

ROUT ENEMIES OF NONALIGNMENT



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That the All India Peace Congress being held at Amritsar this weekend is going to be the biggest peace demonstration is already clear. But it must be very much more than just the biggest Peace Congress ever held. Amritsar must be a historic landmark not only for the Indian peace movement, but in the life of the Indian people as a whole and, indeed, in the march of all humanity towards its most cherished goals.

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It depends on the delegates who will assemble at Amritsar to make this wish a reality. The issues which are to be discussed have already aroused the greatest interest all over the country. The paramount urgency of these issues has already been responsible for making the participation in the Congress so much larger than had been anticipated by the organisers.

It is no longer possible for those who indulge always in ridiculing the peace movement to say that peace is a problem too remote for the Indian people to understand. It cannot be said any longer that peace is linked only remotely with the common everyday problems of the masses.

In the various conferences and conventions, which have been held in states and districts of the country during the last few days, it has not

by

Romesh Chandra

been necessary for the speakers and organisers to explain at very great length the key significance of the Amritsar Congress.

Each of the issues to be discussed has already become a matter of deep and wide interest and discussion among all sections, irrespective of their political affiliations.

Right at the centre of the deliberations at Amritsar will be the question of the defence of the policy of nonalignment. It is not the first time that the Indian peace movement has expressed its support for this policy. In fact since its very birth the Indian

peace movement has extended its wholehearted backing to the peace policy of the government of India which has as its core the policy of nonalignment.

But what is new is the context in which the discussions on nonalignment will take place this time at Amritsar. At previous conferences it has been almost a routine business, for no substantial or influential body of opinion in the country had been in a position to attack the policy of nonalignment openly.

Today the situation is quite obviously different. The events of October and November of 1962 are still fresh in our minds; seizing upon the difficulties following the Chinese aggression, the right-wing reactionary forces launched a full-scale offensive against the policy of nonalignment and demanded openly a military alliance with the Western powers.

Throughout this last one year, these anti-national elements in the country have not ceased their clamour; they have unashamedly talked even of inviting American troops to enter India in the name of 'defending' our country.

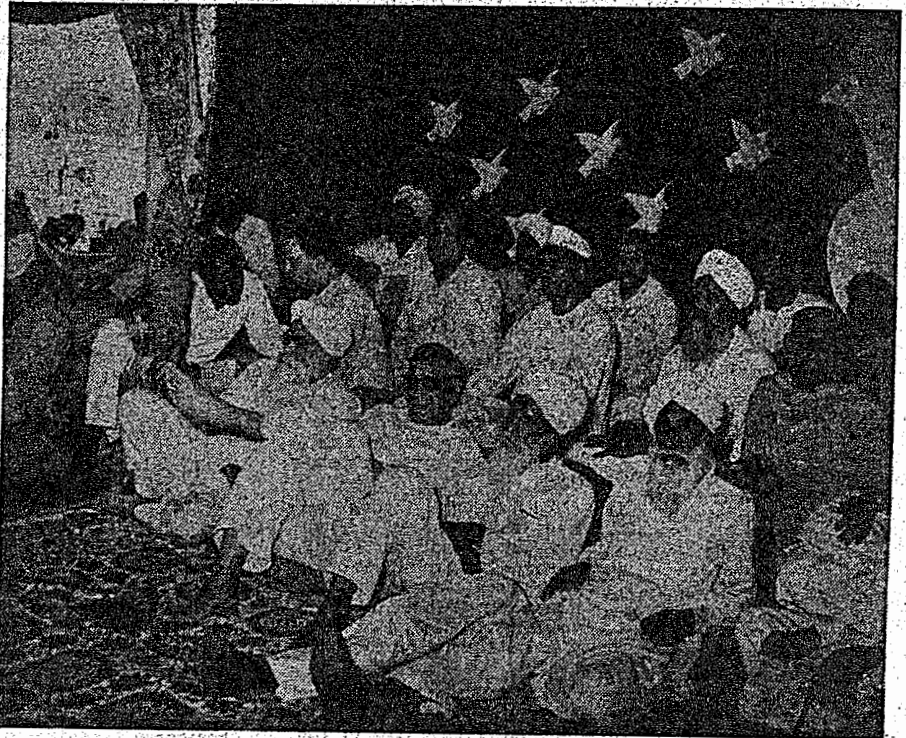
We have had the alarming spectacle of leaders of certain political parties openly preaching a policy of military

alliance and of surrender to the imperialists on issue after issue. The most recent of these disgraceful proposals is the one in regard to a virtual sell-out of the Kashmir Valley by no less a person than Rajaji himself.

One could detail here a

* On page four

AMRITSAR'S CLARION CALL



Seen in the centre of this picture from the Jullundur Peace Congress is the late Dr. Kitchlew who was the heart of our peace movement for so many years. On extreme right is seen the late Dr. Atal. (Photos by Virendra Kumar)

TIME OF GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Message from Prof. J. D. Bernal

It gives me great pleasure to extend warm greetings, on behalf of the World Council of Peace, to the All India Peace Congress for disarmament and peaceful coexistence, the ending of colonialism and racialism, and in defence of India's policy of non-alignment.

The pleasure, is, however, tinged with sadness at the passing of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, a man whose entire life was dedicated, first to the liberation of India, then to the happiness and prosperity of its people, and overall to world peace, without which his dreams for India could not be realised.

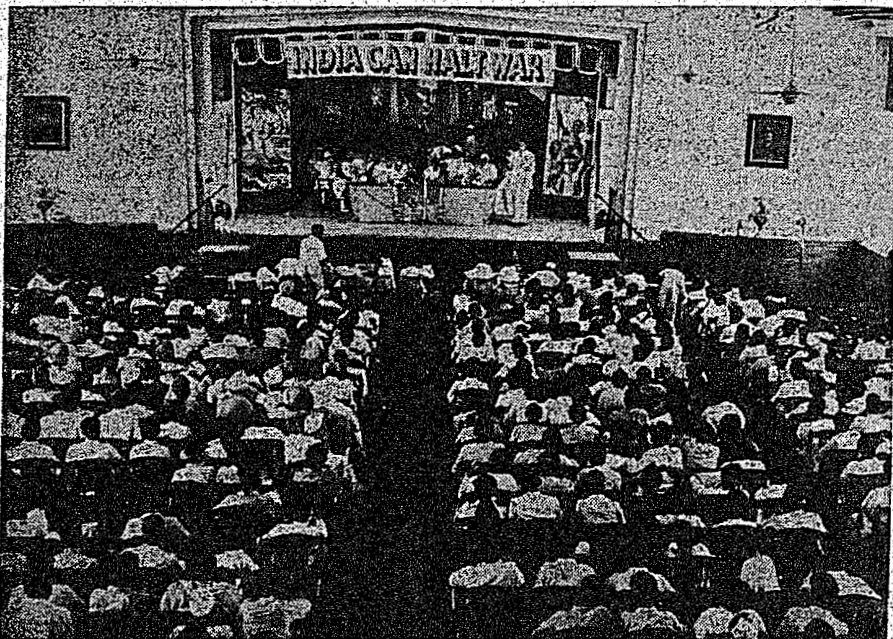
I am particularly glad that the holding of this Congress shows that the Indian people are not allowing recent events to deflect them from their consistent policy of peace, negotiation and nonalignment. It is very encouraging to hear that it is the biggest congress ever held by the peace movement in India.

For, this is a time of great opportunity for the peace movement all over the world; a time for bold mass action to take advantage of the small breach in the cold war opened by the partial nuclear test ban treaty in order to compel the governments to take further and bigger steps towards disarmament, and the ending of colonialism.

But we also need to be very much on our guard. These last weeks have seen the USA in particular take a number of steps that run counter to the easing of international tensions. They are pushing ahead with the NATO multi-lateral nuclear force which would whet West German militarist appetites for unfettered control of nuclear weapons.

Harold Wilson, the leader of the British Labour Party, has said that this would spell the doom of peaceful coexistence and that the Labour Party

* On page 17



This was at the Sunderbhai Hall Bombay—the All-India Peace Convention in 1951.

OPEN SUBSIDISED GRAIN SHOPS

Employees Demand

★ From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA, October 27: The fight for food in West Bengal is being joined increasingly by the organised working class and office employees.

THE trade unions generally raise demands for enhanced dearness allowance when cost of living rises. That is but natural. But from their own experience the workers and the employees have seen that whatever rise they get in their pay-packets is neutralised by rise in prices. And the abnormal rise in rice-price in West Bengal has become a regular phenomenon.

From this experience they have this year not only demanded rise in D.A. commensurate with rise in the cost of living but have come forward to demand stabilisation of prices. And as a measure to achieve that, the demand for subsidised ration has received wide support.

When the Indian Labour Conference resolved that establishments with 300 or more people must open fair price shops, the employers were not at all enthusiastic about it. The workers and employees—and for that matter the trade unions also—did not take it as a serious campaign to get the shops opened, but the sudden spurt in the prices has awakened them to the beneficial possibilities of such shops.

So when executive committee members of the five representative organisations of the bank, insurance, mercantile and petroleum employees—Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, Federation of Mercantile Employees' Union, Petroleum Workers' Union, Estate Zone Insurance Employees' Association and the Eastern Zone Insurance Field Workers' Association—met on October 16 to chalk out their plan of activities against high prices of food, they decided to approach their respective employers for opening subsidised

ration shops in all establishments. October 22 was the date when all unions would approach their respective managements with this demand. To focus public attention on the demand they decided also to hold a rally on the same day.

The programme was a grand success. During the office-hours nearly 200 deputations met their managements with the demand of subsidised ration shops. Almost everywhere the reply was that if the government ensured supply the employers were ready to open fair price shops on no loss-no profit basis. This did not meet the demands of the employees who pressed for subsidised shops.

In the evening a huge demonstration came out from the Dalhousie Square area and came to the Monument Maidan, where many more small processions also converged. A meeting was held under the presidency of Pradyot Ghosh, general secretary of the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Union. It was addressed by Sunil Maltra of Insurance Employees' Association and Tara Das of Bank Employees Association.

The employees invited all trade union centres to join the rally but only the AITUC responded and president of its West Bengal State Committee, Ranen Sen, who is also the president of the Petroleum Workers' Union, addressed the meeting.

The resolution passed at the meeting severely criticised the inhuman profit-greed of the traders and the connivance of the government of West Bengal in this gamble with human lives. It demanded opening of subsidised ration



Port Workers Demonstrating before the Commissioners' office—Photo Manu Ghosh

shops by employers, immediate action against profiteers and hoarders and further bringing down of the prices.

It ridiculed the 'gentleman's agreement' between the government and the rice traders in light of the experience of a similar agreement on fish and asked the employees to carry on the struggle for food. Speakers declared that it was but the beginning of a sustained movement by the organisations.

Port Workers Restive

UNREST had been brewing among a large section of the Calcutta port workers due to the callous behaviour of the port authorities and violation by them of various accepted recommendations of the government and/or special committees appointed by the government.

A glaring example is the situation of the secondary and badli gang workers. There are 3,593 piece-rated labour employed in cargo docks. In spite of the recommendation of the Chowdhury Commission that 75% of the total workers must be made permanent and only 25% may be kept temporary, 38% still remain in the temporary list and are deprived of the benefits of provident fund, guaranteed minimum earnings and other benefits.

Moreover 1,500 posts are lying vacant and these temporary workers are even deprived of retention fee due to bungling of the authorities.

The workers signed a mass petition to the Chairman for redressal of their grievances and on October 15 2,500 workers marched from Khidderpur East yard to the head office of the Calcutta Port Commissioners at Dalhousie Square. They presented a petition to the Deputy Chairman in absence of the Chairman. Deb Kumar Ganguly, Sitaram Singh and Ram Sundar, leaders of the Calcutta Port and Dock Workers' Union, led the deputations.

Not only are the temporary workers seething with discontent. Permanent workers also are agitated over the cut in

their khalasi allowance of Rs. 12 per annum which was paid with wages of September every year since 1954. The workers boycotted pay for a week and their representatives met the authorities to restore the cut, but nothing came out.

The workers met the RLC where also no solution could be found. Workers held mass meeting addressed by Indrajit Gupta, Union president and decided to serve strike notice. The departmental porters are to be involved in this strike.

All sections of the port and dock workers are agitated over various pin pricks by the authorities and if the authorities do not come to a settlement with the porters, the strike might spread. Of course the authorities do not seem to be very particular about running the port uninterruptedly because due to the failure of the loudspeaker system work remained suspended for days and the authorities remained passive, while workers pressed for proper functioning.

Tramwaymen Demonstrate

CALCUTTA'S tram workers also are preparing for struggle for their long standing demands as wage revision, increase in D.A. and merger of major part thereof in basic wage, etc. On October 14 they brought out a huge demonstration which went to the Labour Commissioners office. Assistant Labour Commissioner met them and assured governmental efforts to bring about a settlement. On October 18 there was a meeting between the management and the representatives of the Workers' Union (AITUC) but nothing concrete came out.

The employers want the tram workers to concur in their plan of fare increase without committing anything about the workers' demands. The Workers' Union naturally said that fare increase was primarily a matter between the company, the public and the government but so far as the Union was concerned it was of the opinion that the company could meet the workers' demands even without raising the fares.

Now the workers are preparing for a struggle, knowing

full well that it will be a very hard one. But the Calcutta Tram Workers' Union and the tram workers with their rich experience of struggle and glorious tradition are not afraid to launch a struggle if the management refuses to come to a reasonable settlement through negotiations.

★
WHEN the people of West Bengal were looking forward to harvesting of the aman crop, reported to be better than last three years, 7,500 acres of paddy land in the district of Burdwan, one of the surplus districts, was inundated by flood in the river AJOY, which breached its embankment on October 23 at Ausgram and Saktigarh areas. Incessant rains in the upper reaches caused the flood, which is reported to be receding after three days. A large number of mud huts collapsed and as yet the damage to the paddy crop could not be estimated.

Rising of Bhagirathi in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad is also reported and may eventually result in flood.

CANDIDATES IN GOA

PANJIM: THE Popular Front has released the first list of its candidates for the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly of Goa, Daman and Diu. The candidates, along with the constituencies from which they will contest, are:

BERTA MENEZES BRAGANZA (Cortalim), GEORGE VAZ (Tivim), NARAYAN DESAI (Pernem), DIVAKAR KAKODKAR (Curchoera), GERALD PEREIRA (Marmagao), CHANDRANT KAKODKAR (Sanguem), VITHAL POROBO (Mandrem) and J. P. BRAGANZA (Santa Cruz).

Names of more candidates will be released later.

SUGARCANE GROWERS DEMAND

Raise Price To Two Rupees A Maund

Thousands and thousands of sugarcane growers in Uttar Pradesh are preparing for a struggle around their demand for a rise in the price of sugarcane to Rs. 2.00 per maund. In Bihar and Punjab also the growers are astir.

THE Executive Committee of the UP State Council of the Communist Party of India had in its last meeting held in September called upon the Party units in sugarcane producing districts to mobilise the peasantry for a struggle to demand a rise in sugarcane prices. Following this meeting a convention of over a thousand representatives of Muzaffarnagar district was held on October 24 where they resolved to resist the government attempts to force them to sell their produce at low rates. The declaration made at the convention called upon the peasants not to sell their produce at a rate lower than Rs. 2.00 per maund.

Similar conventions of Meerut and Saharanpur districts have been held and the workers have explained the anti-peasant policy of the Government of India with regard to the price of sugarcane. A convention of peasants of Nainital district too has been held demanding rise in sugarcane prices.

The UP state unit of the Praja Socialist Party has also come out calling upon the peasantry to struggle for better rate of their produce. Shibbanlal Saxena has called upon the peasants to demonstrate before Parliament for the realisation of this demand.

December 15 is the date when the peasants supported by not only the opposition parties in UP but also having support of many a Congressman will start their struggle.

In the last session of the Lok Sabha members from the opposition parties, and also from the ruling party, supported the demand of the peasants to raise the price of sugarcane to Rs. 2.00 per maund. Similarly, in the UP and Bihar Vidhan Sabhas too an almost unanimous demand was made to grant a rise in sugarcane prices. Ex-deputy Home Minister of UP, Naval Kishore in his speech condemned the promulgation of DIR to enforce curbs on khandasari and gur producers.

The prices of sugar are still soaring high. The London price of sugar has touched the highest ever mark of £102 per ton. The Economic Times on October 21 reported that "following rumours

that the retail prices would be raised to Rs. 1.50 per kg. through government depots, the commodity in private rose to Rs. 2.00 per kg." The Times of India on

the same day reported from Meerut that the commodity was selling at Rs. 183.00 to Rs. 187 per quintal whereas the controlled price is between Rs. 115.54 and Rs. 116.69 per quintal.

In the last seven months the sugar tycoons have consumed heavily and the profits have been unprecedented. The cane grower who gets over Rs. 2.44 per maund for his produce at the hands of khandasari and gur manufacturers is forced to sell the same for 1.62 per maund.

In this regard the greatest bungle has been the Government of India that allowed the sugar monopolists to mint millions in this period. In this assault on the consumer and the cane grower the Government of Uttar Pradesh has been a very important party.

It was justifiably hoped that with the exit of S. K. Paul matters would improve and things would take a better turn. But that has not happened. Even the new Food Minister who announced his policies in the last session of Lok Sabha rewarded the sugar monopolists and who have come to be called "incentives" were showered by him on them. A rebate of nearly five crores of rupees in excise duty has been offered to those monopolists and the consumer remains groaning under soaring price burdens.

In foreign markets sugar prices have risen to an unprecedented point. The policy of the Government of India means that when the world market is low then the country has to pay to the sugar millowners to make their commodity 'competitive' and when now the prices are so high they will neither pay more to the peasants producing sugarcane nor shall they

pay more to the state and shall swallow all for themselves. The peasant has been clamouring for rise in prices since long. Before 1951-52 the peasant was being paid Rs. 1.75 per maund. In that season we produced more than 11 million tons of sugar and made a breakthrough for good. But then the prices were reduced.

In 1950-51 with the 'incentives' to the industrialists the peasants were able to get even more than the statutory price fixed of Rs. 1.62 per maund. But then after a year a policy of deliberate cut in production was followed when the peasant was forced to sell his standing crop for almost nothing.

Now the price index since 1951-52 of all commodities has

risen to unprecedented heights. The peasant has to pay more for his clothing, fertilisers, kerosene and other necessities of life. But the sugarcane price offered to him is at the same level where it was in 1951-52.

A calculation made by a group of peasants of Mansoorpur area for one bigha of land shows that on an average a peasant has to spend Rs. 282.00 per bigha where the yield will come to about 100 maunds. This brings the cost of production of one maund of sugarcane to Rs. 2.82 nP. This costing does not include any margin of profit. Even if the supervision cost which has been put at only 100.00 per bigha for a period of 11 months, is excluded from this

calculation the cost will be Rs. 1.82 per maund. The peasant could legitimately demand Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 2.75 per maund for his produce. In fact khandasari manufacturers pay him in the vicinity of this. But even this moderate demand of the peasant is now intended to be met with blood and iron. The Defence of India Rules framed in a different context for an utterly different purpose are being invoked to force the peasant to sell 66 per cent of his produce to the millowner at a fantastically low price.

The peasant and the parties that represent his true interests are left with no alternative but to oppose this policy of freezing the peasantry, looting the consumer and allowing the monopolists to mint millions. Hence the need to intensify preparations for the cane growers' struggle.

TTK—The Man To Watch

TTK has been indulging in a good deal of loud thinking these days and also making subtle moves to provide props for his ideas. Beginning with his broadcast, wherein he swore allegiance to socialism but considered it necessary to promise more incentives to the private sector, he has proceeded to engulf the Department of Company Law Administration within his fold, and spoken about "changing the skin" of the Planning Commission. Verily a man to watch, for there is no knowing where he will stop!

TTK's concern for the monopolists—the "man-eaters" whom he had till recently decried—is said to arise from his anxiety about the sad state of the economy. But he knows, and now the nation knows too, that the private sector, although clamouring for a larger share in Plan schemes—even those reserved for the public sector—has proved itself to be utterly incapable of fulfilling its targets. A shot in its arm through incentives, or the "revival" of the capital market will, no doubt, add to its self-aggrandisement, but it cannot thereby necessarily result in reviving the sagging state of the economy as such.

TTK—in spite of his much-vaunted antipathy for man-eaters—could not evidently relish their being bearded in their dens. He has at one stroke wound up the mechanism itself, and made its functions a part of his own charge. Who will now believe that he really had a mind sometimes to ride the corporate sector of its tycoons?

The CLA was, no doubt, not a perfect organisation to superintend the implementation of the Companies Act. Its elaborate scheme of filing returns could perhaps be an honest entrepreneur's nightmare, but held no terror for the unscrupulous, whose ingenuity could always find some way to circumvent its supposedly fool-proof regulations. Yet, it was an organisation, which under honest and enlightened executives, could be a watchdog over the corporate sector. It did not in any case deserve to die the way TTK has manoeuvred its demise.

Tycoons' Jubilation

TTK's verbal sops to the private sector have already resulted in its leaders shifting their sights higher. They have begun "advising" the government to allow the surpluses of existing companies to be used for extending their industrial empires even in lines "unconnected with their existing activity". This they have done through the Advisory Committee on Capital Issues Control, which met in Bombay last week.

Loaded with leading lights of the private sector, like G. L. Mehta, Murgappa Chettiar and others, and a sprinkling of government officials, it has also "advised" that the public subscription for financing diversification should not "seriously disturb the existing ownership and control".

Diversification may be good or bad depending upon the importance of the new line for the country's progress, but it is positively harmful and impermissible if it is made a cover for the existing companies' desire to extend their octopus

grip. The Committee's second "advice"—to keep the existing management's supremacy intact—confirms its purpose, which is contrary to the Plan's objective to diffuse economic power. But will TTK discard its advice on that count, or accept it to "revive" the capital market?

A clue to his thinking in this respect can be had from the sudden move to scrap the Department of Company Law Administration (CLA) whose periodic studies on the corporate sector had lifted the lid off the ugly practices of leading industrialists who would resort to every conceivable subterfuge to extend their complexes. Inter-company investments, the manipulations by the managing agencies and many other methods employed by these gentlemen were laid bare by the CLA. It was also reported to have initiated proceedings against some leading firms for contravening the Companies Act.

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Economic Notes

and role to make it another adjunct of his colossal, the Finance Ministry. Asoka Mehta has still to show his mettle and it will be uncharitable to pre-judge his capabilities to replace Nandaji, but rumours are already afloat that he might be only TTK's alter ego.

Mid-Term Review

The Third Plan's mid-term review—to be discussed at the meeting of the National Development Council next week—also reflects a retreat from the Plan's essentials. In its satisfaction is expressed at the progress in terms of financial outlay, although in physical terms the achievements show "serious shortfalls". As planning has to be understood essentially, in terms of its physical achievements, the financial outlay can have little significance. Yet, such has been the erosion of the concept and practice of planning that the expenditure of the targeted quantum of money is taken to be an index of the Plan's success!

Our planning is said to be democratic, but the stress, in course of time, has come to be concentrated on the adjective to the exclusion of the noun. The result is an utter chaos of states acting in their autonomous capacities in flouting the centre's directives on land reforms, and irresponsible executives getting away with pelf of office without showing adequate restraints. Discipline to make the recalcitrant elements fall in line with the nation's edicts is an essential ingredient of planning, but we have progressively come to accept "indiscipline" as the hallmark of our freedom from doctrinairism.

TTK wants planning to be made even more flexible than it is. As usual he is vague about its meaning, but his softness towards the private sector indicates that he will prefer it to be merely a summation of schemes and not a spirited embodiment of the people's aspirations to change the country's socio-economic structure.

Yes, TTK is a man to watch, for behind his beautiful vagueness might be lurking some hideous design, not only to revive the capital market, as he himself owns, but also to encourage monopoly, and make our planning a purposeless exercise in economics.

—ESSEN

HAYAT

New Communist Weekly In Urdu

WE are glad to announce that HAYAT, Urdu weekly of the Communist Party is to be issued from the Central Headquarters from November 1963. The first issue will be dated November 17, and will be out on November 15.

The weekly would be of 12 pages, of the same format as the New Age Weekly. Each copy will be priced at 20 nP. Yearly subscription Rs. 9, half yearly Rs. 5, quarterly Rs. 2.50 nP.

An editorial Board consisting of Comrades Z. A. AHMAD, SAJJAD ZAHEER, ROMESH CHANDRA, AHMAD MOAZZAM (editor) would direct the publication of the weekly.

AWAMI DAUR (weekly), edited by Com. Sajjad Zaheer has stopped publication. All subscribers of AWAMI DAUR whose subscriptions are still outstanding would receive the new weekly HAYAT till their subscription expires.

Former agents of AWAMI DAUR should send new orders for HAYAT, together with their deposit (Rs. 1 per copy). All correspondence in connection with subscriptions, agencies etc should be carried on with the Manager, HAYAT weekly, and all editorial correspondence, news letters should be sent to the Editor HAYAT weekly, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

Build A Shield of United People's Will

hundred instances of the open advocacy of a military pact with the USA and Britain by the topmost leaders of certain groups and parties. All these only underline the necessity for the greatest vigilance and of sustained political mass action in support of non-alignment and against the enemies of nonalignment, the advocates of surrender, of cowardice, of dishonour and defeat.

That the danger to non-alignment is not by any means remote has been underlined in the sharpest possible way by the recent unsavoury tale regarding the Voice of America agreement. The crude and blatant manner in which the imperialist powers sought to impose the 'air umbrella' over India, has awakened all sections of our people to the grave danger that exists.

It is in this new context that we shall be discussing the defence of nonalignment at Amritsar. It is true that in the last two or three months, the forces of right reaction have received their first setbacks since last October-November; these have come as a result of a new awakening to the dangers to India's basic policies which come from the forces of reaction.

The right reactionary groups have been given their first decisive answers by the united might of the democratic and peace-loving people in this country. The Voice of America deal has been scrapped in all but name. The 'air umbrella' has not been raised over our heads; its chains are not around our limbs.

But this first set-back does not by any means imply that the danger is over. We have scotched the snake, not killed it.

To put an end to the perilous trends which have found a new base among certain sections of our people following the Chinese aggression

what is necessary is a powerful united movement of our entire people against the conspiracies which are afoot to destroy the policies which have won for this country, a high place in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people on all lands.

The Amritsar Congress must work out the details and the basis for such a campaign which is of primary significance for our people.

The discussion on the question of building a shield out of the united will of our people, for the policy of nonalignment is inevitably linked with the discussion of the question of the security of our motherland.

It is in the name of the defence of the country that the right reactionary forces propagate their vicious programme of surrender and defeat.

The truth however is now being increasingly realised that the policy of non-alignment has been in the best interests of the defence of our country.

The Indian peace movement has from the very day of the Chinese aggression given its full support to all efforts to strengthen the defence of our borders. Not only inside this country but also abroad, the All India Peace Council has done an immense amount of work to win support for India's efforts for a peaceful solution of all disputes with our neighbours, China and Pakistan.

India's position has always been to seek the road to a peaceful end to the dispute. Even after the aggression of October 20, this policy has continued.

The acceptance of the Colombo proposals and the offer to accept arbitration if negotiation fails are proofs of a policy of peace. It has not been an accident that the same right reactionary forces in the country which opposed

nonalignment, at the same time oppose every effort by India for a peaceful solution.

These anti-national forces are fully aware that the entire ground under their feet would be cut, were a peaceful solution to be found. That is why the right reactionary parties have opposed the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by India.

The Amritsar Congress will express the will of the Indian people in condemnation of the Chinese aggression and at the same time in full support of the efforts for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

It is not an accident again that the right-wing reactionary forces find a common tongue with the Chinese leaders. Both oppose India's non-alignment. Both oppose the Colombo proposals. Both seek to perpetuate the India-China conflict for their own political purposes.

The Amritsar Congress must explore ways and means to secure the support of millions in all the continents to bring pressure upon the Chinese government to accept the Colombo proposals and thus pave the way for fruitful negotiations.

From Amritsar, we shall look across the borders towards Pakistan with whose people we are bound by such close and ancient ties. Recent days have seen a rapid increase in tension on our borders, following from military raids and threats and provocations by the Pakistan government.

These have come in the wake of the most unprincipled pressures brought on India by the Western powers, to surrender the Valley of Kashmir to Pakistan in the name of the so-called 'joint defence of the sub-continent'.

All types of proposals have been put forward in this period seeking by one way or the other, to grab Kash-

mir, place it formally under the rulership of Pakistan and thus permit it to be used as a cockpit for the imperialists' intrigues and as a base for their war preparations.

The Sino-Pakistan pact, ignominious and unholy accord that it is, has been used to further pressurise India to give up its basic policies and land in the death grip of the imperialist powers.

When we have refused at last to surrender Kashmir, these new military threats and provocations have been engineered, with the full connivance of the imperialist powers.

The Amritsar Congress must declare the firm resolve of the Indian people to combat all imperialist intrigues in regard to Kashmir. We are not going to sell our Motherland for a mess of pottage. We are not going to barter away the people of Kashmir in a deal which is supposed to strengthen us in the battle to defend our territory in other parts of the country.

The Amritsar Congress will naturally have at the head of its programme discussions on the most vital questions of world disarmament and national independence and struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In this issue of NEW AGE we are publishing extracts from the report of Prof. J. D. Bernal to the last meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace. He has outlined the stand of the world peace movement in regard to these world issues, particularly those which are the most recent.

Chinese propaganda has sought to create a gulf between the Afro-Asian countries and the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. The Chinese Peace Committee has joined in the most outrageous attacks on the Soviet Union, accusing it of 'betraying' the struggle for national independence.

The Amritsar Congress must nail this lie. The Indian people know well of what immense value has been the support of the Soviet Union for our struggle to win our independence and now to defend and strengthen it. Who has forgotten the immense assistance—the vital support—which the Soviet Union gave to us in our struggle for the freedom of Goa?

And who can forget now the facts of 'disinterested cooperation and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—cooperation and assistance which have become a vital necessity for our defence, for our economic progress, for the strengthening of our independence.

The Amritsar Congress will be a powerful demonstration also in support of the world peace movement and against the vain efforts being made to split by slandering it. Out of the Amritsar Congress will emerge a much stronger and more powerful peace organisation, in which all the new forces which have joined the movement during this period will find their places.

The Indian peace movement after Amritsar is bound to reflect more fully than even before the united will of all Indian peace lovers and democrats.

The number of delegates coming to Amritsar is growing like a snow ball. The active participation of each one of them will make the Peace Congress the landmark that it must be, at this juncture in world affairs and in the life of our own nation.

the false and dangerous arguments of those governments, which oppose the nuclear test ban treaty, purely because of their selfish desire to carry out nuclear test explosions themselves.

The struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has always occupied a central place in the work of the World Peace Council, especially of the Indian peace movement.

The Amritsar Congress will discuss ways and means to strengthen the struggle particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It shall declare our solidarity with the fighting people of South Africa, of Southern Rhodesia, of the Portuguese colonies, of south Viet-Nam and all other countries where the battle is at its highest.

It shall send a message of support to all who are fighting against neo-colonialism. To Cuba and all Latin America, struggling against US imperialism, will go a special message.

The attempts by the imperialists to divide the anti-imperialist forces have always been met by the firmest solidarity. The recent period has unfortunately been marked by new efforts to sow dissension.

Chinese propaganda has sought to create a gulf between the Afro-Asian countries and the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. The Chinese Peace Committee has joined in the most outrageous attacks on the Soviet Union, accusing it of 'betraying' the struggle for national independence.

The Amritsar Congress must nail this lie. The Indian people know well of what immense value has been the support of the Soviet Union for our struggle to win our independence and now to defend and strengthen it.

Who has forgotten the immense assistance—the vital support—which the Soviet Union gave to us in our struggle for the freedom of Goa?

And who can forget now the facts of 'disinterested cooperation and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—cooperation and assistance which have become a vital necessity for our defence, for our economic progress, for the strengthening of our independence.

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As Others See It

Pak Aggression Will Be Resisted

PAKISTAN'S belligerent postures from across the cease-fire line in Kashmir, was the subject of comment by the press over the weekend. It is generally recognised that the situation is quite serious and fraught with dangerous consequences if Pakistan pursues her present course of whipping up hysteria in that country and moves in for a violation of the cease-fire line, as all reports indicate.

While advising the Pakistani rulers against such a folly, the Indian newspapers have supported the government of India in its declared firmness to meet force with force, if an aggression takes place. The responsibility of the UN in the matter, the involvement of Western powers in the conflict and Pakistan's collaboration with China are some of the aspects which have come in for editorial comment and examination.

The National Herald of Saturday last said: "There can be three variations of Pakistan's aggression at the present time; military action either directly or through disguised 'volunteer' or 'civilian' forces as a part of joint aggression along with China, or some limited action for diplomatic and propaganda purposes, or some action for forcing a settlement in which Kashmir Valley will go to Pakistan."

"But in any case, the paper said, Pakistan will not succeed in her designs. 'The cease-fire line was established by the United Nations through agreement between India and Pakistan and in terms of the UN Charter. And Chaknot and all points along the cease-fire line will be defended.'"

The Indian Express of October 25 characterised the Pak threat as a fourteen-year itch which has been periodically erupting into a rash subsequently to subside on its own."

The paper does not think that Pakistan will carry out her threat. "For biting dogs seldom bark, nor do those who mean business advertise their purposes in advance." If however, Pakistan really means mischief this time and fighting is resumed in Kashmir, the result will be a major conflict spreading into West Punjab and even into East Pakistan.

The Times of India in its editorial on Saturday last described the situation created by Pakistan as "tragic 'hate'". Commenting on Pakistan's complaint to USA and Britain that western military aid to India is to be used against her, the paper said:

"This statement lays bare Pakistan's real motive. It is to create, sustain and enlarge an artificial and unreal Indo-Pakistan crisis, especially on the eve of Mr. McNamara and General Maxwell Taylor's visit to the sub-continent, in the hope of limiting if not stopping the flow of Western military assistance to India and inducing the West to put pressure on India to surrender Kashmir to Pakistan."

The paper's conclusion as to what we ought to do in the face of the campaign of hate by Pakistan is, "the Indian response must be firm, but always cool and restrained. To match hate with hate would be to emulate Rawalpindi's folly."

On the role of the Western powers in the crisis, the PATRIOT of Sunday reminded:

"Much of the present Pakistani show of obstinacy is due to our polite tolerance of the kind of talk we heard from some quarters during the visit of Mr. Rusk and Mr. Sandys to this country. The people are not prepared to tolerate such pusillanimous attitudes any more. Aggression will and must be avenged and those whose collusion makes it possible should themselves be treated unfriendly."

affair and quite a formal thing. It has been protesting that this "Shiksha" is not an "air umbrella" or "slot system" or anything of that kind and nobody need be suspicious about it.

Only last week (October 23) it had asserted that "The truth about the joint radar training exercise is that it is nothing more than a programme of technical training that carefully excludes the US Government from any commitment to come to our aid in the event of aggression by China and Pakistan."

Apparently this truth did not sink deep into the minds of Patriot readers. So three days after, on October 26 it again wrote:

"Whatever the size of the ballyhoo that American and British propagandists may raise outside India, to the people of this country 'Shiksha' or the 'joint air exercises' will appear just one more air training programme. The participation in it of an American and a British squadron and two Australian aircraft almost seems accidental, after all the shouting that preceded it."

Patriot assures: "About 4,000 or so IAF personnel will get acquainted with jobs to be done if the force is called upon to intercept fast enemy aircraft. Beyond this there is no significance to it."

The paper goes a step further and says that "Shiksha" is a

gesture of goodwill" by the western powers. But then it reminds the Indians that "they will have to look elsewhere for supersonic aircraft, rockets and others items".

DMK DROPS DRAVIDANAD
THE decision of the DMK to give up its demand for a Dravidanad did not evoke the kind of response which in normal circumstances it could have achieved. The fact that it was coming too late, after the law has banned propaganda for secession, the statement of Annadurai and the fact that DMK is currently planning a programme for burning the Constitution and picketing government offices to voice its protest against Hindi, seemed to have induced many to question the motives for the Kazhagam's decision.

Some have tried to find a change of heart in DMK and discovered that there is none. They are more in tune with Kamaraj Nadar who described that the DMK decision was a sign of "cowardice", after the Madras Chief Minister Bhaktavatsalam had welcomed the decision.

This The Tribune of Ambala said on October 28: "The decision of the DMK to give up its demand for secession is based on expediency rather than on recognition of the folly of separatism."

The Hindustan Times thinks the DMK decision a "wise retreat". It points out in its editorial on Monday that the effect of the decision would be to prevent the DMK from putting forward its demand openly and organising public support for it. "To that extent, it is a step in the right direction though it may have been taken for the wrong reasons or from improper motives."

At the same time the paper has cautioned: "The DMK will no doubt realise that unless it is very careful its anti-Hindi agitation will spill over into its secessionist demand."

The Statesman of the same day said that it was only natural that Annadurai should have "tried to save the party from being outlawed and broken up, or its capacity to function as a parliamentary opposition severely damaged by refusal to take the new oaths prescribed for legislators."

"Far from being cowardly, Mr. Annadurai has shown courage and given a better lead and objectives to the Kazhagam. The Sixteenth Amendment has achieved its real purpose."

SHIKSHA
CAPITAL'S Patriot is at pains to convince its readers that the proposed "joint air exercises" soon to begin in which the IAF will be in company with western air forces is a very simple

Gleanings from the Press

CELLULOID BUREAUCRACY

THE film critic of The Statesman in Monday's paper makes some pointed criticism about the newsreels produced by the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The critic recalls the withdrawal of the newsreel on the Great March organised by the Communist Party in the capital last September and sharply criticises the bureaucratic and partisan attitude of the government reflected in this action.

"As far as the mammoth demonstration was concerned, it was easily the lead item in most daily newspapers and occupied pride of place in most weeklies too. In therefore conceding at all that it could be withdrawn under political pressure, the government, which holds the monopoly for film newsreels made and distributed in India, has at last openly admitted that its items are not only subject to political pressure but, more dan-

gerously, of pressure from its own supporters".
"Indeed, anyone who views government's newsreels at the cinema week after week will find that they are, in effect, official gazettes and, at the best, official hand-outs. Except for sports items and occasional cultural items (and these tend to be written by ones associated with governmental visits, projects or merely because a minister attended them and not top artistic events as such) every newsreel has a set pattern of deliberate government publicity".

The writer has also criticised the poor quality of our newsreels, the unimaginative treatment of subjects, their poor commentary. "Very seldom is a news item treated cinematically, in purely visual terms which can be eloquent enough to dispense with both commentary and statistics". Again,

"Indian newsreel cameramen can compete with the best in the world, but by the time they have digested directives and their basic material has been edited to conform to the stock pattern all sense of drama is lost".
"The language of our commentaries, especially English, is heavy, of a copy-book correctness perhaps, but completely lacking in both life and charm. They do every visual, no matter how eloquent in itself, with dead-pan earnestness which both bores and chills".

A deserving clout on the head of the celluloid bureaucracy!
—SANJAYA

Readers' Letters

at least in Kerala. The people, however, are not bothered about the political interests of the Congress. What they demand is a stop to all the corruption and wastage in the administration. If in the process of reducing the size of the ministries the Right reactionary elements entrenched in the government are also got rid of, so much so good. There should be no delay in cutting down the size of the Kannanwar and Nijalingappa ministries irrespective of whether it would start a battle royal in the congress organisations in these states.

Bombay S. D. CHAVAN

SELF CONFESSED SHAME
PRESS reports say that a joint committee of Indian, American and British officials has been formed to publicise the joint air exercises, euphemistically called EXERCISE SHIKSHA. Reports further say that the Indian officials in the committee will be anxious not to publicise the exercise much in this country; while their counterparts will be striving to give as much publicity to it abroad. The fact that the authorities are shy of giving publicity to the exercises in this country is in itself enough proof that the air exercise agreement is something not in keeping with India's policy of nonalignment. The exercise, whatever it might be called, is nothing but a modified version of the old air umbrella proposal, which when made led to a public revulsion against imperialist machinations to inveigle India into their camp. The exercise has to be condemned in the strongest terms.

New Delhi K. N. V. RAJAN

No Kamraj Plan For Maharashtra & Mysore!
LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI has said in Trivandrum that Kerala and Assam have been exempted from the Kamaraj Plan, the former because of political reasons and the latter for strategic reasons. But what about the other states? The Congress parliamentary board has decided that in no state should the strength of the council of ministers be more than 20. Yet in Maharashtra the strength still remains at 31; in Mysore the

council of ministers is 27 strong, including two parliamentary secretaries—a category not permitted under the parliamentary board decision. In Rajasthan also, the ministry's strength at 18, is very near the limit. The Kamaraj plan was stated to be aimed at strengthening the Congress. Is it that the Congress need not be strengthened in those states where it is not implemented?

Of course, Shastri has admitted that the Kamaraj plan is not politically good for the Congress.

INSIDER

NEW AGE



Demonstration for Peace in Delhi.

★ FROM MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

PRIVATE TRADE PRESSURE TO FOIL PADDY PROCUREMENT

SHILLONG: Harvesting season is drawing near in Assam. Official spokesmen have been talking of the prospect of a bumper crop. After the current year's scarcity in some of the districts—at least in three districts the situation, even by official admission, was bordering on famine condition—these forecasts are, no doubt, assuring.

Also the state government has reiterated its intention to continue the policy of procurement through Apex Cooperative Society. That, in spite of pressure from rice mill interests in the state for allowing private agencies to enter the market for procurement, the state government did not yield to that pressure is considered a welcome thing.

But if past experience is any guide, this reiteration of policy by itself may not go far enough. In the first place, the cry of a bumper production is likely to affect the price of paddy unless a floor price is fixed to ensure a reasonable price to the producers. Uptill now the government does not seem to have taken any measure in that direction. Apprehension, therefore, exists that the peasants may not be getting a fair price for their paddy.

Secondly, experience shows that private trade in food grains, particularly the rice mill interest, exercises powerful pressure to sabotage the working of the government appointed procurement agency, the cooperative society. Through dubious means the private trade interest renders the cooperative virtually hostile to the interest of the peasants. Even the government's supply officials are seduced by the private trade which plants its own people in the cooperative and makes it subservient to the interest of the private trade.

During the procurement season of the current year it was alleged that when the peasants carried their paddy several miles to sell to the cooperative agents, they were turned away on the specious plea that there was no money at the time with

the cooperative for purchasing paddy. The disappointed and harassed peasant was then contacted by agents of the private trade who bargained hard and procured the stock at a devastatingly low price. This is but one of the many malpractices alleged about the procurement machinery.

It is, therefore, felt that effective measures should be taken to check these kinds of malpractices and protect the cooperative from the pressure of the private trade. This can be done if popular cooperation is enlisted behind the procuring agency. One of the conditions for this is to form all-party committees at all levels with supervising powers. If, instead, only the ruling party is associated with the procurement machinery, there is reasonable apprehension that the bitter experience of the current year might be repeated.

In the field of production also the government policy of eviction of peasants in different parts of the state even during the current emergency has been creating serious ten-

sion and retarding production. A report from North-Lakhimpur reveals one such recent eviction move.

About 646 bighas of land that had been under the occupation of peasants—Assamese, Bengalis, plains Tribals and ex-tea garden labour were allegedly settled with the religious head of Garmuria Satra (vaishnavite monastery) who had taken part in the freedom movement. This settlement was made in the name of recognition of the political suffering of the Satradhikar (the head of the monastery).

That this particular Satradhikar played a patriotic role at one time is not denied, nor does one grudge the government attempt to grant him some land in recognition of that patriotic role. But it was an unwise and unjust decision and its natural result was an attempt on the part of the Satradhikar and his patron, the government, to evict the peasants.

The peasants, under the leadership of the Kisan Sabha, have been resisting this attempt for more than a decade now. It is reported that a fresh move is now being made to evict the peasants and harvest the crop sown by the peasants. With that end in view, it is reported, some Congress leaders of the locality, including the local Congress MLA, have been trying to bring the intervention of the police by promulgating 145 Cr. P. C.

Coming to know of this sinister move the peasants of the area, have already resolved to resist it and defend their land which has been in their possession for nearly two decades. Appeals have been made to the government to desist from this move for eviction of peasants. If these appeals fall on deaf ears, there is every reason to apprehend that a serious situation will arise there. Does it help to augment food production?

BETTER INDUSTRIAL PROSPECTS

Union Minister C. SUBRAMANIAM during his recent visit to Assam candidly admitted that hitherto the industrial development of this state had gone by default. He also admitted the wide gap between the possibility of industrial development of Assam with her rich mineral deposits and the actual development that has so far taken place.

It was reassuring that the Minister did not repeat the much-repeated argument of "peculiar geographical situation" of the state which is often pitted against the demand for Assam's industrial development. He also assured Central assistance for the development of industries in this state.

That the state has a rich deposit of mineral resources much of which remains yet to be discovered by proper geological survey was brought to light by recent attempts of the state's Directorate of Geology and Minerals to explore some of the areas. Many valuable mineral deposits have been noticed in different parts of the state; most important among these is the find of iron ore in Goalpara district. If after proper investigation, it is found to be big enough for commercial working, it may open up tremendous possibility for industrial development of the state.

Besides, uranium, required for atomic energy is also stated to have been noticed in the Khasi hills. Kaolin rock has already been found and sillimanite is also available. Many more valuable mineral resources are now coming to notice. With all these valuable natural resources, raw materials for industries, there is no reason why Assam should not make long strides in industrial development.

Transport bottleneck which has been retarding the growth of industries in this state has to be broken by taking immediate steps to develop the transport and communication system. Certain steps, no doubt, have been taken in this direction. But much more remains to be done. Even the defence need of the country calls for more serious attention to this problem of the state.

While thus the prospect of industrial development of the state has been brightening up, the basic question of development of private or public sector has also come to the fore.

PRIVATE SECTOR GAME

It is often said that private capital is shy in Assam and therefore the industrial development of the state has been slow. Private capital, on the other hand, argues that because of the transport bottleneck and political instability as a result of the proximity of the state to as many as three international borders it does not feel much enthused to take the risk of investment in this state.

Private capital often poses these problems with a view to wresting more concessions from the government. It has also been noticed that a powerful group in the ruling party, including some in the government itself, often go out of the way to woo private capital. The state Industries Minister is often considered an apologist for private capital. Those in the ruling party who oppose the policy of the Industries Minister do not oppose private sector as such; their opposition is only to the entry of private capital here from outside the state.

In this background the emphasis laid by Subramaniam on the possibility and necessity of developing the public sector in this state has been welcomed, generally. Spokesmen for the state government, however, do not seem to be enthused by his speech. Their main emphasis is on wooing private capital from any part of the country and may be even from outside the country, if available.

LAND REFORM IN REVERSE GEAR

Krishna Iyer Castigates Kerala Move

★ From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: On October 22 the Select Committee report on the new Land Reforms Bill of the Kerala Government was submitted to the state Assembly by the Revenue Minister, P. T. CHACKO. Former Law Minister, V. R. KRISHNA IYER, who was a member of the Select Committee, in a minute of dissent to the Committee's report characterised the Bill as "land reform in reverse gear" and exposed the anti-tenant and pro-landlord bias of the measure.

KRISHNA IYER compares some of the important provisions regarding ceiling, fair rent, eviction etc. in the present Bill with those in the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act (Act IV of 1961) initiated under the Communist Ministry and also in the earlier land legislations under Congress governments and points out that the new Bill is retrograde and a repudiation of existing benefits to the peasantry.

In his dissenting minute Krishna Iyer said: "The cardinal features of land reform, adapted to Kerala conditions, furnish the touchstone for testing the wholesomeness of the various provisions of the Land Reforms Bill as passed through the crucible of the Select Committee. These features are:

1. Substantial reduction of rent from their current levels "so as to facilitate more rapid improvement in the economic conditions of tenants";
2. Security of tenure for the tenants and severe restrictions of resumption of tenancies;
3. Conferment of right of ownership on tenants "putting an end to vestiges of the landlord-tenant relationship";
4. Enforcement of ceilings on agricultural holdings and the utilisation of surplus land for the purpose of resettling ejected tenants and landless labourers. The exemptions from ceilings have naturally to be kept to a few essential items, particularly in a land-scarce state like Kerala;
5. Safeguarding devices to prevent large land holders' manoeuvres by way of transfer, incorporation and partition to defeat the land reform legislation;
6. The provision of homesteads for the landless labourers i.e. Kudiidappukars.

Chapter III deals with "ceiling" and provides for assumption and distribution of surplus land. The changes made by the Select Committee together with the existing loopholes in the Bill virtually defeat the purpose of Chapter III leaving little land by way of excess. The retention of the Chapter in its modified form is either an eye-wash or self-deception.

Ceiling Sabotaged

The exclusion of plantations, cashew estates of 10 acres and above, pepper and areca gardens of 5 acres and above, Kayal Padasekharams of Kuttanad area, Muslim Wadki private or public, etc. covers a considerable slice of the cultivable area in the State. What with the new definition of small holders and standard acres it is easy to conclude that the ceilings chapter is unworkable.

There was no justification for including areca, pepper and cashew estates of relatively small size in the exempted categories. Agricultural companies are unlettered by ceiling provisions in the new Bill. The view that companies cannot be brought into this chapter is not necessarily sound. The earlier Act takes in companies, although a scrutiny of its provisions was made by legal experts in the State and the Central Law Ministry.

A general power rather unguided, has been taken by govern-

ment to exempt any land "on account of any special use to which it may be put" or for converting it into plantation or for expansion of existing plantations. The ceiling area itself has retained an extended meaning and families and individuals can keep unlimited extents on the score of sub-families or on account of lineal descendants.

The giving up of the slab system of compensation is contrary to social justice. In view of the decision of the government to move for inclusion of the new law in the 9th schedule there was no valid ground for not adopting the graded scale of compensation.

It is the accepted principle of land reform that there should be a reduction in the current levels of rent and never an increase. The argument that justice must be shown to the landlord also, woefully misses the main object of land reform in a socialistic pattern of society. On this basis it must be viewed as unfortunate that the Select Committee has not been able to find its way to remove the existing provision in the Bill that the fair rent may go as far as twice the contract rent.

Krishna Iyer further pointed out that the existing benefits of fair rent fixation to the tenants of Malabar ought not to have been taken away. But the Select Committee has not chosen to reintroduce the ameliorative provision in the Malabar Tenancy Act that in computing fair rent, the yield in the second crop of paddy lands should be estimated as half the first crop. It should be remembered that fair rent is the basis for the purchase price payable by the tenant.

Again, the Malabar Tenancy Act had provided that where better yields are realised on account of governmental irrigation schemes, the benefit must go wholly to the peasant and the fair rent should be fixed on the basis of a yield arrived at without reference to such irrigational facilities. Even this benefit has been taken away in the new Bill.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act had laid down that where the contract fixes money value of the commodity payable as rent it is enough if the tenant pays the money value so stipulated. That clause has now been removed. As a result, Krishna Iyer pointed out, the Bill has gone against the interests of paddy growing tenants. It discriminates between paddy cultivators and cultivators of garden lands.

In short, the Bill passed through the Select Committee, is solicitous of the landlord's interest and is sensitive to what is called justice to the landlord. This is land reform in reverse gear. Vis-a-vis Act IV of 61 there is an upward revision of the formula for fair rent in the present Bill.

The earlier formula had received approval in high quarters and stands included in the Bill for amending the ninth schedule to the Constitution. In these circumstances, is it fair to alter that "fair rent" formula? The provision that where contract rent and fair rent

differ the rent payable is "whichever is less", for reasons already indicated, has unhappily been deleted.

"I beg to state that even the clauses for eviction contained in the present Bill have not been changed for the better from the tenant's point of view at the Committee stage. The small holder, under the present provisions, has become a swollen holder through the device of the standard acre. He is given the right to evict although under limited circumstances.

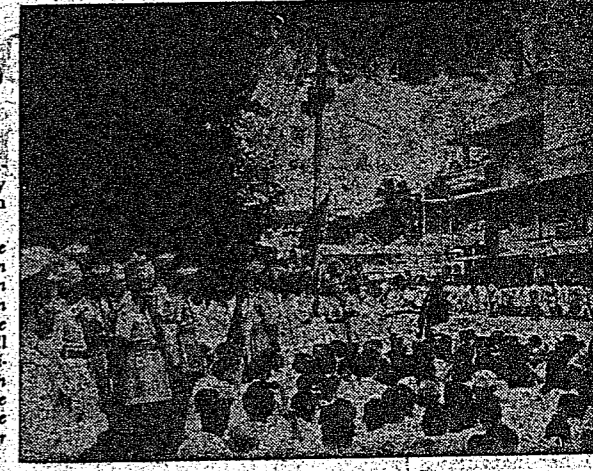
At least he should not have been allowed to evict except where there was real need for him to maintain himself by cultivation. But the present provision almost amounts to his being able to evict if he but desires to cultivate. The word "require" used in this Bill has been construed in decisions of courts to mean "desire".

Even the Malabar Tenancy Act insisted upon "primary need" of the landlord as a precondition for eviction. But a decade later, in the name of land reform we are going back. Two years arrears of rent is a ground for evicting a tenant now. Not so in Act IV of 1961. Not so even in the Malabar Tenancy Act of 1951 (where arrears as a ground for eviction existed only in regard to verum-pattomars).

The whole assumption of the Bill is betrayed in this clause i.e. the land belongs to the landlord, the tenant cultivates by leave of the owner so long as he is ready to "give unto Caesar what is his". If, as is argued this provision will not harm in practice, then why have it?

In the case of Kudiidappukars, or landless poor, also the provisions are unsatisfactory and their real difficulties remain unremedied in the present Bill. Krishna Iyer argues regarding the tenant's purchase rights, he says:

"The right of a tenant to purchase the landlord's rights is also



A view of the mass satyagraha on October 22 in front of Trivandrum Secretariat against the Land Bill.

not wholeheartedly given; if I may say so. For instance, a cultivating tenant who has half an acre in his possession and 15 acres of mere ownership where other tenants with sixty of tenure cultivate the right to purchase is denied. Likewise the cultivating tenant's right to purchase the landlord's right is restricted to that area which, together with the land owned (but not possessed) by him, will be equal to the ceiling area.

Thus, many cultivating tenants will be denied the right to bloom into peasant proprietorship merely because they have some intermediary right in other lands which cannot be resumed by them. The emphasis ought to be on possession if the object is to eliminate landlordism and create peasant proprietorship.

After drawing attention to some more of the many other unjust provisions in the Bill, Krishna Iyer concludes:

"In fairness to Act IV of 1961 there should have been a provision which accepted as final those cases where purchase had been already effected under the earlier law. Even this stand has not been accepted at the committee stage. The introduction of the concept of standard acre might look like bringing in a scientific approach

but a cursory study of Schedule II shows a capricious preparation thereof. For one thing every district is supposed to have cardamom, cinnamon and cocoa plantations. People would wonder whether this Bill deals with the Kerala State or some other. Suffice it to say that there is only one cinnamon plantation in the whole of the Kerala State and this shows that the entire structure of Schedule II is built on fancy and not on fact.

A closer analysis of the extent prescribed indicates arbitrariness and I have no doubt, that neither the landlord nor the tenant will be grateful to the framers of Schedule II.

In comprehensive land legislation an amount of financial responsibility must be undertaken by the State Government and this was the basis of the previous statute. In the present Bill Government have undertaken no responsibilities and this makes the position of the poorer landlords who are to receive small amounts by way of compensation really pathetic.

In a sense the present Bill, even from the point of view of the small holder, is injurious, particularly in the matter of compensation."

YOUTH AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

November 10 will be observed all over the country as an ANTI-UNEMPLOYMENT DAY by the All India Youth Federation. Seminars, meetings and processions will be held on that day to highlight the acute unemployment prevailing among the youth. Deputations will also be taken to the authorities demanding action to alleviate unemployment.

PREPARATIONS are now on to make the observance of the day a success. The AIYF is bringing out a poster on unemployment. A folder giving details of unemployment and how it affects the youth of this country is also to be brought out.

Reports are coming in from the states of preparation going on in the respective areas. In Andhra, for example, the executive of the Andhra Pradesh Youth Federation, meeting on October 24, has chalked out an extensive programme for observing the day. Meetings will be held in all important towns including Hyderabad and Vijayawada.

The Madras Youth League has decided to bring out a poster on unemployment of its own, besides the one to be provided by AIYF. It will be a caricature drawn by well-known cartoonist Raki.

The Madurai district committee of the League has decided to distribute 20,000 leaflets in Tamil on the unemployment problem, and to organise a cycle procession on November 10. The committee is collecting signatures on a memorandum on

unemployment to be submitted to the chief minister of Madras. There are reports from other states like Maharashtra, Bengal, Punjab and Bihar of similar preparations to observe the day.

The employment exchange statistics showed that the number of jobseekers registered with the exchanges had increased by about seven lakhs in one year; from 19.8 lakhs in May 1962 to 26.4 lakhs in May 1963.

The statement said: "The rigours of unemployment and underemployment are particularly hard on the young entrants to the nation's labour force. Along with lack of employment opportunities, insecurity of employment is an additional factor, facing the young workers. In the large construction projects under the Plan, the workers who acquire skills and experience are retrenched in a haphazard manner and there is no plan to utilise their services elsewhere.

"The impact of rationalisation schemes is also quite heavy on the new entrants to the labour force since they are the first to be axed, being the junior-most. There are also instances of workers being kept on 'bad' list and not provided even fifteen days of continued employment in the mills and factories."

The problem of unemployment among young women workers was also fairly widespread, the statement pointed out, while the issue of the "educated unemployed" was another serious question facing the youth and the nation.

The statement called upon all trade unions to wholeheartedly cooperate with the units of the All India Federation to observe the ANTI-UNEMPLOYMENT DAY, mobilising all sections of public opinion in its support.

PAGE SEVEN



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

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

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

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

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



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
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Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose,
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Bihar Convention Plans Peace Activities

★ From Our Correspondent

A successful Bihar State Peace Convention was held at Patna on October 20, the day of National Solidarity.

The convention was presided over by Dr. Dukhan Ram MLA, an eye specialist and former Vice-Chancellor of the Bihar University. Shri Abdul Qayyum Ansari, Minister of Health and Jail government of Bihar inaugurated it. In his inaugural address Shri Ansari said: "Peace is very essential for the progress and national reconstruction of our motherland. War will never benefit anybody, on the contrary it will demolish all we have gained through the ages."

He further said that fascist tendencies are raising their ugly heads; unchecked they will throw our country into the lap of devastating war. In the end he made a fervent appeal to strengthen the peace movement in the state.

Shri Daroga Prasad Roy MLA, former Minister of state also addressed the convention. In his speech he described the horrors of war and said that billions of rupees are being wasted in the armament race in the world which could be utilised in developing the backward countries. He strongly defended the policy of non-alignment pursued by the government of India led by Jawaharlal Nehru.

Dr. Dukhan Ram in his presidential remarks exhorted the audience to take the message of the Peace Council to the millions of people and make it a strong and united body.

Shri Ramavtar Shastri, one of the newly elected general secretaries of the Bihar State Peace Council, explained the resolutions passed earlier in the delegates session. He expressed his hope that in Bihar the peace movement would become a mighty movement under the united leadership of all the political beliefs who subscribe to world peace.

Shri Ghulam Sarwar, editor of Urdu daily "Sangam" addressing the convention laid special stress on peace for the development of literature, art, science, etc.

Earlier, in the delegates session about fifty delegates from Patna, Gaya, Sahabad, Bhagalpur, Muzaffarpur, and Champaran took part. The delegates comprised of Congressmen, Rhodanis, Communists, Trade Unionists, Kisan Sabha workers, lawyers, professors, businessmen etc.

At the outset condolence resolutions were passed on the sad demise of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of Indian Republic and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, the veteran national and peace movement leader. The convention sent its heartfelt sympathies to the family members of the beloved.

The convention by a resolution paid its homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives for the defence of the country last year during the Chinese aggression. The convention also pledged complete national unity in the interest of the defence of the motherland.

After about two hours' discussion the convention passed a number of resolutions supporting the partial test ban treaty and demanding ban on the underground testing also, which will pave the way for general and complete disarmament. The convention strongly supported the non-alignment policy of the government of India and demanded abrogation of the Voice of America deal which infringes our policy of non-alignment.

The convention demanded of the People's Republic of China to accept the

Colombo proposals in toto and start negotiations for the settlement of the border problem.

The convention welcoming the All-India Peace Congress at Amritsar elected about twenty delegates, prominent among them being Jagdish Sharma MLC, Shyam Barishwar MLC, Dwarkanath Kapoor, Prof. J. P. Verma, Prof. Ram Sobha Singh, Dwandan Prasad, President, Bihar State Kisan Sabha and Kanwar Ram MLC.

The convention elected hundred and one members to the Bihar State Peace Council with Dr. Dukhan Ram as President and Chintan Haran Singh, Advocate, K. N. Sandilya and Ramavtar Shastri as general secretaries.

Bhola Prasad Singh Vakil, Dr. Ayodhya Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad, Advocate, Indushekar Prasad Singh, Advocate, Taqui Rahim, Ramchand Singh, Kochhar and others took part in the discussions.

Prominent among the Council members are: Shri Abdul Qayyum Ansari, Daroga Prasad Roy MLA, Deosharan Singh MLC, Deepnarain Choudhury MLA, Hare Krishna Lal MLC, Nagendra Prasad Yadav MP, Baldeo Prasad MLC, Kamleshwar Das MLA, Dr. Ram Govind Sinha, Sheo Chandra Sharma MLC, Dr. Ayodhya Prasad (all congress), Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh MLA, Tejnarain Jha MLA, Raj Kumar Purve MLA, Basta Soren MLA (CPI), Ram Ashray Prasad Singh MLC (Indy Dr. Damodar Prasad, Mayor, Patna Municipal Corporation, Riyaudhari Sinha, former Mayor, Dr. A. K. Sen, Bikan Roy (ITU), Nageshwar Prasad, Advocate, Prof. Saif Lal Singh, Dr. U. Mishra MP (CPI), Nagarjun, Ramdayal Fandey, Braj Shankar Verma, Ramchandra Bhardwaj, Ghulam Sarwar (writer and journalist).



Jibon Bihari Roy, joint secretary of the Hindustan Steel Employees Union, Durgapur, addressing the open session. Seated by his side is Ajit Kumar Mukherjee, newly elected president of the Union.

Durgapur Steel Workers' Demands

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

About seven thousand workers of the Durgapur Steel Plant demonstrated on 15 October, before the General Manager's office, demanding a month's wage as 'Puja Bonus'.

The demonstration was organised by the Hindustan Steel Employees Union. Explaining the demand, Nihar Mukherjee of the steel and engineering workers' federation, said that the central trade union organisations have called for a minimum bonus of one month's wages in all industries and this payment should be, irrespective of profit or loss.

Moreover, bonus payments were being made in the other concerns, including the private sector steel plants. The General Manager of the Durgapur project is reported to have told a deputation of the demonstrators that he would take up the issue with the higher authorities.

Earlier, on October 12, the general meeting of the Hindustan Steel Employees Union was held at Durgapur. In the open session about 12,000 workers of the steel plant participated.

The union which has largest following among the Durgapur workers is not recognised by the management. Despite the fact that the nominees of this union won nine out of ten seats in the last Works Committee elections and had thus clearly proved their majority following, the management has accorded recognition to a minority INTUC union.

The enthusiastic response of the steel workers was by itself a clear rebuff to the discriminatory policy of the steel plant management. But the management had become so blatantly partisan that the elected Works Committee has not been convened even once during the past one year.

The union conference was attended by fraternal delegates from other steel centres as well as by leading trade unionists. Among them were Tahir Hussain, General Secretary, United Iron & Steel Workers Union, Burnpur; Ila Mitra, M.L.A., Kedar Das, Vice-President, AITUC; Mohd. Elias, MP, General Secretary, and Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India, and Indrajit

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Revise Cost of Living Index

TUs to Meet in Conference

The All India Trade Union Congress has decided to call an all-India conference on dearness allowance, revision of the cost of living index and minimum guaranteed bonus, in Bombay from December 6 to 8.

In a circular to all affiliated unions of the AITUC, S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC, has asked the unions to send delegates to the conference. All unions have been told to send at least one delegate each, the bigger unions three delegates each.

The Action Committee of the AITUC unions in Bombay, which led the Bombay Bandh strike on August 20 last, is acting as the reception committee of the conference. In his circular Dange has said:

Experience of the last few months has shown that while prices are soaring at a feverish pace and blackmarket flourishing in essential commodities like rice and sugar in many centres, all official declarations about government's intention to "hold the price line" have become nothing more than empty talk.

It is now officially admitted that wholesale price index has risen by nearly five per cent in the course of one year, since last September. Normally the consumer price index should be much higher than the wholesale price index but the manipulations in the index figures by the official agencies have depressed the index to much lower levels. When independent surveys have established that there is a rise of 15 to 40 per cent in the costs of living, the consumer price index in September 1963 is only 10 points more than the October 1962, pre-emergency figure of 134.

Therefore, while the steep rise in prices is corroding deeply into real earnings of the workers by depressing the cost of living index artificially, the government and employers are simultaneously defrauding the workers of crores of rupees of dearness allowance which they are entitled to get.

Millowners to Gain

In Bombay textiles alone, the disparity between a properly-computed index and the figures issued by government as consumer price index, has been estimated to vary between 50 to 100 points, (on the 1934 base). By this technique of deflating the index alone, the millowners in Bombay would save a sum of Rs. 5 to 6 crores a year, which should have been otherwise paid as increase in dearness allowance.

If a calculation is made about the gains accruing to employers because of the manipulated index in all industries and centres where there is some sliding-scale arrangements for payment of D.A., they would amount to several crores of rupees.

Apart from capital gains flowing directly from inflationary conditions, the higher profits resulting from higher prices obtain-

ed for their goods, the super-profits of the monopoly bourgeoisie are further enhanced by outright denial of the workers' D.A., by artificially manipulating the consumer price indices.

The official manipulations of the index, now clearly established in Bombay, have become an international scandal. Government moved to rectify the "faults" only after the Bombay workers moved for the Bombay Bandh general strike. Since then an experts committee has been appointed in Ahmedabad too.

The Bombay Committee was to report within two

months that is, October 22, but it has not done so. The delay in the work of the experts committee is causing great discontent among the workers.

All trade union centres are now agreed that D.A. should be linked with consumer price index numbers in all industries and services where such variable D.A. payments do not exist. This should become one of the main points of agitation in the present context.

The tripartite decision taken in the meeting on August 5 about opening fair price shops by employers in all factories and undertakings employing over 300 workers has not been implemented in most cases. While employers have been refusing to implement this decision, the government

has also not been forthcoming with facilities to supply foodgrains and other essential commodities to the fair price shops by employers in fore no likelihood of prices being held to any reasonable extent by the mechanism of fair price shops.

Expectations of the workers are high on bonus, as that would bring at least limited relief in these days of high prices. The Bonus Commission may or may not submit a unanimous report and it is to be expected that as in the previous cases, it would require workers' action even to get the recommendations enforced, if the report is unanimous.

The attitude of the public sector managements on all these questions has been particularly retrograde. In no public sector undertaking is the D.A. linked with the consumer price indices and fixation of D.A. rates is itself most

arbitrary. There is no uniform practice even where bonus is paid. A majority of the workers do not get any bonus at all.

It is therefore necessary that all-India slogans and all-India actions have to be evolved by the trade unions, to reach a settlement on these basic issues.

The AITUC has decided to convene an all-India conference to discuss these questions. It is proposed to convene this conference in BOMBAY from December 6 to 8, 1963.

Every trade union is requested to send at least one delegate to the conference. The bigger unions should send not more than three delegates each.

The Action Committee of the AITUC unions in Bombay which led the Bombay Bandh strike of August 20 will act as the Reception Committee of the conference.

AITUC Not to Send Delegation to Jakarta

The Secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress has issued the following statement:

The AITUC has received by sea mail a statement dated September 26, 1963 issued by the Joint Secretariat of Indonesian Trade Union Federations. In this statement, there is a mention of a "Meeting of Sponsoring Countries" to be held from October 27 to November 2, 1963 in Jakarta.

The AITUC has also received a message soliciting the presence of our delegates at the proposed meeting of the "Sponsoring Countries".

The statement of September 26 issued by the Indonesian TU centres mainly attacks the initiative taken by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation to convene an Afro-Asian TU Conference under its auspices.

In this connection, the AITUC Secretariat would like to state that there is no justification for the present hurried steps being taken by the Indonesian trade union centres in convening what they call a meeting of the "Sponsoring Countries". If a genuinely united move is what the Indonesian centres propose, then this would not possibly fit in with their anxiety to arrogate to themselves to choose as to who should be or who should not be the "sponsoring countries".

For Unity, Not Disruption

An Afro-Asian Trade Union Conference, if it is to be prepared as a conference of unity, should be prepared for by all the trade union bodies in the region and if a preparatory committee is to be set up, such a committee should include representatives of all trade union centres in the two continents who would be willing to participate.

In the present case, the Indonesian trade union centres have not only set up a Preparatory Committee, choosing at random or at their convenience a group of TU centres or countries who should act as "sponsors", but they have also gone ahead to draft a "political platform" of the proposed Afro-Asian conference.

This document called "Proposed General Outline and Basic Themes of the Asian-African Workers' Conference" has been drawn up solely by the Indonesian TU centres (possibly consulting only some of their close friends in a leading Asian country) and they did not bother to elicit the opinion even of the few "sponsoring countries" before drafting such a document.

One Sided, Objectionable

In view of the highly one-sided and objectionable manner in which the Indonesian trade union centres (among whom is the SOBSI, an affiliate to the WFTU) are preparing for convening the Afro-Asian TU conferences, to which the AITUC and others objected, the World Federation of Trade Unions had called a meeting of affiliated national centres in these two regions for a consultative meeting last July. It was decided at this meeting that the points made in the discussions during the consultative meeting would be referred to the Executive Committee of the WFTU and that the affiliated national centres in Asia and Africa would abide by the advice given by the Executive Committee.

The WFTU Executive Committee has not yet met and recommended a course of action for the affiliates in connection with the conference. Therefore, the present steps taken by the Indonesian TU centres, including the WFTU affiliate, SOBSI, are clearly against the spirit of the decisions reached in last July.

In the course of discussions some members of the Indonesian trade union centres had with AITUC representatives in Delhi. It was communicated to us that the trade unions of the Soviet Union would be invited to participate as a sponsoring country. It is learnt that the Indonesian centres sent invitations only to the

trade unions of the Asian republics of the Soviet Union, ignoring the central body of trade unions in the USSR — the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU). The Soviet republican trade union centres have informed the Indonesian centres that they strongly disapprove of this action, which is wholly disruptive in nature.

No delegation from the Soviet Union would therefore be participating in the Jakarta meeting.

The General Council of the AITUC at its last meeting in April this year had made it clear that our organisation would join the move for holding an Afro-Asian TU conference only if: (1) the conference is held under the guidance of the WFTU, instead of being sponsored by any group of countries as proposed at present; and (2) the Soviet trade unions should not be excluded from participation in it.

Since the Indonesian trade union centres have now decided to proceed with the preparations without waiting for the advice of the WFTU and the participation of the Soviet trade unions, the AITUC Secretariat obviously could not send a delegation to the proposed meeting in Jakarta.

Moreover, the present move of the Indonesian centres is not conducive to Afro-Asian solidarity at any level, much less on TU movement.

level. Especially when the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, which has representation of all Asian-African countries has decided to take steps to convene a wider conference of trade unions of the two continents, the AITUC Secretariat feels that the Indonesian trade union centres should postpone their proposed conference and join hands with the WFTU and the Afro-Asian centre to prepare for a united conference acceptable to all. If the Indonesian centres do not act in such a manner, they would only be harming Afro-Asian solidarity.

The "protest" which the Indonesian centres have made against the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AASPO), the AITUC feels, is absolutely uncalled for. The Indonesian centres in the name of the "independence" and "sovereignty" of the TU movement are vainly trying to call the noble initiative of the AASPO an "intervention" in TU affairs.

The Indonesian TU centres who have no hesitation in predetermining the composition of the Afro-Asian TU Conference and also drafting its political platform, freely ignoring the independent and sovereign national TU centres in Africa and Asia whom they never consulted, should be the last to complain about interference in matters of the TU movement.

OPEN LETTER

of CPSU Central Committee to Party Organisations, to all Communists of Soviet Union

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EXPERT COMMITTEE ON LIVING INDEX DELAYS REPORT

BOMBAY: A meeting of representatives of trade unions in Bombay city will be held on November 17 to consider further steps to achieve the demand for revision of the cost of living index series which have been proved to be fraudulent and not reflective of the real cost of living.

The working class of Maharashtra, and more particularly of Bombay, had carried out a bitter struggle for revising the present faulty index series and to make them related to the real cost of living. Crowning this struggle came the glorious action of August 20 against high prices. On August 22, the Maharashtra government appointed an experts committee to revise the index series. The committee was mandated to submit its report, at least an "interim report" within two months.

Lakhs of workers in the city as also in other industrial centres have been watching and following the deliberations of the committee with hope and expectations. The workers eyes were fixed on October 22, the due date of the report which they

hoped would bring them some relief from the high cost of living.

The due date has come and gone, but the committee has not submitted even an interim report. It has not even indicated when the report would be ready.

This has naturally stirred the workers. The Action Committee Against High Prices, Increased Tax Burden and Compulsory Deposit Scheme and for Nationalisation of Banks, Oil Industry and Export-Import Trade met in Bombay on October 23 and considered the situation arising out of the failure of the experts committee to submit its report.

In a statement issued here, the action committee's secretary, S. G. Pathak MLA has said that "lakhs of

workers all over the country would be sorely and justifiably disappointed at the failure of the committee. Their concern and anxiety have been deepened by the reported manoeuvres of the employers and their organisations in this behalf."

While deciding to convene a meeting of representatives of trade unions in the city to consider further steps, the action committee demanded that the experts committee must expedite its work and bring out its report without further loss of time, at the same time insisting that it should go into the question fully and in all its details and must in no case come out with just a superficial solution."

The statement said: "The workers have suffered long and heavily on account of the fraudulent index, and now when the question has been taken up after years of struggle, the workers would not be satisfied with anything less than full justice."

NEW AGE

FORWARD FROM PARTIAL TEST BAN

Bernal defines tasks of peace movement

On the occasion of the All-India Peace Congress we print here some extracts from the address of the Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, Prof. J. D. Bernal, delivered at the last session held in Vienna a month ago.

The major threat which has hung over us all these years is the danger of another world war which this time would be a nuclear war of unimaginable proportions.

THE major questions of preventing the outbreak of such a war, reducing tension and securing partial steps towards the goal of general and total disarmament, have been before us since our beginning and are, indeed, the raison d'être of the World Council of Peace (WCP) itself. We have all in mind the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty on August 5. This is a small but definite step towards agreement in this vital field, and can be made into a turning point in relations between states in the question of war and peace.

I know that a diametrically opposite view is held by some of our members, but I can only say that this limited test ban agreement is welcomed by millions of people, by peace workers in all parts of the world, as halting the poisoning of the atmosphere and as a vital step towards the abolition of all nuclear weapons and towards general disarmament.

But, above all, the partial test ban agreement gives great encouragement to the peace forces, and to people generally, for it shows them that their consistent action over many years can achieve results. Thus it heartens them for further struggle. This has been the reaction of peace forces all over the world.

Prof Bernal then quoted resolutions of various Peace movements supporting the test ban treaty. He went on:

It is, however, well known to all of us that this attitude towards the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, which I think everyone will find in accordance

with the policy previously adopted by the World Council of Peace, particularly at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow last year, in which it played such a large part, has not been uniformly supported by all other members of the World Council of Peace.

Those Who Oppose

I know that the Message to the Peoples adopted by the Congress, to which the World Council of Peace itself is pledged, subsequently met with opposition from several peace movements which had actually voted for it at the Congress. Some have gone so far as to declare outright opposition to the treaty. For example, at a rally in Peking on August 12, Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, following a detailed examination of the treaty and its implications, concluded that it was: "a treaty which runs diametrically counter to the interests of the peoples of the world. It is an utter fraud to fool the peoples of the world."

This dispute, at the very centre of the peace movement, can be a very damaging one. My own opinion, and I hope it will be the opinion of many of the presidents, is that we should not consider this question as if it existed in isolation.

Whether or not the treaty increases the danger of imperialism launching a nuclear war depends very largely on the action of the peace forces themselves. We cannot be, logically, for or against a treaty on the

grounds that it may or may not be followed up. It is our business to see that it is followed up.

Some of the urgently needed steps are indicated in the letter to national committees sent out by the secretariat of the World Council of Peace on August 29.

The partial test ban treaty signed in Moscow must be ratified without delay. More than 80 governments have already signed the treaty and the remainder must be convinced it is right to follow this example, thus meeting the desires of the peoples. World opinion must, in particular, let the French Government know what it thinks of that government's intention to hold H-bomb tests in the Pacific.

Widespread campaigning to demand that the test ban treaty be extended without delay to cover underground tests, the more so as there is a general consensus among scientists that there is no need for on-site inspection.

Resolute opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons in any shape or form.

Increased pressure on the Disarmament Committee in Geneva and on the governments represented there for further measures of disarmament and in particular for rapid progress for working out a plan for general and complete disarmament on the basis of the Soviet and U.S. plans now before it.

Action to demand partial disarmament measures, and measures to ease tension, in accordance with national circumstances.

It is most important that the peace movement should vigorously campaign for the establishment of nuclear-free and disengagement zones in Africa, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific region. The demand for such zones has grown steadily ever since the early '50s. Now

it is an integral part of the campaign for disarmament led by various organised peace forces. Concrete proposals for the establishment of such zones have been put forward by statesmen and governments in all continents.

With these measures we can link others, in which every country's peace forces can play a part according to their particular position and interest. Already the present meeting of the UN General Assembly has brought up a number of points on the subject of nuclear weapons and disarmament. There has been Mr. Gromyko's proposal for a summit meeting of the states belonging to the Geneva Disarmament Committee in the first half of 1964, to discuss the problem of general and complete disarmament and measures to further ease international tension.

For Peace Over Germany

This proposal was accompanied by a number of proposals for partial disarmament measures and measures to ease tension. In particular Mr. Gromyko stressed the Soviet Government's view of the importance and urgency of a German peace settlement. This is a problem which has often been before us, and which I am sure you will be discussing in relation to the forthcoming European Conference.

Some other essential steps to ease tension have already been referred to earlier, namely the normalisation of relations between the US and Cuba, the full implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements in relation to Vietnam and Laos, and the settlement of the problems involved in setting up the Federation of Malaysia. There are also anti-surprise attack measures, of which the first, namely the installation of a direct teleprinter line between the White House and the Kremlin has already been implemented, though much more will be needed.

We must keep before us the aim of general and complete disarmament, but on the way there are several useful steps which can be taken. One is the freezing and reduction of military budgets—a step which in fact is being taken, partially and unilaterally, but which can proceed much more rapidly if it is agreed on both sides. There is also the question of an international treaty to ban the use of nuclear weapons, as proposed in the UN General Assembly resolution of December 1961, calling for a world convention to that end. This has always been part of the policy of the World Council of Peace.

A further step would be a gradual denuclearisation and abandonment of nuclear bases in foreign territories. Many of those are in fact obsolete—for instance, those in Turkey—but their abandonment could be effected much more quickly as part of a general agreement. World opinion has expressed itself more forcibly on the question of sett-



ing up new military bases, or including them in any agreement that touches on national independence, as is occurring in relation to South Rhodesia and Malaysia.

Giving up nuclear rocket bases must not, however, be considered to be of any lasting value if it is to lead—as is proposed and as is already being operated—to the spreading of nuclear missiles, either fired from Polaris type submarines or, as is now envisaged, from surface vessels. This is simply transferring from land to sea the same aggressive objectives as the original bases were made for.

These proposals are clearly backward steps which effectively increase the danger of nuclear war. They have also the effect of involving West Germany in the control of nuclear weapons, and they must be resisted to the utmost by our movements. The campaigns waged first in Britain and Italy, and now, very effectively, in Japan and Australia, against Polaris bases, should be one of the most vigorous ways of enforcing the idea that the possession of nuclear weapons shall not be used in the future as political blackmail.

All this is the outline of a programme for peace, which has now become more practical than it had been in the last few years. What we have to look out for is not to be

lulled into any kind of complacency, or believe that problems have been solved when they have only begun to be examined. On the other hand, we must avoid the opposite error—the attitude of denouncing as fraudulent any agreement that is not complete—as for instance, the test ban agreement, which is partial in that it leaves out any consideration of underground tests. This was perforce accepted as a condition of agreement; it is one with which we cannot rest content. Nevertheless, the treaty is definitely a forward step.

The time has come, I think, for the World Council of Peace to reassert firmly and unequivocally its basic principles, first put forward at the great Congresses in Paris, Warsaw and Vienna, in 1949, 1950 and 1951:

1. To stop wars in progress.
2. To prevent war from breaking out.
3. The abolition of nuclear

weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, and an end to their production, testing and stockpiling.

4. Agreement measures of disarmament under strict control on the road to general and complete disarmament.
5. Prohibition of war propaganda.
6. Prohibition of armed intervention by any state against any other on any pretext.
7. Right of peoples held in dependence or colonial subjection to freedom and independence.
8. End of colonialism.
9. Opposition to any form of racial discrimination.
10. Normal economic relations on a reciprocal basis.
11. Strengthening of cultural relations.

These principles, and the policies reflected in the many resolutions adopted by WCP congresses, sessions and other meetings, represent a priceless

heritage of the entire world peace movement. They are as valid today as they ever were, and should be made known to the citizens of every country.

It is now 15 years since the World Council of Peace was effectively launched at the great Congress in Paris under the chairmanship of Frederic Joliot-Curie, the fifth anniversary of whose death we are commemorating this year. It has been a long fight. But we have secured some of our main objectives, and at least we have made the whole world aware of the dangers of nuclear war and of the need for a ceaseless fight against it.

We are entering a period in which the peace forces have the greatest opportunities they have ever possessed. We enter this new stage, with the reinforcement of peoples from all over the world, from the newly-liberated colonial areas, and of increasing numbers of supporters in the imperialist and colonialist powers them-



selves. The first step has been taken in the limitation of nuclear war, it may appear to

some a small step but it can be made the beginning of the end of this universal threat to human life.

Closely Linked With Liberation Struggle

Activities for peace have been growing rapidly in recent months, and have spread to every part of the world. They have been linked ever more closely with the movements for national independence and against colonialism and racialism.

Experience has shown that they are essentially co-operative aims. A search of the records of the World Council of Peace will show that this has been our policy ever since the first congress. The problem of the final liquidation of colonialism in Africa has now become one of extreme urgency. Since the great year 1960, when so many African states obtained their political independence, and

since the events in the Congo which brought out the tragic results of intervention by the forces of imperialism, African peoples have attained a conscious unity and expressed a definite policy.

At the conference of heads of African states in Addis Ababa in May of this year, a resolution was adopted to end racial oppression throughout Africa and to have everywhere governments which represent the peoples of those countries. This means in effect the ending of the rule of the totally unrepresentative and oppressive governments of the Portuguese colonies, of the Union of South Africa and of Southern Rhodesia.

End Racial Oppression

No one thinks that this is going to be an easy problem to solve. But it is one that cannot be evaded, and now all the peoples of the world must be aware that if they fail to use their influence in support of resolutions against colonialism already passed at the United Nations Assembly, the consequences may well be war, in which the danger of escalation into a full-scale nuclear war is always present.

Here the pressure of international opinion can be most effective. The recent motion in the Security Council sponsored by the representatives of Ghana, the Philippines and Morocco, calling on Britain not to transfer political or military power to the racist, undemocratic minority settler government in Southern Rhodesia was, it is true, vetoed by the British government.

But it is as significant that that government received no support from any other government in this action, though the governments of the United States

and France abstained from voting. What we are dealing with now is a rearguard battle of the old colonialism. But it will be a hard fought one for we must not forget the parts of Africa that still remain directly or indirectly under colonial rule are the wealthiest parts of Africa, the parts from which the greatest amount of wealth of the African continent has been drained away to other lands.

And we are likely to witness—indeed, we are witnessing—a new attempt to advance colonialism by other methods, as was shown recently by the events in the former French Congo, and before that by the obstinate way in which the international mining interests kept in position their puppet Tshombe and still maintain effective control of the wealth of the former Belgian Congo.

The most obstinate resistance to the principles of national independence has been put up in the Union of South Africa, where the policy of racial subjugation is sanctified in apartheid. The African people are pledged to end apartheid and have behind them the support of nearly all the countries in the world, apart from those with long imperialist traditions.

Racialism, however, is by no means confined to Africa. Many states, even if they do not legalise it (and some do) practise forms of racial segregation—it is something that the peace movement is pledged to oppose and end wherever it occurs.

The problems of Africa go over the ocean. At present the most serious conflict inside the United States of America is that concerned with the struggle of the descendants of the African people brought there forcibly as slaves to acquire their full rights as citizens, even a hundred years after a civil war fought to establish them.

The great march on Washington on August 28 was one of the largest demonstrations the world has seen, in favour of racial equality—that is, in favour of peace. But the brutal reaction by state and local authorities and by white racist groups to these reasonable demands, though it has at last provoked indignation throughout the whole United States, is a matter of concern, not only to the peoples of the US but to those of the whole world.

South-East Asia is still a focus of oppression and manoeuvres to maintain imperialism old and new by brute force or diplomatic intrigue. The World Council of Peace has protested many times about the completely illegal assistance given by the American government to one of the most unrepresentative and cruel regimes in the world, that of Ngo Dinh Diem, which is now more and more openly being repudiated by the people of South Vietnam. The recent atrocities against the Buddhists have made this abundantly clear to the whole world.

The war of oppression and extermination in Vietnam must be stopped, and the principles of the 1954 Geneva treaty must be implemented to secure a free, united Vietnamese Republic. Further south, the setting up of the Federation of Malaysia is a transparent act by which the British government hopes to maintain and even to strengthen its hold on this economically valuable region. And in doing so it has provoked a conflict with the Indonesian Republic, which may well lead to open hostilities. The problem is admittedly a very complicated one, and several nationalities are concerned. But one thing is quite clear: the presence of military bases and British troops and the use of mercenaries is absolutely inadmissible.



Demonstrating for banning of nuclear weapons are Delhi's working people on Gandhi Jayanti 1962.



Connected with each other from the beginning Afro-Asian Solidarity and Peace movements have gone on together. This is the first Solidarity Conference held in April 1955 in Delhi—Photos Virendra Kumar.

Newsweek Gives The Lie To Kennedy

NO 'CAPTIVE NATIONS', NO 'COLONIES' IN E. EUROPE

The chief of Yankee imperialists, J. F. Kennedy, President of United States, repeated again last week the lie about the East European nations being "captive", and so on.

The occasion was a function connected with the notorious cold war agency known as Radio Free Europe. JFK boosted the hateful role of the Radio Free Europe and called for its strengthening to help secure the "liberation" of East Europe's "captive peoples".

J. F. Kennedy showed himself a worthy heir of J. F. Dulles by harping on this outmoded and long worn out theme.

Ironically enough, the US magazine, Newsweek carried this very week a report on Eastern Europe by its chief European correspondent, Full of cold war propaganda and trying to show that "liberalisation" in Eastern Europe was somehow the result of Western influence, this report based on a five-week study tour carries certain admissions which John Kennedy and his crew would better properly digest and follow up rather than go on repeating Dulles's filthy lies.

More than that, rather than waste his time and breath spreading falsehoods about Eastern Europe, JFK would better really do something to bring a little

of his vaunted freedom to the people of such integral parts of his free world as South Vietnam, the dictatorships of South America, Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal and Verwoerd's South Africa all of whose butcher regimes owe their continued survival in the last analysis to support from the Kennedy administration and its allies.

Let JFK and his brother instead of watering down the civil rights bill really do something to stop downright killing of Negro fighters for racial equality in the US.

Here are some extracts from the Newsweek story on Eastern Europe carried in its issue of October 28:

THE "captive nations" of E. Europe do not consider themselves so; in fact they scoff at the name, writes Newsweek correspondent Eldon Griffiths in its issue of October 28. Further on he says:

Another widely held misconception is that the Eastern European nations are "colonies"....

Massive Change: This is the major fact about Eastern Europe today—the time-worn cliché of the cold war are becoming irrelevant or obsolete. Its main feature today is change—massive, unalterable change.

Among the ordinary people of Eastern Europe, life is changing largely as a result of technology. The new industrial revolution is transforming a semi-feudal peasant people into a semi-urban proletariat. This change can be measured statistically: more than 20 million people have moved from the villages into the big cities in the last ten years.

Today, Eastern Europe produces nearly three times as much as it did before the war. Poland has overtaken France as Europe's third coal producer (110 million tons last year); Bulgaria this year will produce more than Greece. Although farm output still lags, industrial growth rates average more than 7 per cent a year, and manufactures have replaced foodstuffs as the staples of Eastern European trade.

Dusty Past: What industrialization has meant for the people of Eastern Europe can be seen at Kremikocsi, a town 10 miles outside Sofia. There, 37-year old Stefan O., a tall, shock-haired engineer, took a visitor to the top of a cooling tower inside a huge new steel plant. "That is how I grew up," he said, waving his arm toward a dusty village. "There is no paved road in that place, no school, no hospital." Proudly, he gestured at the Kremikocsi plant which soon will start rolling steel. "Here we are building a new Bulgaria," he said.

Industrialization is inexorable—and in Eastern Europe it is benefiting more people than it hurts.

New Lights: Electric power lines are bringing light to medieval hamlets, where before there

were only oil lamps. The tractor is taking over from the ox-drawn plough; wooden clogs are giving way to leather shoes. Over wide tracts of mountain and plain, where ten years ago the nights were dark and silent, the traveller sees today the pale blue of TV screens shimmering through lace curtains, the glow of a new blast furnace behind some ancient shrine.

Most of all, industrialization has revolutionized education. Fewer, only a fraction of young Bulgars learned to read and write; illiteracy was widespread in Poland and Rumania. Today, almost every child in Eastern Europe can go to school. The number of secondary students has quadrupled in the last ten years. Hungary has raised its school leaving age to 16 (compared with 14 in Italy, 15 in West Germany), Poland, where the last generation was 40 per cent illiterate, has more university students than Britain with a population of 53 million....

Hungary has few restrictions on writers or painters, passports to travel abroad are issued with little difficulty. In 1962, more than 70,000 Hungarians took vacations in Western Europe. Cabarets are alive with political skits on the Sino-Soviet rift. The state television service (Hungary has 400,000 sets) runs a highly popular fifteen-minute feature entitled "This Does Not Please" which airs fierce criticisms of the authorities....

Close to a million Western Europeans a year are visiting the Eastern lands. From East Berlin to Flodiv, the trains, planes, and hotels are sprinkled with British salesmen and (West) German engineers. Last month there was an international conference of hairdressers in Budapest, a world congress of Slavic scholars in Sofia. A British composer conducted the radio orchestra in Bratislava; a (West) German diplomat set up offices for a new trade delegation (with ambassadorial status) in Warsaw. A group of Californians toured collective farms in Bulgaria....

Britain's Imperial Chemical Industries is currently exporting more to Communist Europe than it does to the US. A Franco-British consortium is building a 14 million dollar steel mill for Rumania. The Bulgarians have replaced the Italians as the biggest single exporters of tomatoes to Western Europe; Rumania has landed a contract to ship machine tools to France....

It may be mentioned here that Dr. Abdul Quader who is now more than 60 years was exiled to the Andamans as he was one of the participants of the revolutionary movement in Bengal during the British regime. Ajoy Bhattacharya is one of the elderly leaders of the peasants' movement in Sylhet.

Moreover, there are many who are undergoing conviction for their alleged political activities, and there are still many against whom warrants of arrests are still hanging.

It may be mentioned here that Home Minister Khan Habibullah Khan stated in the National Assembly that the number of political prisoners in the country was below 400. Of these, 35 political detainees are from East Pakistan and 324 are from West Pakistan. The number of political convicts is about 25.

WORLD SCIENTISTS HAIL TEST-BAN TREATY

Professor ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Nobel Prize-winner:

The Moscow Agreement is of great significance. It is a further step towards the liquidation of atomic weapons and the termination of the cold war. The Agreement is of particular importance as, with the ending of powerful test explosions in the atmosphere, there will be no increase in the radioactivity of the air, land and water resulting from tests which is dangerous for human beings.

The Moscow Agreement is like the red morning sky. The sun can only rise when all test explosions are stopped. Only then can successful negotiations be started on the liquidation of atomic weapons and on peace.

Professor MARCUS L. E. OLI-PHANT, the distinguished Australian atomic scientist, Director of the Physical Research School of the Australian National University in Canberra:

The importance of the agreement on a test ban resulting from the Moscow talks cannot be overestimated. Representatives of the three great nuclear powers met in an atmosphere of goodwill and were able to make compromise which permitted agreement on a basic first step towards disarmament and the achievement of permanent peace. Although the ban does not apply to underground tests, modern detecting systems make any major attempts to continue testing in secret beneath the surface of the earth certainly impossible.

To be fully effective, France and China must subscribe to the treaty as must all other nations. The leadership given by the nuclear powers makes it unlikely that others resist world opinion for long.

All men of goodwill must applaud the results of the Moscow talks and seek to make these the basis for further international agreements on complete and general disarmament.

Nobel-Prize winner Professor OTTO HAHN, Göttingen, German Federal Republic:

I consider any talks which may result in a real détente between East and West as desirable. I therefore warmly welcome the stoppage of nuclear tests in the atmosphere or under water. It has been proved that constantly increasing numbers of such tests also increase the radioactivity of the air and water. It is well-known that radioactive radiation unfavourably influences human health and that it can even lead to serious hereditary defects. I consider every step to prevent this a positive one. (Professor Hahn is a member of the German Nuclear Commission).

Professor HANS THIRRING, head of the Institute of Theoretical Physics, Vienna University:

The conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban agreement represents a gratifying first step to further disarmament talks. This step must not remain an isolated one. It is a discredit to our civilisation that at present, when people deeply penetrate into the secrets of the atom and prepare to conquer the universe, the primitive barbaric method of resolving disputes among nations by war still exists. Therefore, general and complete disarmament is urgently necessary.

Sir J. D. COCKROFT, famous British scientist, Nobel Prize-winner, and member of the British Atomic Energy Institute and of similar international institutes:

A good first step. Nobel Prize winner Professor Dr. MAX BORN of Bad Pyrmont (German Federal Republic):

I welcome the agreement on a ban of atomic bomb tests, of course, as a first sign that reason is beginning to gain ground in international politics. I am hoping for further progress.

Dr. ANTOINE LASSAGNE, radio-biologist and Professor of the Medical Department of Lyons University:

It is premature to speak of the results of the Moscow talks. It is a step for which peace workers have been waiting a long time, hoping for its happy effects.

It is not for me to judge the political aspects, but as a person who has been specialising for over 50 years in the biological effects of radioactive radiation, I would feel greatly relieved if the dangerous irresponsibility of those who do not hesitate to poison the air we breathe, the water we drink and the food we eat with radioactive substances is checked.

I will not mention the production of weapons which can destroy all life on earth. Radioactive contamination has been partly responsible, even if so far in a negligible degree, for the increase in cancer. This percentage will increase still further, however, if nuclear explosions were ruthlessly continued.

FOR FURTHER COOPERATION

Lord BOYD ORR, Nobel Prize winner of 1949, Chairman of the British Council for the Development of International Trade, and participant in the Pugwash Conferences:

The test ban was a great achievement. But of even more importance is the fact that Russia and America have agreed. Mr. Khrushchev has urged further talks on measures to reduce the danger of war. If these are successful the bright prospects of peace would dispel the gloomy fear of war. From these still further talks might end an agreement to divert part of the money spent on military budgets to a cooperative project to develop the vast potential wealth of the earth to abolish poverty which afflicts half the people in the world and invites all nations to join in them.

In this new small world some such revolutionary plan for cooperation and joint action for mutual benefit is the only alternative to war. The statesman who brings it about will be hailed as the greatest leader the world has ever known.

Dr. HOMI JEHANGIR BHABHA, President of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, Secretary of the Indian Office for Atomic Energy, Director of the Institute of Science in Bombay and member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

The agreement is a limited, but important, advance which is to be welcomed. It should be extended to cover underground tests also as soon as possible. An end to testing will still permit nuclear powers to continue with the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Banning tests is, therefore, only an intermediate stage and will have little effect on countries aspiring to nuclear weapons unless the nuclear powers advance rapidly to the next stage of stopping the manufacture of nuclear weapons followed by general and complete disarmament under strict international control, which has been proclaimed as the aim of the negotiations to the agreement.

Dr. YASUSHI NISHIWAKI, Professor of radiation protection at the Tokyo Institute of Technology, Director of the Biophysical Insti-



tute of the University of Osaka, and member of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs:

As a scientist who can foresee vividly the possible future danger of the ever increasing nuclear tests, nothing makes me more happy than to hear that the nuclear test ban agreement was signed in Moscow by three major powers.

I sincerely hope that this agreement will become a new starting point for greater love, warmer understanding and mutual trust among all nations and that the production and use of all nuclear weapons will become unnecessary.

Nobel Prize winner (Physics), International Lenin Peace Prize winner and President of the Indian Academy of Sciences, CHANDRA-SEKHARA VENKATA RAMAN:

The Moscow nuclear test ban agreement is a joyful event of high importance for all peace-loving people and I join heartily in congratulating Professor Albert Schweitzer and others who initiated in 1957 the movement which has now succeeded.

I also recall the efforts of public spirited individuals in other countries who helped mobilise world opinion against nuclear testing. The sincere love for peace of the Russian leader Khrushchev is demonstrated by the present agreement.

I would urge that further steps be speedily taken to promote feelings of mutual trust and friendliness between peoples with differing ideologies in Europe and America. This would strengthen the movement for peace and would remove all possibility of war between the great powers of the world.

India desires above all freedom to develop her well-being and progress without fear of any external aggression.

BROCK CHISHOLM, outstanding Canadian psychiatrist and participant of the Pugwash conferences:

The successful outcome of the Moscow talks on a partial nuclear test ban agreement encourages the hope that progress to complete disarmament may be attained as the only alternative to universal destruction.

The survival by groups is no longer possible as no group is now defendable. Survival requires equal concern for the welfare of all people, not just for the members of the group into which each of us happened to be born.

BERTRAND RUSSELL: Nuclear tests kill vast numbers of human beings over many generations. It is, therefore, an occasion for joy that the Great Powers have decided that after many years of such slaughter they will take a rest.

is unaffected by this agreement. Perhaps we who have opposed nuclear weapons and policy based upon the possession and use of such weapons should also note that the motives for agreement now were not solely concern for great suffering.

Despite the calculating reasons related to weapon technology and the evidence that agreement now could as easily have come about several test series and years earlier, we ought to be pleased that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed on anything and at any time. The vast plans for murder on a scale scarcely imaginable remain. The mood, however, is affected by this test ban treaty and it is this mood which must be encouraged by all who oppose the threat to human life on earth. From it may come more far-reaching agreement and because of it many who have previously been timid may find the courage to work for survival. I believe that when people are granted a taste of comparative sanity, they may manage to oblige the men of power to provide more.

Dr. SINISHA STANKOVIC, Professor of Mathematics at the Belgrade University:

The nations of the world joyfully welcome the recent Moscow Agreement on the cessation of nuclear arms tests.

The hope that a complete nuclear test ban will be achieved in the near future has greatly increased. More than ever before, mankind now longs for peace. A better future of the world—in whatever form—cannot be built on ruins and corpses. The Moscow Agreement is an important contribution to peace and towards a settlement of world problems by peaceful means.

Academician DIMITRY VLADIMIROVICH SKOBELETSKY, Director of the Physical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences:

At present, when scientific and technological progress is increasing more rapidly under conditions of constantly growing tension in international relations, the situation

is: either the arms race will continue, in which case the world will sooner or later be plunged into thermonuclear war, or reason and the idea of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and economic systems will prevail and mankind will settle the problem of general disarmament.

In its policy, the Soviet Government unswervingly strives for the achievement of this lofty aim—safeguarding lasting peace on the basis of disarmament. The success of the Moscow talks is an important, concrete result of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the efforts of peace workers all over the world. The importance of the fact that the Moscow Agreement eliminates a great danger which was threatening the health and the lives of people of all countries of the world through contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive substances cannot be underrated.

Of even greater importance is undoubtedly the fact that as the first step has been made on the road towards eliminating the terrible danger to which mankind would be exposed should thermonuclear war break out.

MOST IMPORTANT AGREEMENT

LINUS PAULING, Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, Nobel Prize winner:

The bomb test ban agreement that has just been initiated in Moscow may well be described as the most important international agreement ever made. It will in large part stop further contamination of the atmosphere with radioactive fission products and carbon-14 and it will help to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to nations that do not now have them.

This agreement must be signed by all nations and must be followed by other agreements leading during the next few years to general and complete disarmament and the abolition of war.

At present, when scientific and technological progress is increasing more rapidly under conditions of constantly growing tension in international relations, the situation

END AYUB'S REIGN OF LAWLESSNESS

SPEAKING over the radio on the eve of the anniversary of his "revolution"—the coup d'état of October 1958—AYUB KHAN claimed that there was no bloodshed and no repression following this great "revolution". Here we give only what was revealed in the National Assembly of Pakistan some time ago to show the utter lawlessness of Ayub's claims.

Utter lawlessness and suppression continues to be the order of the day in Pakistan. It is time that world opinion took effective and adequate steps to remove this blot on the name of humanity.

ON June 30 last Sardar Bahadur Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, came out with a sharp attack on the government for the atrocities committed on the Baluchis, in reply to which Central Home Minister Khan Habibullah Khan admitted it on different grounds.

Sardar Bahadur Khan spoke of the "horrors" committed on four hundred Baluchis in the Coolie concentration camp of Quetta during the Martial Law regime and talked about the seven Baluch leaders who were sent to the gallows and one knew about it at that time.

The four hundred were hung half naked by their legs and given electric shocks, many could not revive from this for as many as 14 to 17 hours. As he disclosed these hair-raising facts of torture, cries of "shame, shame" rose from the Opposition Benches. The leader of the Opposition who had recently been in Quetta said he was saying these things with the full sense of responsibility and from facts he got from responsible and God-fearing officials.

Sardar Bahadur Khan said that the repression in Baluchistan was such that even Robert Sandeman (the British conqueror of the area) could not have indulged in them like that. ("Shame, Shame"). Then he went on to mention what he called one of the "filthiest crimes in which a very important father and his son were involved". He demanded an enquiry into all this.

The leader of the Opposition also mentioned the case against Sardar Ataulah Khan Mengal (MLA now being tried under the Frontier Crimes Regulation) and his father.

The leader of the Opposition also mentioned the case of Akbar Bugti, another Baluch leader whose family was today leading destitute life, and they were not even allowed to pick fruits in Bugti's orchards.

Talking about Sardar Bugti, he said that he was first convicted, then repleved, and then again sent to jail to suffer imprisonment for the repleved period.

Sardar Bahadur Khan also challenged the Home Minister to try Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other political prisoners under the common law. He said even the rust-bound Khan Habibullah Khan sitting as a judge himself would not be able to convict them.

As far as the Red Shirts were concerned, he said, they would like to die honourably, rather than send petitions to the government.

While speaking in the National Assembly, Masihur Rahman, deputy leader of the Opposition, said that there were still 40 political prisoners in East Pakistan and as many as 4,000 prisoners in jails either under Martial Law or preventive detention.

He said that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was a great hero of the freedom struggle was still in prison, illing, but adequate arrangements had not been made for his treatment.

The deputy leader of Opposition said that the Home Affairs Minister who was at one time a disciple of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was now

keeping this "great man" in perpetual anguish.

The Home Affairs Minister Khan Habibullah Khan at this stage rose on a point of personal explanation and said that he had no hand in the detention of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was detained by the Provincial Government. The detention was subsequently approved by a Provincial Tribunal headed by a judge of the High Court.

Masihur Rahman said he did not know whether Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was opposed to Pakistan or not, "but I do know that you made, Dr. Khan Sahib Chief Minister of West Pakistan when it suited your purpose. Your pro-Pakistan and anti-Pakistan theory is tallored according to your needs".

PRISONERS IN EAST PAK

THE East Pakistan Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution last year demanding the government release all the political prisoners. But, the authorities have so far successfully ignored the demand.

Twenty-eight patriots, who have been detained without trial, have been still groaning in different jails of East Pakistan though a long time has lapsed since the lifting of the Martial Law. When will they be released—this question today engrosses the mind of fifty million people of East Pakistan. The detenus who have been losing bit by bit the vitality of their life in the dark cells of jail are:

- Dacca: (1) Satyen Sen, in jail since 1958; (2) Sunil Roy, since 1960; (3) Nani Chowdhury, since October 1958; (4) Ajoy Roy, since 1960; (5) Jotish Basu since 1960; (6) Nagen Sarkar since October 1958; (7) Hanga Raj Hajong, since October 1959; (8) Wajid Ali, since 1959; (9) Manmath Dey, since 1962.
- Bogra: (10) Abdul Qader, since October 1958; (11) Durga Das Mukherjee, since October

1958; (12) Subodh Lahiri, since October 1958; (13) Mokhesur Rahman, since October 1958.

Fariapur: (14) Santosh Banerjee, since 1960; (15) Mokhesur Rahman, since 1960; (16) Satya Maltra, since 1960; (17) Ashu Bhardbaja, since 1959; (18) Bibhuti Bhattacharjee, since 1959.

Chittagong: (19) Dhiren Das, since 1962; (20) Shara-dindu Dasidar, since 1959.

Sylhet: (21) Lala Saradindu Dey, since October 1958; (22) Ajoy Bhattacharjee, since October 1958.

Rangpur: (23) Moni Krishna Sen, since October 1958; (24) Shiben Mukherjee, since October 1958; (25) Shankar Basu, since 1959.

Jessore: (26) Amal Sen, since October 1958; (27) Ratan Sen, since October 1958.

Pabna: (28) Ranesh Matra, since January 1963.

agriculture : IN U.S.S.R. & U.S.A.

★ by H. G. BOKARE

An Indian economist throws interesting light on the state of Soviet agriculture as well as that of the USA.

THE wheat deal between the Soviet Union and United States has been discussed to indicate the different aspects of the Soviet economy. The USSR has negotiated similar deals with Canada, Australia and France.

The first impression of these deals would be obviously simple—that there is food shortage and that Soviet farm economy is vulnerable as a result of socialist planning.

It is necessary to study this carefully. There are some points of similarity between the two countries—the Soviet Union and the United States. The USSR has a population of about 21 crores, while USA had 19 crores in 1960, as stated in UN Statistical Year-Book 1961. As regards total production of wheat the same Year-Book reveals the following statistics.

Year	Production in Million Metric Tons USA	USSR
1948-52	31	36
1952	36	44
1953	32	41
1954	27	42
1955	26	47
1956	27	67
1957	26	58
1958	40	77
1959	31	69
1960	37	64
1961	34	66

The figure for 1961 is reproduced from the Statesman Year Book 1963. The full data for twelve years are presented here purposefully so that readers should appreciate that production is stagnant in USA while it is rising in USSR. Russia produces, on the average, twice as much as the USA.

As regards the consumption of wheat, we know that the USA exports large quantities. The index of production to national consumption in 1960

was about 240. Actual consumption of wheat in USA was 15.7 million metric tons. Soviet Union, on the contrary, is not exporting wheat, while she is now for the time being importing some.

The arithmetic vis-a-vis wheat is simple enough. The USA with 18 crores of people consumes 15.7 million tons; the USSR with 21 crores of people consumes 64 million tons. Is this really a food shortage? If Americans are happy there is no substantial reason for Russians to be otherwise.

Another inference may be to suggest the failure of farm

For the last two years, i.e., 1962 and 1963, the statistics are not available. The criticism of the Soviet leaders in respect of farm planning concerns a low technical ratio of input-output. When in America farming has attained a certain input-output ratio, why can it not be achieved in the Soviet Union, too? It is purely a problem of efficient administration and management of factors of production in the farm economy in the Soviet economic plans. Soviet farm production is constantly rising compared to that of the USA, but level of efficiency is still lower than that of the latter. We must learn to see through the problem correctly.

It may be emphasised here that actual production of many farm products is comparably quite creditable, except in a few items like oats and maize. The following table is useful to know the comparative levels in the two countries:

Production of important food items in USSR and USA

Item	USA	USSR
1. Rye	698	16700
2. Barley	8615	13300
3. Oats	14680	8900
4. Maize	92092	24295
5. Potatoes	13317	84310
6. Sugar	2788	5721
7. Fish catch	2797	3051
8. Butter	623	737
9. Milk	55393	60697
10. Margarine	620	431
11. Meat	12361	7922

(Items 1 to 6 are for 1961-62; 7 & 8 for 1960; and others for 1959. Source: UN Year Book and Statesman Year Book)

It is necessary to consider in this connection, the two contradictory policies of the two nations. USA follow a general policy of subsidy to farmers to keep their farms fallow. The Commodity Credit Corporation stores huge quantities of wheat and other farm products to operate farm price support programmes. The annual carryover cost of the CCC is one billion dollars. USA is caught in a typical contradiction characteristic of a capitalist society—poverty amidst plenty! The State of Union message by President Kennedy on January 11, 1962 indicates the same concern. "Our task is to master and turn to fully fruitful ends the magnificent productivity of our farms. The revolution on our own countryside stands in the sharpest contrast to the repeated farm failures of the communist nations. Since 1955 our agricultural output per man hour has actually doubled. Without new realistic measures, it will some day swamp both our farmers and our tax payers in a national scandal or a farm depression."

More production and productivity is fraught with a danger of depression; it is not a matter of pleasure and joy! It is sharp contrast, indeed!

In this context the atmosphere in the Soviet Union is optimistic. The USSR follows seriously the policy of doubling and trebling the total farm production in the next ten to twenty years. The total grain production of 134 million tons in 1960 is planned to be raised to 228 million tons in 1970 and to 360 million tons in 1980.

NEW PROBLEMS RESULT OF STEADY GROWTH

SOVIET agriculture has been in the news recently. Come to think of it, Soviet agriculture has been more or less permanently in the news over the last few years. "New victories!" Soviet newspapers report. "Crisis sharpens!" retort the press organs of the West. Sometimes it is difficult to convince oneself that they are both writing about the same country.

In reality the last ten years have seen a hard-fought struggle to advance Soviet agriculture. That struggle has been won—but it is still far from over, and at each stage on its upward path new problems arise, and new solutions become appropriate. Here a Soviet journalist YAKOV USHEBENKO explains the present situation of Soviet agriculture, and sketches in some of the background, some of the past, with a glimpse of the future.

OVER the past ten years the population of the

Soviet Union has grown by thirty-seven million. It is equivalent to more than two-thirds of the whole population of the British Isles.

The material standards of the Soviet people have, as even our enemies concede, been rising rapidly, along with our incomes and purchasing power.

Today in the USSR, the man in the street can afford to wear

better clothes and eat better food than he has ever done before. And all this, naturally, makes increasingly high demands on our agriculture.

When you think of the farms, you naturally think of food; but agriculture is also, in fact, the source of raw materials for very many branches of industry.

It is no wonder, therefore, that problems arising from the continued increase in farm production should constantly hold a prominent place in the activities of the Soviet government, the Soviet Communist Party and the local authorities.

Since 1953, a vast amount of work has been done to step up agricultural output.

In these ten years our cultivated areas have grown by more than 150 million acres. That is an area roughly two and a half times the size of the United Kingdom.

One of our big problems, naturally, has been to boost our grain harvest enormously. We need more grain to cover both increased population and increased

*ON PAGE 16

GDR PEOPLE ELECT THEIR PARLIAMENT

FINAL results of 1963 general elections in German Democratic Republic held on October 20 are out now. It clearly indicates that socialist system in GDR is liked by its people and it has come to stay.

The Election Commission announced that 11,533,859 voters out of 11,621,188 entitled voters have cast their ballot in elections to People's Chamber. This is a record, polling of 99.25 percent. Over 90 per cent of them have cast their votes for candidates of National Front which is a coalition body of five political parties and mass organisations in GDR.

28,119 GDR citizens now residing in West Germany have participated in elections to People's Chamber. They came all the way to GDR to exercise their franchise. 418 of them will not return to West Germany. They will stay and work in GDR once again.

Of the 474 candidates returned to People's Chamber, 230 are from working class. In West German Parliament 161 of 499 deputies are directors or members of board of directors of trusts, banks and other monopoly combines according to class break-up of Bundestag, 52 deputies represent big landlords and capitalist farmers. Only five deputies have been entered as workers. There are 140 women in West German Parliament while in West German Parliament there are only 41.



The first man in space and the first woman up there, Gagarin and Tereshkova, visited the GDR recently. Here they are seen with Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grotewohl at a reception given by the Socialist Unity Party.

GDR Resents Western Provocations

★ FROM P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, October 25: United States and her Nato partners in complete contradiction to the spirit of Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests are now taking a series of provocative measures in Europe that would heighten the somewhat eased international tension.

A NATO operation big lift of troops across the Atlantic for war manoeuvres against GDR and other socialist countries were completed on Friday. This is the biggest air lift of troops conducted by NATO in shortest time. An entire armoured division and supporting troops were flown from Fort Hood, Texas to West Germany (Miesau).

In this provocative performance a fleet of 196 aircrafts in 2,322 deliveries airlifted 15,000 US soldiers in 63 hours. Near the GDR frontier with West Germany they are pitching tents (to fight a war), which means training NATO troops to invade Socialist countries.

At the same time a composite air striking force including 119 tactical fighter bombers completed a trans-Atlantic trip from bases in United States to bases in France in support of aggressive NATO exercises.

These demonstrative war exercises which are being held at a time when there were promising signs of relaxation have been warmly welcomed in Bonn while West German population look on this war preparation helplessly in mortal terror. A spokesman of Bonn government assessed these manoeuvres as an action to raise fighting power of NATO. He spoke of regrouping of American occupation troops in West Germany making possible an additional stationing of atomic rockets and nuclear warheads for howitzers in the Federal Republic.

Operation big lift is the forerunner of similar air lifts which USA is planning for Middle East and Far East next year.

Another aspect of the imperialist military programme is already well-known: steps towards establishment of a nuclear fleet equipped with Polaris and manned by mixed crew of NATO which would give West German revanchists an atomic trigger in their itching hands.

Yet another provocative action of an arrogant US lieutenant leading big US army convoy to West

in case Western powers had to use force. But DEAN RUSK, US Secretary hurried to correct him saying that autobahn incident was a misunderstanding due to a confusion about procedure. On instructions from Washington now convoys moving to and from West Berlin on GDR autobahn are adhering to existing procedures.

All these acts of provocation are clearly directed against the still in-firm shoots of mutual understanding and trust between East and West following Moscow treaty.

When your correspondent asked a high officer of Warsaw treaty in Berlin on the operation big lift, he said: This airlift has little tactical value. These manoeuvres will only help to heighten tension and highly increase feeling of insecurity of West German population.

In the event of a war American forward strategy will collapse in first hours of its beginning itself. Our mighty rockets of the type which knocked down Powers's U-2 spy plane and other new ones hitting targets like a pin-point even a fly in the sky in a matter of seconds could destroy all aircrafts in such a big lift if imperialists dare to attack any socialist country.

Artist of Peace and Socialism

WILLI Neubert the 43-year old artist from the German Democratic Republic whose paintings were on show in Delhi last month is now touring other centres in our country.

He is in India at the invitation of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society under the cultural exchange programme officially entered into by the Government of India with the Government of GDR. An Indian artist, Bimal Dasgupta, toured the GDR in 1961 in accordance with this programme.

Neubert in himself symbolises the new Germany, the Germany of the working class and the working people, the Germany dedicated to peace and creative labour. Son of a foundry worker he himself worked as an ordinary worker in auto and engineering plants between 1934 and 1945 and

subsequently as an engineer. His colleagues and workmates at the Iron Processing Plant at Thale seeing talent in him sent him to study art at the Gleibichenstein Arts College in Halle between 1950-52. Since then he has worked as a free-lance painter, and his progress is indeed remarkable.

The joy of life and of collective human endeavour, the exultation in learning and the yearning for beauty all find increasingly convincing expression in Neubert's paintings, and evoke positive admiration. It is certain that Willi Neubert, still in the prime of his art career, will go a long way. Wherever his paintings are shown in India they are bound to be seen with great interest and warm sympathy.

In the recent elections held on October 20, 1963 when Neubert was in Delhi, he was elected a deputy to the GDR Parliament.

Adenauer Goes

AFTER 14 years of power, lust, cruelty, high-headedness and warmongering chancellor ADENAUER of West Germany has resigned. He left unwept, unsung. As Financial Times of London described: Adenauer was a cold war fighter of the Dulles school.

The greatest service which he can now render his country is to withdraw gracefully from politics. Along with him went out of Bonn Chancellery, his trusted adviser and all powerful man, war criminal GLOBKE who was recently convicted by a GDR court.

West German Parliament elected last week 66-year-old Dr. LUDWIG ERHARD (Christian Democratic Party), former economics minister, as new Federal Chancellor after many months of tug of war for this post.

What is to be expected of Erhard? This question is not only asked by German and foreign circles engaged in politics but is asked now also particularly by the West German population. Many citizens want clarity on whether the ship of state of the Federal Republic will continue to sail along the Adenauer course or whether at long last, a policy will be embarked which externally will be directed towards relaxation, understanding with the German Democratic Republic and peaceful trade without any discriminations and internally based on reestablishment and respect of basic constitutional laws and civil liberties.

This policy made Adenauer fail and everybody who continues this line will fail too. The stubborn adherence to the unrealistic aims of conquering the German Democratic Republic, to the arms race and the striving for atomic weapons was deepening the division of Germany.

Max Reimann said: "He who considers the reunification of Germany seriously has to work for correct relations with the GDR, for negotiations, between the two German governments."

In a declaration on the Bonn Chancellor changeover, Secretary of the West German opposition party, the Peace Union (DFU), has made an appeal to the new Bonn government to pursue a foreign policy taking into account the new realities on the world political scene. Its internal policy, according to the DFU, should be guided by the aspiration for genuine democracy and constitutional law.

And in addition Adenauer who was forced to resign by the historical development and the contradictions within his own party and inside the ruling class of West Germany will leave no stone un-



IRENE, a portrait by Willi Neubert, the artist from GDR

An Appeal in behalf of the

TORTURED PEOPLE OF ECUADOR

THIS America is like a bottomless sack. Fortunes are thrown into it every day: representative democracy, the alliance for progress, the monetary fund, human rights as seen by the scholars of the OAS.

Through the rents at the bottom of the sack these fortunes are not being poured out.

The sack is torn at Ecuador, San Domingo, Honduras. Through its rents our poor America is losing not only words, but blood too.

Latin America is bleeding.

I do not want to dwell on San Domingo or Honduras. Foreign cupidity and local terror have always been chronic diseases there. This does not make the present manifestations of usurpation and violence any less repulsive.

My concern goes out to Ecuador. I scarcely know this country. The short hours I spent at the port of Guayaquil gave me a good idea of the dignity of its people and its intellectuals. This little country of mountains and rivers has won fame in its history

and struggles for freedom, the oldest struggles in the continent. Its cultural centres, universities, publications and many eminent explorers and discoverers have recently given us hope that Ecuador would not halt on its democratic road.

But Ecuador has again been betrayed.

A group of military men, shameful destroyers of free-

by

PABLO NERUDA

dom, culture and dignity, struck heavy blows at the small republic.

A period of cruel barbarism started.

Hundreds of prisoners are suffering in colonial prisons, without medical aid or legal defence. Municipal autonomy has been destroyed. The old universities are closed. Their professors are expelled and persecuted.

The House of Culture, chairman of which was the renowned Benjamin Carrion (Member

of the World Council) has been divided up and put in the hands of mediocre mercenaries. The great writer, Enrique Gil Gilbert (member of the WCP and Secretary of the Peace Committee), has been tortured and thrown into prison together with many other intellectuals and former members of parliament. Others have gone into exile. The violation and looting of institutions and homes is a daily event under the military and fascist regime in Ecuador. Denunciation is encouraged and rewarded.

I believe that these facts should not only be revealed but that they must have an impact on the conscience and action of writers and artists of Latin America. We cannot accept with indifference such a serious state of affairs in a brother country for it brings dishonour on the name of Latin America throughout the civilized world.

I condemn and protest against these acts of aggression against human dignity and culture. I ask the intellectuals of Latin America to express their condemnation and our common hope that Ecuador will rise out of its present torments and regain its freedom and rights.

Isla Negra, Chile, October, 1963.

Soviet Agriculture

*FROM PAGE 14

individual demand—not to mention its potential as an export.

How to get it? Over the last decade, as the figures I have given suggest, we have been increasing our grain harvest by increasing the actual area sown to grain—mainly, through the reclamation of hitherto uncultivated land, in Siberia, Kazakhstan and other virgin areas.

This policy was undoubtedly a correct one, for in the past our chemicals industry, big as it is, has been relatively weak. Mineral fertilisers have been always in short supply.

It is, however, quite a different matter today. The socialist economy has become very much stronger and we now have a chemicals industry on a very high and well-equipped level. We now have the facilities to provide enough mineral fertilisers for all our sown areas.

Now, therefore, the way forward is a different one. The task is to increase our output of agricultural produce mainly by boosting yields, instead of increasing farming areas.

The drive for abundance must now be based on the most rational use of the land, seeing to it that we get the maximum yield out of every acre.

So far as grain is concerned, the target for the next few years is to raise yields, through more intensive farming alone, by over 80 million tons a year.

Earlier this month, the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union addressed a joint letter to all who work in the Soviet chemicals industry or in chemical science.

The letter made it abundantly clear that these yield targets could be achieved only from the increased output of mineral ferti-

lisers and their distribution in adequate quantities to the farms.

More intensive, scientific farming, of course, is not just a way of getting bigger crops. It is the way to get guaranteed crops, unafraid of the whims of the weather.

Probably everyone knows that the past season has been a terrible one for the USSR, from the point of view of the weather. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to note that farms which had made timely and efficient use of fertilisers—and first of all chemical fertilisers—have taken in rich harvests, in spite of the weather.

Over the past four years, more than 200 new chemical enterprises and large workshops have been brought into operation in the USSR. The Soviet farms will have received this year some 20 million tons of mineral fertiliser—nearly three times as much as they did in 1953.

But this is still far from enough. The 1964 plan target for mineral fertilisers is 24 million tons, and the 1965 figure 35 million.

As always, when big decisions have to be taken and the country faces new economic and political tasks, the Communist Party and the Soviet government seek the advice and opinions of the people.

During his recent trip through the south of the Soviet Union the Soviet Prime Minister was paying careful heed to the advice proffered by local farmworkers—machine operators, farmers, agronomists, veterinarians.

Fruitful discussion—which will certainly be reflected in action—debated how to solve quickly and better such urgent problems for agriculture as the irrigation and watering of arid lands and the placing of farming on a sound chemical footing.

Writers and Peace

WRITERS of India, like the writers of any other country, have a deep and abiding stake in peace. This is a fact of life and does not need corroboration.

However, since the invention of weapons of mass annihilation, particularly since the manufacturing, multiplication and stock-piling of nuclear bombs and inter-continental missiles at fantastically enormous cost, which common people are made to bear, the problem of peace has assumed very complex and wide proportions. It is no longer as simple as depicted in Tolstoy's great classic 'War and Peace' or even in Remarque's and Henry Barbusse's novels dealing with the first world war.

No thermonuclear war today or in the future can be a 'limited' war. It shall engulf the whole earth—all continents and all peoples—so that it does not matter whether you are American, French, British or Russian and your country is producing these horrible devices to strike back in case of attack or whether you belong to a neutral country and are determined not to get involved in any such conflagration.

The fact is that there is no defence against thermo-nuclear war and if some mad man somewhere succeeds in igniting its flames, no life in any part of the world will be safe and the earth will turn into a radio-active waste. Civilization and culture—man's proud achievements of centuries old struggle and creative labour will be completely destroyed in a few hours and the few maimed and crippled and disease-ridden survivors will be reduced to a precarious existence of a savage with no hope or strength to rebuild any new edifice of culture.

It is a horrible prospect and no sane person today considers war to be an alternate solution of world problems, whatever their nature. People everywhere are realising more and more clearly that war today has become a fatal anachronism capable only of mutual destruction and not of solving any problem. No class or country stands to gain from war.

WFTU's Pledge

*FROM FACING PAGE

Differences should be settled through friendly discussion in the spirit of the Congress decisions. "Our task is to strengthen the WFTU in every possible way," Grishin said.

Speaking on Monday evening, Louis Saillant, general secretary of the WFTU spoke of the struggle for peace. He said that for many years the WFTU had carried on a campaign for the banning of nuclear tests and that is why the organisation welcomed the Moscow Treaty: It meant that people should never lose hope in the struggle for peace and for new successes on the road to disarmament. The WFTU calls upon the people of the world to be vigilant and active at the same time.

* On facing page

NOVEMBER 3, 1963



A demonstration for Peace in Delhi.

can no longer be hidden from the people.

But nobody has so far assessed how many billion dollars are being spent annually by the Western imperialist powers on cold war hate propaganda or analysed the spiritual consequences of war. Writers and artists must undertake this study.

It is necessary for the people to know how far cold war hate propaganda is being spread in devious ways to poison the minds of men, to vitiate the atmosphere in all countries, how truth is being mutilated and maligned and people are persuaded to believe in a distorted image of reality—so that truth has become a casualty and anybody who still swears by truth is derided and debunked, how mass media of communication—Radio, Films, Television and Press—have been bought and heavily subsidised by the monopolists of imperialist countries or their junior partners of the newly independent nations to propagate reactionary ideas, to undermine man's faith in his future, to preach racialism, cynicism and misanthropy. How far all these perversions projected in the minds of men have tended to dehumanise modern man and denude his soul of all human values so that an individual feels lost and solitary and is forced to live for himself.

Experts and scientists have analysed and assessed the econo-

By

Shivdan Singh Chauhan

mic or biological consequences of war. We know how 120 billions of dollars—nearly 60,000 crores of rupees—are being spent annually on armament by the great powers, how this amount, if spent for the development of backward countries, could bring about a miracle in the life of each man in every land, could wipe out disease, hunger, under-nourishment, poverty and ignorance and could change the face of the earth in a few decades and how by spending this wealth on arms, the governments of the world are depriving their people of the fruits of their labour.

We also know how many thousands of hydrogen bombs are stock-piled in the arsenals of great powers and how many hundred million human beings will be killed in the first hour of a thermo-nuclear war. All these frightening facts have already come to light thanks to the efforts of economists and scientists and

All this monstrosity has to be analysed and assessed and depicted in the form of artistic human documents—novels, poems, plays—to enable common people to understand in concrete terms of their living experience the reasons of the spiritual degradation, disintegration of values, the growing anarchy in human relations, the cynical unconcern for the fate of humanity and other persons to which they are exposed and subjected by those who are enemies of truth and peace.

Ideological coexistence with these peddlars of hate and falsehood is out of the question. Writers and artists who are creators of spiritual values must write with the common people, who create all material human values in their fight for peace, for the liquidation of the cold war and for truth.

Of course, it involves a hard and persistent struggle because the means of propaganda and communication are generally controlled by those who profit by keeping the flames of cold war burning. But there is no other way to save humanity from being dragged into the abyss of spiritual degradation except through hard struggle against such criminal attempts. Ideological fight against cold war and its spiritual consequences is an integral part of the general fight for peace.

Writers and artists, being men of sensibility, are the ones who must lead this fight more consciously than before, because although the partial test ban treaty has slightly eased world tension and signs of thaw are visible on the horizon, yet so much poison and falsehood has already been injected into the minds of men that it calls for tremendous effort through word and deed to clear this poison and to silence those who still persist in this death trade.

Indian writers have a long tradition of anti-imperialist struggle and the noblest of them have never been indifferent to modern man's struggle for peace. But unfortunately, cold war propaganda has also affected some of them, at least the younger ones. The tendency to remain aloof from such broad movements of the age, as the Peace movement and the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement and to look at them with cynical disinterestedness only confirms the fact that the cold war iron has gone into their soul also and it has narrowed their vision and world outlook.

This tendency has to be fought against, and our writers have to realise that they can discharge their duty as creators of spiritual values only by affirming their faith in man and his future, which abiding peace on earth alone can ensure and guarantee.

Prof. Bernal's Message

*FROM FRONT PAGE

was therefore totally opposed to it.

The United States is also greatly increasing its stockpile of nuclear weapons in Europe and the Pacific while the spread of Polaris-firing submarines continues in the Mediterranean and the Far East.

There is no sign of a withdrawal of American troops from their interventionist role in the war which the unspokeable despot Ngo Dinh Diem is conducting against the people of South Vietnam.

The American threat to Cuba continues and has now been intensified in these last weeks, despite the terrible damage and loss of life Cuba has suffered from hurricane Flora.

On the other hand, the forces lined up in opposition to the continuation of the cold war are great and ever growing. Almost all the peace forces of the world

have welcomed the test ban treaty as a small, positive step forward and have declared their determination to redouble their activity for measures of disarmament.

In all parts of the world now heads of states and governments and major organisations are raising the demand for nuclear-free zones. In this regard I need merely mention the initiatives of five Latin American heads of state and of the Addis Ababa conference of 32 independent African countries in May of this year.

The success of the WCP delegations to these two continents, led respectively by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Linus Pauling and Dr. Carlton Goodlett of San Francisco, is an indication of these countries' tremendous potential for peace.

Herein lies the importance of India's role as a great non-aligned, peace-loving power. In the last few years some 90 countries have gained their

independence and become members of the United Nations. They have already made their weight strongly felt in the General Assembly on questions of disarmament and ending colonialism, and India has been giving them an invaluable lead both at the UN and at the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

I believe that these countries can and must exert a yet stronger influence for disarmament at the UN, and that India, with her long experience in this field, has a vital role to play here. It hardly needs to be stressed that her status as a non-aligned power for peace is essential to this enterprise.

I see your national Congress therefore as one of extreme importance, an essential link in the chain of regional and national conferences, and other initiatives, that the World Council of Peace and its associated national bodies are planning to hold all over the world. I wish it well.

SOVIET TUC OPPOSES SPLITTING MOVE OF JAKARTA CONFERENCE

* From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, October 28: The thirteenth congress of Soviet Trade Unions, a congress of the workers of the first socialist state of the world representing 68 million trade unionists, opened amid scenes of enthusiasm in the presence of 6,000 delegates and guests: Leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government led by Nikita Khrushchov were present and were given a rousing welcome.

THE Presidium included heads of trade union delegations that have come from 80 countries. The congress is to discuss the task of the Soviet working class in the period of fullscale building of communism. The tasks of the toilers who are in power in a socialist state and who own the means of production and all the wealth of the land, who run and build their own country in their own interest and enjoy the full fruit of their emancipated labour, the tasks in short, of a working class at the helm of affairs are of great responsibility and of decisive importance. And this is precisely what is reflected in the work of this congress.

In the presidium and on the floor of the hall are well-known workers' innovators of production, foremost collective farmers, trade union officials, prominent scientists, public personalities and statesmen. World's first cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin was invited to take a seat in the Presidium.

A message from the Central Committee of the CPSU was read out at the Congress. It stressed the leading role of the working

class, the most progressive and organised detachment of Soviet society in all the great achievements and in communist construction, at large. The trade unions were fulfilling with honour Lenin's behest to be a school of government and a school of economic management and a school of communism, the message said.

It called upon the unions to spread advanced experience, to develop communist forms of labour, to take more active part in drafting and realising economic plans, in the economic guidance and management of enterprises and to protect the interests of the factory and office workers and to devote themselves to improving working and living conditions.

The CPSU message stressed that Soviet trade unions exerted an active influence in rallying together of the forces of the international trade union and labour movement. The Central Committee urged the Soviet trade unions to "go on developing and consolidating international contacts with trade unions of foreign states, to strengthen the unity of the international work-

ing class movement, on a class basis, the solidarity of the working people in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, to rebuff resolutely all the splitters of proletarian unity."

Most of the first day's proceedings were taken up by a long and detailed report "The Work of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Tasks of Soviet Trade Unions in the Period of Fullscale Building of a Communist Society", which was delivered by Victor Grishin, Chairman of the AUCCTU. The report reviewed the period since March 1959 when the 12th TU Congress was held.

PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMY

Grishin spoke at length of the active participation of Soviet trade unions in the development of Soviet economy, in raising the living standards of the working people and in the all-round education of the man of the communist society. Since the last Congress, the membership of trade unions had increased by another 16 million, now uniting 68 millions. The trade union budget in 1962 exceeded a thousand million roubles.

"In conditions of the complete and final victory of socialism and the absence of exploiting classes, the working-class of the USSR has on its own initiative reorganised the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, an organ of expression of the will of the entire people," Grishin said.

The range of questions which came under the control and responsibility of trade unions was constantly being broadened, and their role in communist construction will further increase. The trade unions have already acquired considerable experience in fulfilling certain functions of government. They operate the social insurance service, they exercise control over labour protection and over observance of labour legislation, over the measure of work and consumption, they run a wide network of health resorts and cultural institutions.

But the extension of their sphere of operation to include individual government functions did not mean that the trade unions were becoming a state organisation, Grishin said. They shall continue to develop as independent public educational organisations.

Soviet trade unions had relations with more than 100 countries and devoted much attention to the struggle for strengthening united action of the world trade union movement, the TU chairman said. He mentioned the All India Trade Union Congress when listing organisations with whom the Soviet trade unions had strengthened fraternal cooperation in the past few years.

Soviet trade unions attached great importance to trade unions of Asia, Africa and Latin America and gave fraternal support in their fight for the liquidation of all forms of imperialist oppression and for far-reaching social and economic changes in the interest of the broad masses. Mentioning the proposal for calling an Afro-Asian Trade Union Congress, Grishin said that it could

NEW AGE

REVIEWING THE REVIEW

I HAD the privilege of perusing the first issue of *Indian and Foreign Review*. It's a fortnightly addition to the legion of journals which the Government of India is publishing. But unlike others, this one projects the image of India abroad, especially what India thinks on matters foreign.

It was conceived as a counter to China Today. I imagine that the attempt is to meet China on an equal footing on the propaganda front in the Afro-Asian world.

But I was aghast to see RAM SINGH as one of the distinguished contributors in the inaugural issue. He wrote on Malaysia. Bureaucrats in the Publication and External Publicity Divisions must be living in a particular paradise if they think that we can meet the Chinese offensive in the non-aligned world with the help of such characters as RAM SINGH.

Ram Singh is the Editor of *Thought*, a journal which even today regrets that John Foster Dulles was dead too soon. As one who writes regularly on international matters in the *Hindustan Times* he has been pouring scorn and ridicule on Afro-Asian and the whole concept of nonalignment. Every Afro-Asian diplomat in Delhi knows for whom this gentleman writes.

It was however not fortuitous that such a specimen was asked to write for the maiden issue. Because I find *Indian and Foreign Review* is being edited by the younger brother (politically speaking) of this Indo-American publicist. He is G. N. S. RAGHAVAN of the Publications Division who is also mixed up with *Thought* which reflects American thought of the pre-Kennedy era.

I will not be amused if I read in one of the forthcoming issues

a dissertation by Ram Singh on India and nonalignment.

WHY THIS INIQUITY?

The Voice of America deal is dead. Long live the DESAIS and SINGHS! It was they who hatched the neat little plot behind the back of the nation and even behind the back of the Prime Minister.

M. J. Desai has been promoted. He is going to be the Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry. If only Nawab Singh had a godfather or two he too would have got a promotion. Since he has none he is being retained.

If the report is true that Singh has been censured in writing, then I should say it is the limit of iniquity. Why he alone should be ditched?

TO GOENKA'S HELP

RAMNATH GOENKA, the jute magnate, is crowing over the discomfiture of the Union Home Ministry. The Ministry got into a pretty mess over the written warnings recently issued to four newspapers under the Defence of India Rules.

TTK, the chum of Ramnathji, wrote a stinking letter to NANDA protesting against the warnings. Overnight the warnings were withdrawn and instead "show cause" notices were issued to the printing presses which print the papers.

The whole thing is stupid. First of all, it is the height of high-handedness to deal with the press under the Defence of India Rules. But to withdraw the warnings in such a panic is the height of pusillanimity.

There are ways of controlling the jute press. After all, it is the chain papers that get away with the lion's share of Government advertisement. How shabbily they treat the poor district papers! There are more than one ways of deterring the monopoly press if only the Government has the will.

—VIJAYAN



Destruction in the Cauto Valley—Photo: Zentralbild, GDR

INDIA SENDS RELIEF TO CUBA HURRICANE HAVOC TERRIBLE

IT is a good news that the Government of India has sent supplies for relief to the hurricane-stricken people of Cuba. More deliveries are to follow. Further news of the losses suffered by the heroic island as a result of the unprecedented natural disaster indicates a terrible state of affairs.

Cuba is still counting its dead which have exceeded the original estimate of 1,000. In five days of wrath losing 80 inches of rain and winds upto 180 miles per hour, Flora caused damage estimated at over a billion dollars. Many cities were completely destroyed. 45,000 families lost all they possessed.

In Oriente and Camaguey provinces, which were the hardest hit, all highways, railways, bridges and culverts were demolished. Destruction included: the entire banana and plantain crop; 50 per cent of the sugarcane crop; 50 per cent of the coffee crop; 85 per cent of the cotton crop; 90 per cent of the cocoa-bean crop; 50 per cent of the rice crop and nearly half of Cuba's corn. Fifty per cent of all agricultural and mineral production was seriously affected.

In Oriente a farm named Limpio Viejo near the Cauto river was completely demolished. The people, the animals and the equipment were all washed away; there was only one survivor. All the inhabitants in a town of 155 persons located on the mountainside were buried under a rockslide precipitated by the storm.

The perimeter of the hurricane extended from the border of the Camaguey province to the city of Santiago de Cuba, 250 miles away. For five-and-a-half hours Flora stayed in that area cutting down everything like a giant rotary mower.

The animal loss included 3,000 horses, 10,000 sheep and 200,000 chicken. The fishing fleet in Manzanillo today and appraised them of the serious anti-tenant and reactionary nature of the Land Bill piloted by the Congress Ministry in the state, warned them against the serious consequences of rushing through such a Bill every day looking through all old documentary and feature films in Soviet archives and studying newspaper and photo archives. The diaries of the last Czar were part of our study material...

The Kerala State Trade Union Council (AITUC) has pledged wholehearted support to the just struggle of the kisans and appealed to the trade unions affiliated to the KSTUC to help the agitation in all possible ways.

E. M. S. NAMBUDIRIPAD and C. ACHUTHA MENON called on KAMARAJ NADAR and LAL BAHADUR SASTRI

These resolutions have been forwarded to the Minister of Revenue and the Planning Commission. Legislators belonging to the Communist Party, R.S.P. and P.S.P. are also reported to have sent a comprehensive note to the Planning Commission against the provisions which go against the interests of the tenants, and the Planning Commission's recommendations on land reforms.

Apart from a good number of Congress legislators who have raised their protest at the earlier stages before the Planning Commission, and later in the Select Committee, District Congress Committees of Ernakulam and Trichur are reported to have adopted resolutions protesting against the illegality of Congress bringing in a legislation designed to take away the rights of tenants established by earlier legislation and also against such provisions in the Bill that help the landlords to raise rent by 100 per cent and evict tenants for arrears of two years' rent.

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GREETINGS TO NEW AGE

THE following message of greetings on the Tenth anniversary of New Age was received from the Editor of Pragopress Feature Service of Czechoslovakia.

Dear Comrades, In the first place allow us to join those who have already congratulated you on the tenth anniversary of the existence of your paper. Ten years of struggles and work in the interests of the working class is a joyful balance, indeed. We wish you the next time you look back, may your

balance be even more joyful. Our century is a century of the decline of colonialism, a century in which justice is prevailing throughout the world.

We wish you once more much success in your further work in the interests of democracy and socialism and we shall be very glad if we shall be able to help you in the fulfilment of this task.

With comradely greetings

Dr. KAREL KRAL, Editor.

THE 'MIRACLE', ITS MAKERS AND HOW THEY MADE IT

The film called **THE RUSSIAN MIRACLE** brings to us with tremendous force the mighty achievement of labouring humanity that the Soviet Union is. John Reed, the brilliant American journalist, described the Great October Socialist Revolution so grippingly in his **TEN DAYS** that all who read it became veritable participants in it. Very much in the same way the two German movie-makers, Annelie and Andrew Thorndike, have captured in celluloid the whole exciting Road to Communism travelled by the people of Russia and of the former Czarist empire.

Seeing is believing and hearsay can never match what one sees with one's own eyes, so run the ancient proverbs. Annelie and Andrew Thorndike have enabled us to SEE history. No amount of gratitude can recompense this precious gift.

Here we publish an interview with the makers of the **MIRACLE**—Editor

AN INTERVIEW WITH ANNELIE AND ANDREW THORNDIKE

"WHEN we started on the job", says Andrew Thorndike, "we had no idea what we had taken on with **THE RUSSIAN MIRACLE**, what dimensions our work would take on" said Andrew Thorndike.

"When we went for a preliminary tour of the Soviet Union in order to write the scenario, we thought we would need two years to complete the film. People who knew better than we—for example, the Soviet Minister of Culture—said, five years would not be too much to get to know and come to an understanding with this 'Miracle'.

"They were right. If we had kept to our route and only stayed a week at each of the places noted we would not have returned till 1955.

"This was impossible. We spent half a year in Moscow, got to know the life, the way of thinking and feeling of the Soviet people in innumerable talks and visits to factories, theatres, schools and all kinds of other institutions. As well as this we spent several hours every day looking through all old documentary and feature films in Soviet archives and studying newspaper and photo archives. The diaries of the last Czar were part of our study material..."

"...which, by the way, were very interesting in many ways, as those who see our film will see," Frau Thorndike interposed. And then she gave a rough idea of the difficulties that had to be overcome in making the historical part of the film.

"It is indispensable that one always recalls the fact that every film is the work of many people. This two-part film would not exist if it were not for the work of our documentary department and without the stills filmic life. Not to mention the cameramen, lighting experts and technicians, the composers Paul Dessau and Rainer Breidmayr, the speakers... It is simply impossible to name everyone."

The two parts of the film run for a total of about four hours. In answer to the question if it was possible to estimate roughly the whole material used for the production of **THE RUSSIAN MIRACLE** Frau Thorndike answers: "In order to see all the material the public would have to stay roughly 125 hours in the cinema. We exposed about 100,000 metres of film, and we collected together about the same amount from the archives. Added to this are about

Czar's Photographers

"The photographers employed at the Czar's court recorded the life of the ruler and his family in minute detail. But it was infinitely more difficult to find film documents about the social conditions of the Russian working people or of the struggle of the working class of Russia, of the Red Army during the years of foreign intervention, and so forth. They belong to the treasures of film history."

4,000 photographs from the history of Czarist Russia and the first years of the Soviet State..."

"Every artistic work means in the first place a selection," Andrew Thorndike interjects. "It was not intended, and was also not possible, to show five decades of development. We limited ourselves mainly to the beginning, that is to say the historical starting point, and the present. The film-goer has not been spared having to draw logical conclusions himself. He will find his way to his own comparisons and judgments."

"We have striven to demonstrate the philosophical profundity of this theme through a portrayal of the lives of real people, for example, in the sketch of the life of Professor Emelyanov, who, as the grandson of a Russian peasant and son of an uneducated carpenter of Czarist Russia, has become the Vice-President of the Nuclear Authority of the Soviet Union, or that of the Kazakhstan doctor, Mursalyeva. And as regards the unused material: we shall need it for a few more films."

THE RUSSIAN MIRACLE uses contrasting comparisons, flashbacks of already seen material which elucidates the development, and a great variety of methods, ranging from satirical polemic (for example the commentary on the Czar's diary) to the filmic feuilleton. The hidden camera captures genuine details of poetical everyday life in the Soviet Union.

The achievement of the two documentary film producers and their staff have been acclaimed by leading newspapers in many countries. "The Thorndikes have succeeded in making visible the true formation of old Russia into a great industrial power and the civilizing leap forward in the world, and in doing this they have gained a fascinating documentary film," wrote the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine* on May 14 this year.

Worldwide Interest

Interest in this film very soon reached far beyond the socialist countries, whose distributing agencies had already taken showing rights soon after the Berlin premiere on May 6, 1953. Representatives from many western countries took the opportunity of seeing the film during the Moscow Film Festival and negotiated with the DEFA foreign trade department.

"Immediately following the world premiere in Berlin we began the foreign language versions: a Russian, an English, a French and a Spanish one. Actors from these countries were obtained to be the speakers. Thus Ferdinand Mayne of London is one of the three speakers in the English version. Mr. Mayne told us that it was a gratifying thing for him to be able to work on a film that would help to overcome in England the still existing false conceptions about the Soviet Union."

"Because you see," Frau Thorndike takes over again, "during our visit to West Europe we came across again and again in discussions the almost catastrophic ignorance of what has happened in the Soviet Union since 1917 and what is going on there today. The people who today propagate atomic war against Communism rely on the trustfulness of the badly informed."

"We would be very happy if all readers of your journal have the opportunity of seeing our new film themselves in their country and in their town. Because, actually, film people don't like talking a lot; their language is that of the picture."



In a small town in Mecklenburg the first school was reopened after the war. A young woman teacher from a working class family, who had landed there in the confusion of the war, devoted her whole time and her whole energy to the children.

SHE wanted the children who had been entrusted to her to have a good start in life, and she wanted them to bring happiness and not sorrow to humanity. With the tactful help of a Soviet teacher she went to work, and while she worked she continued to study—because she still had much to learn—so that she could pass it on to the children.

Soon her school made a name for itself as one of the best and most progressive in the area, and the young teacher was one of the first to earn the proud title of "Activist". Even today she is proud of this distinction which she earned with her educational work.

At the same time a small group of documentary filmmakers and newsmen were working in the ruins of Berlin. They had their fingers on the pulse of the day; they were convinced propagandists for the new world which was being built. One of these men was Andrew Thorndike. He had only just returned from a Soviet POW camp.

Even earlier he had had some doubts about the world in which he lived, but the years in the prison camp had shown him, a member of an upper middle-class family, what had to be changed.

In the camp he had met and discussed with citizens of the Soviet Union; he had recognised what was going on, and had learned to make a clean break with the past.

When he returned to Berlin he became one of those who stood in the front ranks, in the midst of the ruins, with the aim of building a better Germany.

After making a few short films, he began to work on the film "The Way Up" and its about reconstruction and film difficult beginnings. In this film he wanted to report on the life of children, and on the new schools. That is how the film director Andrew Thorndike came to the little town in Mecklenburg, and how he met the young and successful teacher. Today we speak about films by ANNELIE and ANDREW THORNDIKE, and it is impossible to disentangle which of them has the greater share in these joint films. These films are the result of close human contact, of creative cooperation, often of heated clashes, of a joint

endeavour to tackle and beat the problems. The Thorndikes have always pursued their chosen task of film making as committed members of the Socialist Unity Party. In partitioned Germany face-to-face with the opponent, they soon realised what was essential. As a result they made, in 1954, the documentary film "Du und mancher Kamerad" (The German Story), a basic discussion of the German past, a clear and honest summary of fifty years of German history.

When the war criminals raised their heads again in West Germany ever more impudently, the Thorndikes used the full force of documentary film to unmask them in the films "Holiday on Sylt" and "Operation Teutonic Sword". These films had a great effect on audiences in the German Democratic Republic, and they attracted much attention abroad too.

In their latest documentary film *The Russian Miracle* the Thorndikes have tackled the most exciting theme of today; the road to communism, and the story of the first country on earth to take this road. With a big team of well-qualified collaborators, they have studied the problem thoroughly in many years of work. In the film archives they discovered very valuable documentary material, some of it now seen for the first time.

With scientific precision they have extracted from the huge mass of material the basic historic process, leading from the overthrow of Czarism to the laying of the foundations of communism today. With creative ability they have shown the dialectics of this process. The secret of the annual of this film may be that human beings always take the central place in this story.

Many experts say that this film has created a new type of artistic documentary film. Annelie and Andrew Thorndike, the people who made the film, have received the highest awards. In the Soviet Union they received the Order of Lenin, and in the German Democratic Republic the National Prize, First Class.

Visiting India for the first time on a holiday cruise Thorndikes were present at the first showing of their film at the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi on October 28. They received a tremendous ovation.

Kisan Satyagraha In Kerala

TRIVANDRUM, October 28: As the state Assembly started discussion of the Select Committee's report on the Land Bill this morning, the Kisan satyagraha against the Bill acquired further sweep and intensity and spread to all the nine districts. Demonstrations were held in the district head quarters and batches of volunteers from villages offered satyagraha before the collectorates.

IN the capital, outside the secretariat a batch of thirteen kisan volunteers holding black flags shouted slogans demanding the withdrawal of the Bill and offered satyagraha till the rise of the sun. They were taken in a procession to the secretariat gates in the morning. There was also a demonstration and satyagraha by small land holders.

Inside the Assembly, Communist members had given notices of amendment seeking the circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion. This position is determined to fight this piece of anti-tenant legislation through every stage. On November 3, when the

NEXT WEEK

SPECIAL NUMBER

On the 46th Anniversary of the GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

WE HAVE STOOD BY OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE

M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR, Member, Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India explained at a press conference in Trivandrum on October 26 the decisions of the last National Council meeting of the Party. He also answered certain charges against the Party made by A. K. GOPALAN in an interview published in a prominent local daily. Certain portions of M.N.'s statement have already appeared in the daily press. Here we are giving the full text of his press statement.

As you are aware the National Council of the CPI had one of its important sessions at Delhi last week where it discussed questions of ideology, the political and economic situation within the country and also certain organisational matters.

The discussion on questions of ideology was necessitated by the challenge openly thrown by the Chinese Communist Party to the commonly accepted positions of the world Communist movement.

It was commonly accepted in 1960 that in the present day, world war was not inevitable and struggle for peace was the primary task of the Communist world. It is well known now that the Chinese hold a different view. Peaceful coexistence was accepted as the cornerstone of the foreign policy of all the socialist countries. Now the Chinese have rejected that position.

The role of the newly liberated countries like India, in the matter of maintenance of peace and fight against imperialism and colonialism was stressed in the 81 parties' statement. Now the Chinese do not accept this position.

They have repudiated the possibility of peaceful transition to Socialism in any country, though in 1960 they were also a party in accepting such a possibility at least in certain countries.

It is not my intention to enumerate all the differences. I am only pointing out a few which will help one to understand the attitude of Chinese party as different from other communist parties on certain recent occurrences of international significance like the Caribbean

Crisis, test ban treaty and the border dispute with India.

The National Council considers the above ideological positions of the CPC as thoroughly erroneous and pregnant with disastrous consequences and has reaffirmed its solidarity with common positions accepted at the 81 parties' conference in 1960.

As far as the internal situation is concerned the National Council has noted with satisfaction that during recent months, the offensive of the right reaction was halted temporarily, certain machinations of the imperialists were foiled for the time being and the people were able to secure certain gains.

Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil, representatives of reaction within the government have gone. CDS and Gold Control Order had been foiled and the Air Umbrella Scheme substantially modified.

These welcome changes have been brought about in the background of mass popular actions throughout the country like the Great March and Petition, the Bombay Bundh in which the Communist Party has played its rightful role.

The change in the situation has opened up unprecedented opportunities to the working class and its party to intervene more effectively in the National Political scene so that further advances are registered by the forces of progress.

The National Council has therefore called upon all the patriotic and democratic forces to unite so that a mighty and popular movement can be initiated to route the right reactionary forces, change



reactionary policies of the government and defend the people against rising prices and for better living conditions.

The National Council has called upon the workers to unite to get DA linked to the cost of living index and for getting corrected the fraudulent living index.

It has called upon the peasants to unitedly fight against tax burdens, for fixation of fair price for all commercial crops, for abolishing forward market in foodgrains and for the state-taking over wholesale trade in foodgrains.

The National Council has demanded the distribution of fallow land to agricultural labours and also to fix a minimum living wage for them.

Nationalisation of Banks assumes greater importance in this context and the National Council has appealed to all the democratic sections in the country to take up this issue.

Thirdly, the National Council had to censure Comrade A. K. Gopalan publicly for violating wilfully the directive of the Central Executive not to participate in the so-called democratic convention held in Calcutta.

The Communist Party, as every other party, has certain principles and norms of organisation to settle differences of opinion on issues that come up, to strengthen its unity

of will so as to become an effective instrument in the cause of service to people. The Party cannot countenance any attempt to disrupt the unity of the party and the unity of the mass movement it leads.

The democratic convention was a permanent body set up in West Bengal, with Party members drawn from various units of the party in the state with the deliberate object of splitting the party. Even those comrades in West Bengal who may have political and ideological differences with the line of the National Council, but who want the unity of the party to be maintained are against the activities of the democratic convention.

It was in a rally organised by this convention that Comrade Gopalan participated. Gopalan's participation in this rally helped to strengthen the hands of the disruptors and added weight and prestige to them. It was unfortunate that Comrade Gopalan did not realise this. The result is, his participation and association has helped only in weakening and disrupting the campaign and struggle for the release of Communist detenus and against rise in prices.

Comrade Gopalan instead of realising this patent error of his conduct has thought it fit to justify his action.

No organisation, least of all the Communist Party, can sit with folded hands and watch its own unity and fighting strength being disrupted by any one however high his position be. The strength of the Communist Party lies in the fact that it boldly takes such action against erring members with a view to correcting them. Such actions are not a censure on the record of service or the contribution of the comrade concerned. We have instances where other leading members were also censured publicly.

No Trailing Behind Bourgeoisie

The National Council was hopeful that Comrade Gopalan will surely realise his error and take the censure in the spirit in which it has been given. But reaching here I was shocked to read certain statements made by him which is nothing short of slandering the whole Party.

When such vile charges are levelled against us by a Comrade like Gopalan who holds a high and responsible position within the party it is only natural that it will lead to disruption in the party and will undermine its authority.

I would only request Party members and friends to consider soberly whether the line the National Council was following during the last one year was in the interest of our country, and of the working class, whether it helped to stem the offensive of the right reaction in the country and whether it has helped to expose and halt the manoeuvres of the imperialists.

All our decisions and various steps the National Council took are before the Party and the public. Majority of the Communist parties in the world have by this time openly expressed themselves against the Chinese Party. They have condemned China of its military attack on India. They have understood and appreciated the stand of the Indian Communist Party.

Today the World Communist movement stands solidly behind the Indian Communist Party, except of course China, Albania and a few others. They do not consider us as stooges of imperialism or of the monopoly big business.

When such vile charges are brought against us it is expected of Comrade Gopalan to explain what steps we had taken, what line we had pursued, what deci-

sion we have made that led him to this conclusion.

When the Chinese made a massive attack on Indian soil, crossed the McMahon Line, took Indian prisoners of war in thousands and reached up to Bomdila, the National Council of the Communist Party of India unreservedly called upon the people to rally behind Nehru in the defence of the country.

I hope nobody in the Party will consider this as trailing behind the bourgeoisie. When it was revealed that we were quite unprepared to meet this attack and that we did not have even enough arms to fight with it is true that we approved of the idea of getting arms from any source even including USA, on commercial terms.

We still hold that that decision was correct. While calling for negotiations to settle the dispute peacefully, we had demanded that the Chinese should withdraw to the September 8 position before negotiation could be started.

And after the withdrawal of the Chinese army and the intervention of the Colombo powers it has been the stand of the National Council that the government of China also should accept the proposals of the Colombo powers unreservedly, so that direct negotiations could be started.

Does any one consider these positions to be wrong and trailing behind the bourgeoisie, merely because our position and those of the government of India were the same? If so we beg to differ.

During this period, the national policies like non-alignment, planned development, policies which the CPI had supported in the past were all under severe fire both from rightists inside the country and the imperialists outside the country. In this context the CPI stood firmly behind these national policies and gave full support to the government in defending them. Does anyone consider this support we extended to the government a surrender to the bourgeoisie?

Can anyone deny that during this period the CPI was very vigilant about every imperialist machination and exposed them when they went against the interest of the nation? On the question of Kashmir, VOA, Air Umbrella etc., we were the first to protest and warn the nation against the imperialist machinations.

Now coming to the question of defending the interest of the masses is it anybody's contention that we were indifferent?

It is true that when the Chinese Army were marching into our soil we wanted the workers to refrain from strike and seek remedy to their grievances through the Tripartite machinery so that production may not be hampered.

It is also true that we wanted the workers to do everything in their power to step up production. And we are proud we did so. We are also proud that the working class in the country responded magnificently.

But when the situation relaxed we were also the first in breaking away from the Tripartite and leading workers to action wherever we felt it necessary. The strike in Barauni, Goa, Bombay Bundh, Calcutta hartal are all illustrations to the point.

May I ask Comrade Gopalan to remind me of one occasion in the long history of the Party as to when such countrywide mobilisation and action was planned as we have done for the Great Petition and March?

So I would only request Gopalan to refrain from such general and sweeping slanderous statements about the Party and concretely point out where we have gone wrong in our activities during the last one year.

Lenin's Light Is Our Guide



THE RUSSIAN MIRACLE

The wonderful documentary film of that name made by Annelie and Andrew Thorndike of GDR was shown in Delhi last week. Above is a scene from the film showing Lenin speaking at the unveiling of a monument to Marx and Engels. (See overleaf)