Manikuntala Sen, Sudha Roy as well as a number of teachers and housewives.

The delegation from Tamilnad was headed by Saraswati Subbiah, M.L.A. and was a fairly big one. The Punjab delegation was mainly composed of peasant women, and workers' wives with a proud record of systematic work. Various areas of Uttar Pradesh were represented in the U.P. delegation.

It was very encouraging to see a composite delegation from Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan with whom the link of the NFIW was rather weak so long.

There were the elected representatives of the people—the M.P.s, the M.L.A.s, the Municipal Corporators and Panchayat members, teachers, lawyers, journalists, professors, students, factory workers, peasant women, housewives and even a business-woman in the delegation.

This conference of the NFIW has been distinctive from more than one angle.

First, never before an NFIW

Conference was addressed by so many people of varied opinions. Take for example the men and women who inaugurated various sessions or spoke in the opening session. The opening session was inaugurated by Mrs. Anis Kidwai, M.P. and was addressed by U. N. Dhebar. The session on Peace and Disarmament was addressed by Om Prakash Gupta, Secretary, Gandhi Peace Foundation and Pandit Sunderlal of All India Peace Council.

The session on Education was inaugurated by Smt. Shanti Kabir and was addressed by Smt. Sarojini Maheshi, M.P. from Mysore. The session on the problems of Housewives was inaugurated by Mrs. Memobai, corporator of Delhi Municipal Corporation.

The session on Women's employment was inaugurated by Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh. Not only did they address the sessions but many of them showed great interest in the work of NFIW and the women of the country as a whole.

Secondly, the Conference can be justly described as a conference which chalked out a programme of concrete actions on various points of women's interest and national interest as well.

Thirdly, the attention and co-operation it received from the leading dailies of all-India fame was most encouraging. Almost all leading dailies covered the main proceedings and the conclusions at length.

Fourthly, the arrangement made by the Reception Committee chaired by Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali and with Mrs. Sarala Sharma as Secretary, was really praiseworthy. That the Conference would be held at Delhi was decided very late. But within a brief period of



A view of the inaugural session in Sapru House

two months the volunteers and workers of the Reception Committee made very comfortable arrangements for the delegates.

Speaking of the Conference session by session it was conducted mostly on specific subjects so as to arrive at concrete conclusions.

The inaugural session however was devoted to general subjects and was held at Sapru House on the 12th. The hall was almost filled to its capacity.

Rashtrapati Radhakrishnan's message was read out at the outset. He said: "Our women face equally with men the task of fostering that understanding and tolerance between the various sections of our people on which the strength and unity of the country depends. I hope that the Congress will work in this spirit. I wish it all success."

The conference was honoured by the presence of fraternal delegates from abroad. Mrs. Zinaida Feodorova, Secretary of the Soviet Women's Committee, delivered the message of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and conveyed the goodwill of the Soviet women to the Indian sisters, and Mrs. Dida Mihailcea, President of Rumanian Women's Council wished the Conference success. Mrs. Burmaa, President of Ulan Bator Committee of Mongolian Women's organisation reviewed the progress made by Mongolian women under socialism and expressed her sympathy for the Indian women who are working for a better future.

Mrs. Stulmahn of German Democratic Republic conveyed the message of Mine. Ilse Thiele, President of the Union of Democratic Women of German Democratic Republic in which she thanked the NFIW for taking keen interest in German problem. All these friends emphasised the urgent need for women the world over to act for peace and disarmament here and now, and to stand shoulder to shoulder in this great struggle.

U. N. Dhebar dwelt on the potentiality of women's force in the struggle for peace as they "were the better half of the human race" and "theirs was the cleanest record". He described his recent experience in Moscow when he went in a delegation from Gandhi Peace Foundation and was received by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov. He reported that the Soviet Premier expressed his willingness to accept the Indian formula for disarmament. Dhebar hoped that the U.S. Government would agree to it in future.

Begum Anis Kidwai, dwelt on the conditions of women and appealed to all women's organisations to work together for solution of women's problems.

Miss Kapila Khandwala, until recently Education Officer of Bombay Corporation and President of the Congress covered wide range of women's problems in her well thought out speech. Reviewing the progress made by women she said "It is a matter of great joy, that women are on the march and are today making a striking and ever-growing contribution to the progress and welfare of the people in the whole world."

"But the real situation in the country of 43 crores of population and where majority of them are illiterate cannot be made up by a handful of women who have climbed the highest steps of the ladder. And in practice however, the provisions of the Constitution are more often violated than given effect to. It is, however, a

fact borne out of experience that liberation of women in its full implications both in law and in fact is seen in countries where not only political freedom but economic freedom for the common masses has been achieved.

"The full flowering of socialism in our country can lead to a complete emancipation of the women and that should show us the way of how our movement has to be oriented."

Mrs. Hajrah Begum placed a brief account of work of the NFIW organisation which was composed of one lakh members spread over in different States.

The delegates sessions were held at Dariagunj Commercial School Hall. The first one on the 12th was devoted to Peace and Disarmament.

Addressing this session Om Prakash Gupta stressed that the problem of disarmament was very

*SEE PAGE 13



Begum Anis Kidwai, M.P., inaugurating the Congress. U. N. Dhebar and Aruna Asaf Ali are also seen on the dais.

—Photos by J. Ballabh



Mrs. Zinaida Feodorova, Secretary of Soviet Women's Committee addresses the Congress. The interpreter at the mike is translating Mrs. Feodorova's speech.