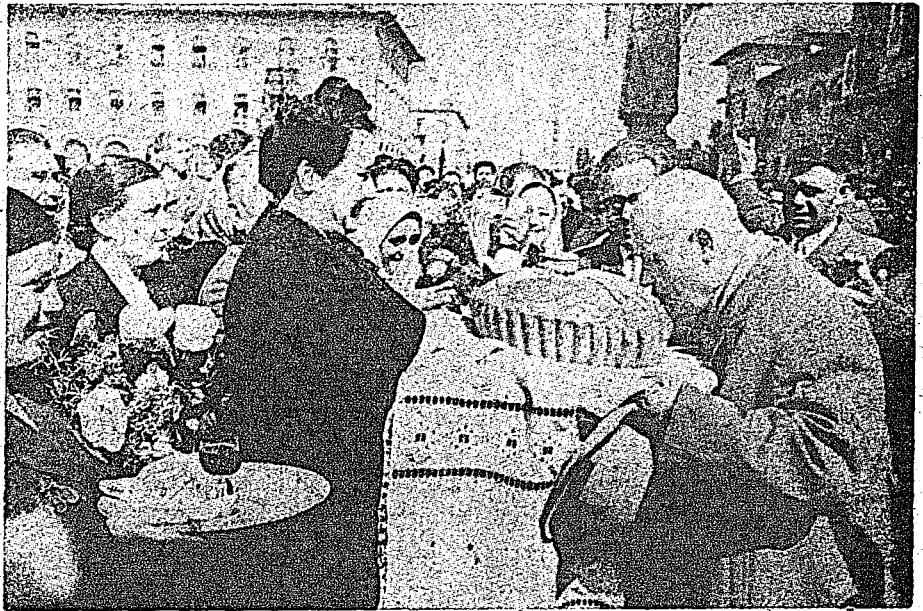


WELCOME, FRIEND

ON MAY 9-1960
Cont Copy

INDIA!



Khrushchov accepting bread and salt—traditional form of welcome—at a collective farm in Moldavia.

OUR country will welcome this week Khrushchov—the man of the day, the man who is tirelessly and with unprecedented success working to ensure a life of peace and happiness for mankind.

The Indian people witnessed his remarkable qualities when he worked his way into their hearts as a loved and esteemed friend, with his words and actions some five years ago. The whole wide world witnessed them when a few months back he burst his way into the hearts of the American people, set them thinking afresh of the futility of their past policies and made through his talks with President Eisenhower a universally acclaimed contribution to lessening international tension.

Khrushchov is so human and irresistible because he is the leader and spokesman of a new social order, a new state system, a new philosophy which represents the future of mankind in our epoch. The Soviet Union is the greatest power for peace and that makes its Prime Minister Khrushchov the strongest and clearest voice for world peace. His deeds match his words—take the recent unilateral cut in armed forces.

The Soviet economy under his inspiring leadership is blooming with Communist construction and the socialist prosperity of his own country enables him to offer selfless and generous aid to Afro-Asian countries struggling to build up their national economies and end the legacy of colonial dependence and backwardness.

Khrushchov is visiting our country at a very historic time, on the eve of the Summit, on whose success depends world peace and the well-being of us all. The Soviet people and Government have greeted the contribution of our country and Government in the

Editorial

cause of peace. We have no doubt that the Khrushchov-Nehru discussions will greatly strengthen Indo-Soviet cooperation for the success of the coming Summit.

Disarmament is the key to world peace. The Indian Government has already given whole-hearted support to the epoch-making Khrushchov proposal of total and general disarmament made at the United

Nations. We have no doubt that the coming consultation between the two Prime Ministers will greatly help towards making it a world without weapons, without war.

It is generally forgotten that half of the USSR lies in Asia. The founder of the Soviet Union, the great Lenin, with his eagle eye forecast a great future for Russia, India and China and their mutual cooperation. The imperialists and their agents are working for all they are worth to break Asian solidarity as their only hope to make up for the shift in the world balance. But they have already lost.

Let the imperialist circles speculate, intrigue and conspire. We have no doubt that the present visit of the worthy disciple of Lenin will help to further strengthen Asian solidarity for Asian and world peace.



The Soviet Premier admires the excellent crop of maize in the Stavropol territory of Russia.

Despite the short visit Khrushchov will visit the gigantic Suratgarh state farm and the magnificent Bhilai steel plant, the flourishing fruits of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation. We have no doubt that Khrushchov's talks with Nehru, on the eve of formulating our Third Plan, will result in more Indo-Soviet economic cooperation, on mutually beneficial and fraternal terms, which will help strengthen our national economy, our economic independence and popular well-being.

Khrushchov has earned historic fame for scattering the clouds and ushering in sunshine. The Indian people

will welcome him with wide open arms as a great and esteemed guest and true and noble friend. Prime Minister Nehru, will discuss with him, we have no doubt, very fruitfully issues of the day, of vital significance for India and the world at large.

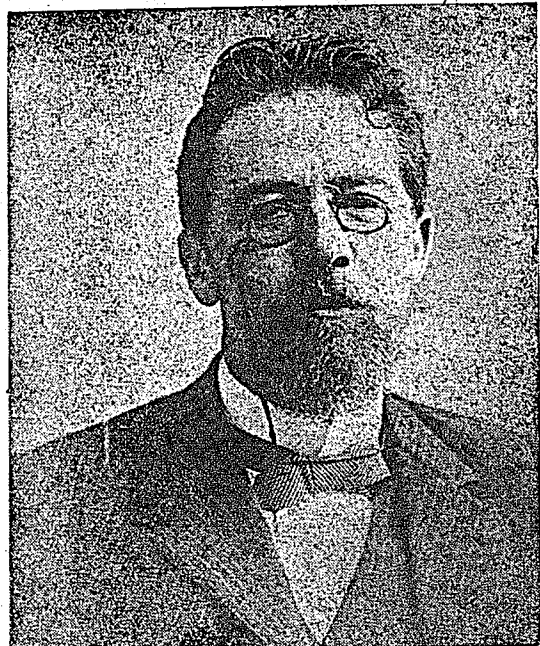
The two Prime Ministers are known to be good friends who understand and respect each other. May their coming meeting help give a new and happier turn to world developments. All men with clean thoughts and good hearts expect this and await the happy news.

(February 8)



Eisenhower examines the replica of the Soviet pennant on the moon, presented to him by Khrushchov.

NEWAGE
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY



Anton Chekhov.

CHEKHOV FOR A HUNDRED YEARS & FOREVER!

With gratitude and pride the whole world celebrates the 100th birth anniversary of Anton Chekhov, born on January 29, 1860. The grandson of a serf and the child of a ruined shopkeeper has given to the world the imperishable gift of a humane, gentle and ironic recognition of Man's condition and of his fate.

Trained as a doctor, Chekhov started writing in 1884 and did not stop till the end came in the German health resort of Badenweiler on July 15, 1904. The twenty years were given to living and to writing the masterpieces that in every country of the world still turn the heart to a sorrow, tinged with hope.

We find Chekhov's satire if we remember only The Chameleon and Death of a Civil Servant. We discover in him harsh indictment and anger, if we think back on Sakhalin Island and Room 6. Acute observation of the common peasant's life shines through The Peasants and In the Ravine.

Yet, perhaps, if we were to try to find his dominant characteristic we might as well as call it compassion. There is frailty in Man and cruelty too. Sad days come inevitably as autumn and happiness seems somehow always to be beyond our present situation. But Man keeps on loving and living with yearning—Man has a heart, which redeems all.

This we find expressed so often in Chekhov, but, it could be, not more poignantly than in The Lady With the Dog, To Whom Shall I Tell My Grief? and his play The Three Sisters. It is not pity for us all but merciful understanding and communion—

compassion — that Chekhov bestows.

It was characteristic of him that in 1902 he resigned his honorary membership of the Russian Academy of Sciences, for its expulsion of Gorki, despite so much of Gorki that he did not appreciate. Was not his work with Stanislavsky to create the realist Russian theatre a deliberate overcoming of a terrible shyness so that he could communicate?

Chekhov is a friend of thousands upon thousands in India for about three generations now and his impact on our own writers in all languages has been to add to their sensitivity and their mingling with the lives of our own people. His works have been translated into many of our languages and more intensive work in this direction is proceeding. In the capital a meeting was held on February 7, where the Union Minister for Culture, Humayun Kabir, spoke and Hindi writer Banarasidas Chaturvedi presided. Indian and Soviet writers paid their tribute and Soviet artistes performed for the occasion.

Celebration meetings have been held in all major cities and learned papers read to big audiences. But these were only momentous and brief recognition of a genius who belongs forever to all men everywhere.

FOOD SCARCITY IN W. BENGAL

The present food situation in West Bengal has given rise to a sense of alarm among all sections of the people here. And if the situation is allowed to drift, the State will be faced with a food crisis of unprecedented depth and severity in the coming months.

At this time of the year prices of rice are the lowest, because the new aman paddy, the main food crop of West Bengal, comes into the market. This year, however, prices have started spiralling upwards and have already reached levels untouched in previous years.

Both wholesalers and small traders admit that rice supplies in the Calcutta market during the past week have been "abundant"; yet prices have gone up by at least Rs. 2 per maund. Coarse, medium and fine varieties of rice are now selling at Rs. 24, Rs. 28 and Rs. 32 a maund respectively.

In the districts too, paddy is selling at Rs. 16-17 a maund and medium rice at Rs. 26-28. At some places, rice is not available even at these prices.

Little wonder that distress is widespread in rural as well as in urban areas. The people who were affected by the devastating floods last year are the worst sufferers. Distress sales of land, cattle and even household utensils have already started. At least three starvation deaths also have been reported.

The prevailing high level of prices and their steadily upward trend can only be explained by the fact that there is now large-scale speculative trading and cornering of paddy and rice stocks in the context of a huge shortfall in the internal production of rice.

S. V. Mathews, Food Secretary of the Orissa Government, who is here in connection with the meeting of the Chief Ministers and the Food Ministers of the two States, pointed out on February 7 that he was convinced that speculators and profiteers were behind the "alarming" rise in rice prices in Calcutta. He said that Orissa had despatched 40,000 tons of rice in January and so there was no reason why the prices should be so high.

He thought that the price of Orissa rice which was available in the State at about Rs. 18 a maund, should not be over Rs. 21 in West Bengal. If rice was selling higher, it was because of machinations of profiteers at work in the West Bengal market.

The main responsibility for this worsening of the food position, however, must be fixed squarely on the shoulders of the West Bengal Government. Its "new" food policy and its utterly misleading propaganda about bumper aman and aus crops this year have given opportunities to hoarders and profiteers to intensify their anti-social activities.

New Policy

The main features of the "new" food policy announced by the Government in December last are:—

* There will be no internal procurement by the Government either through direct purchases from the producers or through levy on rice-mills (as last year).

* There will be neither statutory minimum prices of paddy nor maximum prices of rice.

* Orissa has been linked with West Bengal to form the Eastern Food Zone, and surplus rice from Orissa will be imported into this State not by the Government but on private account through licensed dealers.

* The Centre will supply foodgrains from the Central reserve to make up West Bengal's deficit as calculated by the State Government.

The hoarders and profiteers could have hardly expected a more ideal arrangement to suit their interests.

They are now completely free to corner the entire stock of the new rice, to send underground considerable quantities of the imported

Orissa rice and to dictate prices to consumers.

The Government's propaganda about a bumper crop is also helping the hoarders.

The Government has been assiduously trying to create an impression that in spite of the loss of five lakh tons of rice due to last year's floods the yield in the non-flooded areas has been so plentiful that the total production this year will be much higher than in last year, and so instead of the estimated deficit of 12 lakh tons, this year's shortfall will be no more than six lakh tons as against eight lakh tons in 1959.

Tall Talk

Depending on these "statistics" the Government has been assuring the people that there is nothing to worry about. The deficit being much smaller, food position in the coming months will be quite normal with imports from Orissa and supplies from the Centre.

But, all this tall talk is nothing but a very crude deception. The Government's latest crop-cutting survey has completely knocked the bottom out of its claim about a bumper crop. The results of the survey put the total yield at 40 lakh tons. The previous estimate was 50 lakh tons.

Making a 10 per cent allowance for seeds and loss from handling and storage, the total rice deficit this year now amounts to 14 lakh tons as against the earlier estimate of only six lakh tons.

Obviously, the propaganda about a bumper crop is designed to lull the vigilance of the people, to cover up the activities of hoarders and to justify the Government's refusal to shoulder the responsibilities of procuring adequate stocks and of ensuring regular supplies to consumers at reasonable prices.

Moreover, such irresponsible propaganda seriously weakens West Bengal's case for adequate supplies from the Centre to make up the internal

* SEE FACING PAGE



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SINO-BURMESE AGREEMENT

BY MOHIT SEN

At the end of January Chou En-lai and Ne Win put their signatures to two documents—the Non-Aggression Treaty and the Boundary Agreement—crucial for the further strengthening of the friendly relations between two of our neighbours, two important Asian countries. This happy and promising event has aroused malicious ire in the expected quarters.

Nothing would have made the imperialists and our own Rightwing politicians happier than a break-down of the Sino-Burmese negotiations, which were being conducted at the highest level. Since the two Prime Ministers failed to oblige, they are attempting a new ruse. "Manoeuvre," "pressure tactics," "baited trap," and the like are some of the epithets more commonly used. Most Indian dailies have vied with each other in this regard.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to mention the facts of the dispute, the principles on which it was resolved and the significance of the solution.

At the outset it has to be stressed that the question, though complicated, concerned dispute over undelimited borders and conflicting claims to certain areas—made by both sides and based on different historical documents. It has become rather fashionable to talk of "inherent tendencies" of "Chinese expansionism" as the source of troubles for Asia, as the new MEMORANDUM PERPETUEL, but the Sino-Burma dispute was far removed from any such "tendency" propounded rather illogically.

Friendly Difference

The joint communique of the two Governments, the speeches of the two Prime Ministers and the subsequent acclamation of the agreement by Burma's U Nu—all make it clear that the Burmese leaders, far removed from Communism, also do not fall in line with these "theoreticians".

They have made it clear that they regarded the dispute as one between two friendly and newly-independent countries, with no fundamental differences involved. They have made it clear that they regarded the settling of this dispute as a further step forward in the removing of the vestiges of colonialism in Asia.

The northern section of the Sino-Burmese border; the possession of the area of the villages of Hapimaw, Gawlum and Kaifeng; the "perpetually leased" territory at the junction of the Namwan and Shweli Rivers; the territory under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes; the mining enterprises at Lufang which the Chinese till now had the right to run—these were some of the concrete problems posed and settled in the spirit of mutual accommodation.

Second, came the problem of the complete and final delimiting of the Sino-Burmese border. For this purpose, a joint committee has been established of an equal num-

ber of delegates from each side which will also settle the details of the solution to the concrete problems mentioned earlier—the two Premiers had already settled these in principle.

With regard to the delimiting of the border a basic principle has also been laid down. The border is to be established along the "traditional customary line," i.e., to say from the high conical peak northward along the watershed of the different rivers, in the region.

In one section—from the junction of the Nam Ting and Nampa rivers to the number one Marker on the southern delimited section—the boundary is to be delimited "as defined in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941."

To implement these principles—with geographical and historical connotations—the joint committee will send out joint survey teams and hold as many consultations as necessary.

The method adopted seems, to have been first the agreement at the highest level, on the basis of previous talks, notes and discussions, on the guiding principles; and second, the leaving of detailed implementation to what can be called a Boundary Commission. A practical and business-like procedure to settle a minor, though irritating and complicated, problem, it would seem.

Reasons For Success

But what made the adoption of this sensible procedure possible? The answer—significant and promising—is supplied in the joint communique.

"The two Premiers reviewed with satisfaction the remarkable advance made in recent years in friendly relations between China and Burma. This advance fully demonstrates the great vitality of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence jointly initiated and firmly adhered to by the two countries."

There was, therefore, this friendship to build upon and the Panch Shila to guide the further construction. In addition, as Premier Chou stated: "China and Burma are at once ancient and young states. Both of us have won independence not long ago and both our peoples wholeheartedly want to build up their own countries. We have every reason to maintain mutual friendship and co-operation but no reason whatsoever to antagonise or to encroach on each other."

There was, therefore, this basic unity of background—the new emergence to free-

dom—and interest — nation building in peace—which impelled powerfully towards agreement.

The final reason for the amicable settlement can best be put in the words of Ne Win: "It is now scarcely a secret that one of the purposes of my mission was to discuss the question of the Sino-Burmese boundary."

"That we have been able, during our brief stay here, to conclude an agreement which goes far towards finally settling this problem, which has defied solution for close to one hundred years, is at once a tribute to the statesmanship of both our governments and to the Five Principles." We would underline here only the reference to the statesmanship of both Governments, without which not all the previous friendship, or community of interest, or guiding principles, would have been of any avail.

It is a further tribute precisely to this mutual wisdom and good sense that the two Prime Ministers did not rest content with working out a boundary agreement. They drew up and signed a Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression, which will remain

a standing testimony to Asian maturity.

The Panch Shila is reiterated in this Treaty and then elaborated in Article Two which states that the two countries "undertake to settle all the disputes between them by means of peaceful negotiations without resorting to force." This is reinforced in the undertaking in the next Article, "not to take part in any military alliance directed against the other contracting party."

Asian Maturity

This represents a significant advance. It demonstrates afresh that though new to independent status, the Asian states can and do blaze the trail for the world. It needs no stressing that China and Burma are under different types of national leadership and have chosen different social systems.

Hence, the possibility of disputes—yet they have pledged to abjure force and adopt the method of negotiations, so much yearned for by the peoples of the world, sick with the dread prospect of war.

Then again, this Treaty, in the Article cited above, recognises the danger of all manner of military alliances that the imperialists, headed by the U. S. A. seek to foist on one Asian state after another. It recognises the nefarious design proclaimed with brutal cynicism, to "get Asians to fight Asians."

From this recognition comes the terse rebuff to imperialism—no military alliance, no

so-called "joint defence", no deceptive "mutual security."

New Star

Some of our own "gallant musketeers," as Pandit Nehru termed them, could do worse than learn a thing or two from the Burmese statesmen, whom they can scarcely accuse of possessing fellow-travelling propensities.

Such an assurance could hardly have been given by the Burmese leaders, were they equally obsessed as these gentlemen claim to be, with visions of the "Chinese dragon with the fiery nostrils"—so beloved of a certain brand of Indian cartoonists. The Burmese and Chinese Prime Ministers have wisely chosen to stand by and reinforce Asian solidarity as the best means of defence and security for both Socialist and non-Socialist states in this region.

Indian democratic opinion has, consequently, every reason to full-throatedly hail the success of the Sino-Burmese negotiations and to congratulate the statesmen of both countries. Not only has a long-standing dispute been settled to mutual advantage, but the solution has itself produced new vantage points for Asian solidarity, which we have built and cherished and which defends the interests of us all.

The Asian sky which bends down upon all of us has further cleared and in its vast distances a new star gleams. Is this not a matter of joy for India, no less than Burma and China?

W. Bengal Food From Facing Page

deficit. If the State Government itself supplies wrong figures to the Centre, the latter will be justified in giving much less foodgrains to West Bengal than what it actually needs.

It does not require much intelligence to understand that when the internal deficit is of the order of 14 lakh tons, procurement by the Government from the marketable surplus in this State has become a decisive factor in averting the food crisis.

With adequate reserves built up with stock obtained through internal procurement, imports from Orissa and sup-

plies from the Centre, the Government can fully control the market and ensure fair prices to both peasants and consumers.

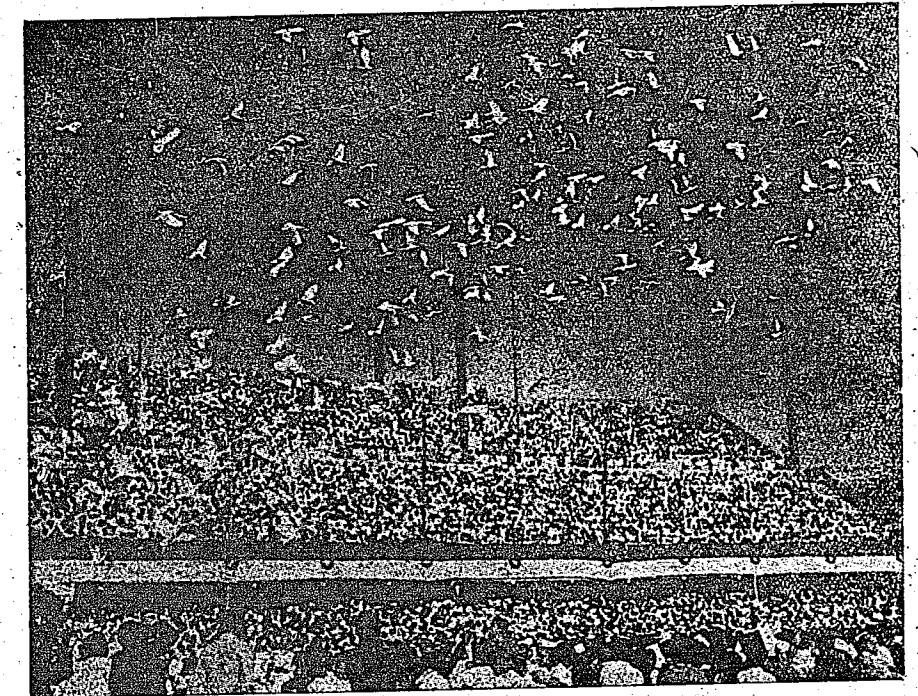
But the Government has not only abandoned the policy of even very limited procurement; it has discontinued the supply of rice through modified rationing in rural areas. In Calcutta, the rice quota has been reduced.

It is now abundantly clear that even after the bitter experiences of the past few years, and particularly after the disastrous consequences of its food policy in 1959, the Government still refuses to

adopt just those measures that are absolutely necessary to avert a grave food crisis. The Government's "new" food policy is only a recast of its old policy of strengthening the hoarders.

In a Memorandum, the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party has thoroughly exposed the pro-hoarder food policy of the State Government.

Pointing out that there is yet time to avert the crisis, the Memorandum urges upon the Government to scrap its present food policy and to adopt immediately alternative measures.



Peace Doves soar after Kozlov's speech at the Calcutta Civic Reception on February 2. —Photo: Sunil Roy.

WARSAW TREATY POWERS CALL FOR PEACE

A COMMUNIQUE has been published on a regular conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States, parties to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, held in Moscow on February 4. The conference discussed the most important problems of the present international situation and exchanged opinions on such major problems as general and complete disarmament and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Nikita Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, reported to the conference on the new substantial reduction of the armed forces undertaken by the Soviet Union and on the position of the USSR at the coming summit meeting.

In the course of a comprehensive exchange of views, the representatives of the countries attending the conference coordinated their future actions toward the consolidation and development of the present relaxation of international tension.

The conference participants decided to proceed with consultations in the course of preparations for the Paris meetings of the heads of government.

Complete Unanimity

The communique points out that the conference took place in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding and firm friendship. The exchange of views revealed a complete unanimity both in the estimate of the international situation and with regard to the specific issues discussed. The Political Consultative Committee adopted a declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The conference was attended by representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Rumania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and by observers from China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Taking part in the work of the conference was the Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Konev.

A declaration of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization was signed in the Grand Kremlin Palace on February 4.

The declaration was adopted at the Moscow conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The declaration was signed: for Albania by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, for Bulgaria by Todor Zhivkov and Anton Yugov, for Hungary by Janos Kadar and Ferenc Muennich, for the German Democratic Republic by Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grote-

wohl, for Poland by Wladislaw Gomulka and Josef Cyrankiewicz, for Rumania by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Chivu Stoica, for the Soviet Union by Nikita Khrushchov, for Czechoslovakia by Antonin Novotny and Viliam Siroky.

The ceremony was attended by all participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, by leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the USSR. The declaration emphasizes that at present, as never before, there are favourable conditions for fruitful talks on disarmament between the Eastern and Western states.

All member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization expressed their desire to become parties to a future agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The states participating in the conference regard the Soviet Union's decision on a new big reduction of its armed forces as an initiative facilitating agreement on total and universal disarmament.

Since its establishment, the Warsaw Treaty Organization has reduced the armed forces of its member-states by 2,596,500 men, and the present unilateral reduction of the army by the USSR will raise this total to 3,796,500.

The declaration stresses the positive example of the GDR which has unilaterally reduced its armed forces to 90,000 men and has renounced the

introduction of military service.

The states, represented at the conference, urged the NATO member-states, especially those which have the biggest military power, to respond to the unilateral reduction of the armed forces of the USSR by a reduction of their armed forces.

The Governments of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization belonging to the Committee of Ten, will instruct their representatives in the Committee to facilitate to the utmost its fruitful work and to press for the early drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Disarm Rapidly

The participants in the conference express the hope that the Western powers will also make their contribution to an early solution of the disarmament problem.

The declaration notes that the balance of forces in the world is changing increasingly in favour of those who stand for the termination of the race in rocket, nuclear and other arms, for the liquidation of the cold war. The declaration calls for the peaceful coexistence of all states regardless of their social system and ideology.

A situation has developed where any attempt by any

aggressive state to resort to arms for the solution of international disputes, to take to the road of war, would result in the immediate and complete rout of the violator of peace, the declaration says.

The declaration expresses the hope that all parties to the Geneva talks will exert maximum effort to secure in the near future the discontinuance of all kinds of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, on the surface, underground and under water.

The participants in the Warsaw Treaty declared that they supported the measures taken by the Government of the German Democratic Republic with the object of safeguarding peace against the revenge-seeking policy of the Adenauer Government.

The united might of the socialist camp, says the declaration, is a firm guarantee that no encroachment on the independence of the German Democratic Republic will be tolerated, nor another conquest of Poland's western lands nor the violation of the integrity of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia.

If the efforts directed towards the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states do not enlist support and a solution of this problem encounters subtleties, the declaration says, the states represented at the conference will have no alternative but to conclude jointly with other states that are willing to do so a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic and also to settle the

issue of West Berlin on this basis.

The states represented at the conference have reaffirmed their abiding striving for the improvement of the relations between countries of the East and the West, for the strengthening of confidence between them, for the development of all forms of international cooperation.

Non-Aggression Pact

Being convinced that the task of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, far from losing its significance, is becoming increasingly important with every passing year, the conference participants have deemed it necessary to declare that this proposal still stands, and that they are ready at any time to sign a non-aggression pact with the NATO member-states.

At present, on the eve of important discussions between the statesmen of the East and the West, on the eve of the summit meeting, the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization believe, it is highly important that all states should do their utmost to create a situation that would facilitate a successful outcome of the forthcoming talks.

The Governments of the Warsaw Treaty member-states noted with satisfaction in the declaration that, their tireless efforts aimed at an end to the arms race, the elimination of dangerous hotbeds of international conflicts, the liquidation of the "cold war", are enlisting the ever broader support of the peoples of the world and are bearing fruit.

They hold unanimously that in our time states do not and cannot have a greater and nobler task than that of contributing to the establishment of stable peace on earth.

ROME WORLD PEACE MEETING

★ By ROMESH CHANDRA

THE World Peace Council's Presidential Committee met at Rome on January 23 and 24 in an atmosphere totally different from that of any preceding meeting or Conference. From India Dr. Saifud-Din Kitchlew and I (representing Pandit Sunderlal)

"The prospects of peace have greatly brightened during the year," said Professor J. D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee, in his opening remarks, "and this is now recognised by people all over the world and this in itself provides a strong popular momentum, which it is increasingly difficult for the advocates of the cold-war to resist."

The very fact that we were meeting at Rome, capital of a NATO country, was proof of the new period of relaxation of tension which had opened up. Speaker after speaker referred to the great new enthusiasm spreading among the peoples, who had begun to see as never before the real possibility of achieving disarmament and world peace—not at some remote distant date, but here and now, in the immediate future.

Testimony to this spirit

of hope and confidence was paid by one world President after another. The celebrated Soviet writers, Alexander Korneichuk and Ilya Ehrenburg described vividly the enthusiasm at the session of the Supreme Soviet, which had just been held and had approved of the unilateral reduction in Soviet armed forces.

This was not the first time the Soviet Parliament had discussed disarmament, but the enthusiasm was never so great. And why?

Not only because of the great saving of manpower and of the country's wealth which could now be used for constructive purposes, for raising living standards. But really and mostly because this huge unilateral cut in armed forces was a proof positive that now it had really become a practical possibility to halt the forces of war, to bring

about that total disarmament of which all men dream.

From Japan spoke Professor Hirano; from Canada Reverend James Endicott; from France, D'Astier de la Vigerie, Laurent Casanova, Madame Eugenie Cotton; from Belgium, Madame Isabelle Elume; from Italy Parliamentarians Spano and Luzzatto; from Argentine Alberto Casella; from Poland, Leon Fruczkowski; from Lebanon, Moutron; from Germany, Heinz Willmann; Secretaries Fernand Vigne and Victor Tchikvadze gave reports of activities in other countries.

And all were unanimous in assessing the remarkable change which had taken place during 1959 in men's minds and in their will, determination and confidence in working for disarmament.

We were not now working for disarmament as in the past, when people doubted if our efforts could succeed.

Today we were working in an atmosphere of success, when the dates for the Summit Conference had been decided upon and when Prime Minister Khrushchov's proposals at the United Nations for TOTAL UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT

MENT WITHIN FOUR YEARS had sent a thrill of hope racing through the hearts of men and women in all lands.

Disarmament Drive

World disarmament was no longer a dream—it had been turned into a practical possibility when a leading power like the Soviet Union once more put forward detailed proposals for bringing it about in the earliest future.

Unanimously we decided to call for a great world campaign for disarmament, to bring about the dearest wish of all mankind—a campaign different from all our previous campaigns, for we would act when the vast majority of people in every country were filled with hope and confidence.

We would be working at a time when a vast number of new forces—organisations, groups, parties, individuals—were also acting for peace and disarmament, and when the reality was that the pressure of world public opinion could

★ SEE FACING PAGE

FEBRUARY 14, 1960

Independent peace-loving India occupies an honoured place in the present-day world; it has friendly relations with all countries and particularly friendly with the USSR despite the difference in social systems. This was clearly demonstrated once again through the visit of the head of the Soviet State, Voroshilov, Kozlov and Furiseva and the high-powered delegation that came with them.

THE friendship between the first and great land of victorious socialism and the largest uncommitted Asian nation is rooted in the solid foundations of historical experience. It is cemented by common interests and flourishes through the pursuance of common objectives to the lasting dismay of imperialist circles and all their mischievous machinations.

This historic friendship was not only restated but further strengthened by the visit of the Soviet delegation. It is an event of great positive significance for our country and the present day world, both of which are passing through a critical turning point in their onward march.

The very words used at the highest Indian official level give full-throated recognition to this historic phenomenon. The Rashtrapati in the State banquet welcomed the guests as representatives of "a great country which through its revolution initiated a new epoch in human history."

And he added "Though we have fashioned our revolution in different moulds our two countries have much in common. . . . We believe, as your leaders do that all efforts should be directed towards achieving a lasting peace where the fear of disastrous war is banished and man's skill and ingenuity directed to noble purposes."

The Soviet President responded with true and telling words: "Our relations have never been darkened by any unpleasantness. On the contrary, with every passing year they are becoming more and more profound and imbued with the spirit of complete mutual understanding and trust. . . ."

"Life has shown, and we note this with justification, that the relations that have so happily taken shape between our countries are exceedingly useful both to the Soviet and Indian peoples."

Prime Minister Nehru has hailed it as the unity of hearts. What binds the Soviet Union and India "in friendly ties," he said was "the love in the hearts of the peoples for each other. . . ."

The Prime Minister very realistically summated the warm and fruitful relationship between the two countries when he stated: "The relationship between India and the Soviet Union is one of closeness, friendship and love. It is obvious, therefore, that we should try to learn from each other. At least we are striving and at the same time we go along the path which we consider desirable for us. This is how nations advance. This is a very good relationship and I wish this would spread."

The Soviet leaders have paid fulsome tribute to India's role in world affairs. In the Rashtrapati's banquet President Voroshilov stated, "The mutual support which the Governments of our countries have been and are rendering to one another on a number of international issues undoubtedly contributed to the solution of these questions in the interests of

peace and security of all nations."

In the Calcutta civic reception, Vice-Premier Kozlov stated "The incipient lessening of international tension did not come of its own accord. It has been the result of great efforts on the part of all peace-loving nations and the great Indian people occupy a worthy place among them."

In the civic reception to the Soviet leaders Prime Minister Nehru in words expressing great admiration recalled "how hard the Soviet Government is striving to solve the problems of war so that the foundations of peace may be made stronger." Greeting the USSR for having "raised the banner of peace," he stated "We can only welcome this idea and in so far as we can, work for its success."

The fruitful results of the friendly discussions between the representatives of the two countries are embodied in the Joint Communique. Both sides have expressed gratification at the development of mutual relations, in a spirit of goodwill and friendship as a result of their "common adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence and active pursuit of peace."

Both sides have expressed their conviction that the disputes between nations should be solved "by peaceful means alone and not by recourse to arms."

Both sides have "noted with satisfaction" the recent trend towards relaxation of international tension and welcomed the Summit and expressed their "earnest hope" that it will result in "substantial progress in the solution of problems facing the world today."

Both sides stressed the importance of disarmament as an essential precondition to a permanent and lasting peace and that disarmament was also the key that opened up the path to world prosperity.

Prime Minister Nehru has hailed the Khrushchov proposals for total disarmament as a "courageous and brave proposal, a proposal of foresight which demands great attention by other countries also." The Indian Government has also welcomed the latest cut in Soviet armed forces "as an important step towards peace."

All this constitutes broad and vital agreement which greatly strengthens the cause of peace. This is further strengthened by solemn pledges of solidarity.

Indo-Soviet unity and amity puts tremendous power behind the cause of peace. It cannot but make the enemies of peace in all countries desperate. They are aggressively active within our own country, all the Right wing politicians and papers who trying their utmost to sow confusion about our country's independent foreign policy of peace and friendship.

Pandit Nehru has said "There is our Five Year Plan with which is linked the destiny of India but that thing is closely linked with the fact

whether there will be peace in the world or war."

The opponents of India's foreign policy are, therefore, not only enemies of world peace but do not bring any credit to India's name honour abroad and disruptors of national welfare at home. They must be trounced.

The Indian people with their healthy instincts and positive earlier experience spontaneously and willingly came to the conclusion that the visit of the Soviet leaders will not only strengthen the battle for world peace but also against India's economic backwardness and dependence.

The Soviet leaders and experts held long discus-

the industrialisation of the country."

At Cambay, Indian Oil Minister Malaviya, welcoming Vice-Premier Kozlov stated: "The progress made in these oil fields is with the aid of USSR and I am sure this aid will help to accomplish the goal set in oil industry by the Indian people." The Soviet statesman in reply stated: "In her desire to establish her own national oil industry India has found full understanding and support on the part of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries."

It is no wonder that the Indian people confidently expect Cambay to set in motion the chain of a national oil

Speaking for the visiting delegation Vice-Premier Kozlov welcomed with satisfaction the fact that "the Indian people and their Government have confidently taken the path of establishing their national economy, above all heavy industry, and have achieved, it appears to us no mean results in this respect."

"We felt for ourselves the heart beat of new India which stands at the threshold of her industrialisation. "Allow me in this connection to wish the Indian people every success in the struggle for transforming India into an advanced country with a highly developed industry. Only in this way the independence and freedom

VOROSHILOV VISIT

● By P. C. JOSHI ●



Voroshilov, Furiseva and Panjabrao Deshmukh in animated conversation.

sions with India's planners. It is useful to recall the mighty, vast scale and amazing rate of growth of the Soviet economy to get some idea of the growing capacity of the Soviet Union to aid India's planned development efforts on mutually beneficial terms.

The current Soviet Seven Year Plan provides for an increase in industrial output by 80 per cent and the increase of the volume of agricultural production by about 1.7 times. Kozlov stated with well justified confidence: "And our people are equal to these grand plans."

Over a thousand new big industrial enterprises have been commissioned during 1959. During the past year Soviet industry alone gave 50 billion roubles with above-plan production. President Voroshilov gave a graphic idea of the importance of this success by disclosing that the whole industrial production in Tsarist Russia was less than 50 billion roubles.

The organisers of such gigantic achievements at home visited the Suratgarh farm, Bhilai and Cambay, products of grand Indo-Soviet cooperation which help to raise Indian economy to a qualitatively new level.

At Bhilai Vice-Premier Kozlov significantly stressed that a mere 10 per cent cut in world armament budget can help put up 40 Bhilai's every year and that "the development of a national iron and steel industry is a decisive step on the road to

attained can be firmly consolidated."

How different is all this from the language of the officials of the World Bank and visiting dignitaries from the West who came only to sing for us the virtues of their private enterprise and how we must order our economy if we are to qualify for their aid!

The Rashtrapati expressed the nation's gratitude "for the economic and technical assistance extended to us by the Soviet Union. . . . in our plans to build a better and happier India."

Soviet aid, its fraternal terms, significant quality and quantity are widely recognised as a vital life-giving factor in Indian planning.

Indo-Soviet friendship has great historic significance. Indo-Soviet cooperation is a real big force in favour of world peace.

Indo-Soviet cooperation is a mighty lever to raise Indian economy towards greater and further economic independence and popular well-being. Indo-Soviet friendship is in India's and humanity's interest.

May it grow strong, inviolate and ever-lasting!

ROME MEETING

★ FROM FACING PAGE

bring about initial agreements within this year itself.

Each of the Presidents or their representatives who participated in the Rome meeting took pains to point out also the sinister efforts to spread the cold war, to turn back the advancing forces of peace and understanding.

Delaying Action

Professor Bernal himself pointed out that we must face equally the reality that "the advocates of the cold war have not yet surrendered and are fighting a tough delaying action."

And out of all this came the assessment: The immediate task is to create and maintain such a strong current of opinion by the time of the Summit meeting as will force its success.

The Presidential Committee carefully worked out plans to seek contact and common action with all the other movements and groups working for disarmament.

Of great interest for us was the message adopted by the Presidential Committee to the All-African People's Conference at Tunis. Clearly and unmistakably, the World Peace movement pledged itself to give full support to "the struggle against colonialism—which is a source of war—and for national independence—a guarantee of lasting peace."

A strong statement condemning the rise of anti-Semitism in West Germany and elsewhere was also adopted, as also a message to His Holiness the Pope, appealing to him to bring his great moral weight to bear together with all others for disarmament.

KERALA ELECTION RESULTS

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following preliminary statement on the results of the mid-term elections in Kerala:

Despite all manner of provocations, undue interference and unhealthy influences continuing right up to the time of the poll, the elections in Kerala have been conducted on the whole peacefully, with a very high percentage of voters exercising their franchise. This should be a matter of satisfaction for all. The Secretariat of the National Council of our Party congratulates the people of Kerala for so admirably conducting themselves in a difficult and trying situation.

The elections in Kerala brought forth an unprecedented upsurge of democratic and progressive forces not only within that State but all over the country. Tens of thousands of men and women, young as well as old, had worked untiringly in Kerala for the victory of our Party and its allies. Now the poll has shown that 3½ millions voted for us. In the rest of the country, many more millions rallied to the cause of our Party and their blessings and support came in abundance.

The noble part the democratic forces have thus played, both within Kerala itself and outside, in upholding the cause of justice and democracy will always remain a great source of inspiration and strength for the entire democratic movement.

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound gratitude to all those who voted for our candidates or otherwise gave their moral and material support to our cause. We are happy that a great cause has been equally heroically fought for by the people against overwhelming odds rarely experienced in election battles.

Serious Reverse

The Secretariat is, however, fully conscious of the serious electoral reverse our Party has suffered. This has understandably caused disappointment among all sections of the progressive people who expected us back again in Government in the service of the toiling masses and for advancing the cause of democracy in the country.

Our Party representing these democratic forces has lost an opportunity not only to implement the measures like the Agrarian Relations Bill which the Communist-led Ministry got passed in the former Assembly; it has lost an opportunity to sponsor many more such beneficial measures for the prosperity of Kerala and for the upliftment of its suffering people. This would, no doubt, be considered a great misfortune and loss for the toiling masses

and indeed for democracy itself.

Moreover, the democratic forces have every reason to be disturbed by the electoral victory of the triple alliance of the Congress, PSP and the Muslim League, for this victory essentially represents a temporary gain for political reaction and communalism. But in the wider perspective, this is only one aspect of the election picture and, by no means does it mean that the cause of the people has been lost or the party fighting for it has been rejected by the masses in Kerala.

On the contrary, the election results have underlined that the policies and principles for which our Party stands and which it sought to carry out when in control of the Government, have won more support among the people than ever before. Our Party has acquired new positions among the masses.

All this is unmistakably demonstrated in the over 3½ million votes cast in favour of the alliance of the Communist Party and non-Party democrats. Fighting single-handed against a most formidable combination of the Congress, PSP and Muslim League, backed by Big Money and supported in every conceivable way by the powerful Catholic Church and by communal reaction—a combination the like of which no other party has had to face since independence or before—our Party has not only held its ground but has won new positions. The votes polled by our Party and its allies have gone up by over 1,200,000 compared to the 1957 general elections.

Shift Towards Us

It is perhaps not out of place to mention here that the Congress High Command and its Parliamentary Board told the world last year that there had been a mass shift away from our Party and that 'many of those who supported the Communist Party in the 1957 general elections have changed over and are now opposing it.' We, of course, at once challenged the validity of that statement. But they nevertheless went on repeating it as one of their main arguments to justify Central Intervention and the dismissal of the Communist-led Ministry.

The results of the mid-term elections have now proved that their contention was totally wrong. If our political opponents have any faith at all in the ballot as an index of popular support or mass shift, they should now at least concede that a shift has taken place more in favour of our Party than anybody else. This plain truth is now beyond all dispute or debate.

Positive Gain

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India wishes

to state that this advance of our Party in the life of the people of Kerala constitutes a positive gain for the entire democratic movement in India and this positive factor will doubtless continue to play its beneficial role in the days to come. This will give new confidence and strength not only to the people of Kerala in their struggle for a better life but to the forces of democracy all over the country.

As for the detailed analysis and review of the causes of our electoral reverses in different constituencies, this will be done in due course by our Party. It is clear that altho-

ugh the democratic forces and our Party are considerably strong in Kerala, they are not yet strong enough to overcome the combination of all reactionary and communal forces in order to win an electoral victory. Naturally, proper lessons have to be drawn to make up this deficiency.

In conclusion, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India wishes to make it known that our Party has no hesitation in accepting the results of the elections in a truly democratic spirit. Together with all democratic forces, our Party will defend the gains the workers, peasants and other sections

of the toiling people won when our Party was in control of the Government.

Our Party will continue as ever to work for the progress of Kerala and for the well-being of its people. Towards this end, our Party will cooperate with everyone and in every step that may be taken. The Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI hopes that the other side, too would bear in mind that the Communist Party represents the biggest single political force in Kerala, supported by 3½ million voters and would show all due regard for this inescapable reality. This is demanded of them in the paramount interests of democracy.

Kerala State Secretariat, CPI, Declares

OUR ROLE—CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION

THE Secretariat of the Kerala Council of the Communist Party of India which is meeting in Ernakulam from February 4 to review the post-election situation in the State has issued the following statement:

The Secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India conveys its grateful thanks to the millions of voters of Kerala, who have expressed their confidence in our Party by voting for the candidates of the Party and non-party Independents supported by the Party.

The Secretariat places on record its warm appreciation of the tireless effort of Party members and thousands of active workers and supporters in every constituency whose self-sacrifice and service defy description. Many of them have had to face physical attacks and some have had to lay down their lives in these attacks. The Secretariat pays its homage to the memory of these brave workers.

The Secretariat thanks all the well-wishers of the Party outside Kerala who have sent contributions liberally to our election fund. Their good wishes and material help have sustained us in the difficult task that faced us.

No Rout

The results of the elections have certainly not fulfilled their expectations. The Party and its allies who secured 65 seats in the last elections and were enabled to form a Government have been able to secure only 29 seats—less than half—in the present elections.

This is being presented to the people as a rout of the

Communist Party. Facts, however, belie this story.

The Communist Party and Independents supported by it polled nearly 35.77 lakhs in the 1957 elections 23.78 lakhs which represented 40.4 per cent of the total votes polled.

In this mid-term election, they polled nearly 35.77 lakhs of votes which represent 44.2 per cent of the total of 80.9 lakhs of votes polled. On the other hand, all the other parties and Independents who participated together in the 'liberation struggle' polled 33.03 lakhs of votes in 1957, which represented 58 per cent of the total votes polled. Their poll in the present election is 45.15 lakhs, representing 55.8 per cent of the total votes polled.

Even taking the Congress-PSP-League alliance alone, while the Communist Party and supported Independents registered an advance of 3.8 per cent from 1957 to 1960, the Congress-PSP-League alliance's percentage of votes polled went up only from 52.94 to 53.2.

Increased Strength

That the Party was able to secure twelve lakh votes more in absolute numbers and increase its percentage of votes polled is the real measure of its strength and popularity among the people. Thus the Communist Party still remains the first party of the people in Kerala, and in fact it has emerged stronger than before.

This increase in our strength and the decline in the percentage of the combined votes polled by the parties and individuals opposed to the Communist Party should be seen

in the background of the forces pitted against it.

Neither the votes nor the seats secured by the Congress and the P.S.P. and the Muslim League are a reflection of their inherent strength. Not only did they have to pool all their resources and votes but actually had to rely on the church and the Nair communal organisation to mobilise votes on the basis of religion and communal fanaticism.

Danger To Democracy

The results of the elections do not constitute a victory for democracy. On the other hand, the Congress and the P.S.P., by actually encouraging the church to secure them millions of Catholic votes under threat of excommunication, and by allying themselves with communal organisations like the Muslim League and the Nair Service Society, have considerably undermined the noble values built up by our national movement and also the foundations of secular democracy on which our Constitution is based.

The emergence of these forces in the political life of Kerala constitute a danger not only to the economic, social and political advancement of Kerala, but also to the political life of the whole country.

The Congress Working Committee had sought to justify the intervention by the Central Government and the dismissal of the Ministry on the alleged ground that the Communist Party of India had lost the support of a considerable number of people of Kerala. The fact that despite the 'Vimochana Samara' and despite the combined efforts of all the forces

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FEBRUARY 14, 1960

WE print below extracts from a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The foundation of the Communist Party in August, 1920, was a landmark in Labour history.

Three elements combined to prepare the way for the Communist Party.

First, the experience of the early socialist movement, the work of the socialist pioneers and the socialist organisations, created the basis for the Communist Party. In fact, the Social Democratic Federation, the founding organisation of the socialist movement in Britain, which developed later into the British Socialist Party, became the Communist Party by fusion with other socialist organisations. Those included the militant sections of the Socialist Labour Party, Independent Labour Party and the Shop Stewards movement.

Second, the experience of the Labour Party and Independent Labour Party showed the disastrous consequences of reformist leadership and policies. Under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald; these organisations had been drawn in the wake of capitalist politics even before the First World War, while during the war, the Labour Party became identified with the jingo imperialists.

This experience, and the failure of successive, sporadic, left movements within the Labour Party convinced militant socialists of the need for a Party of a new type, based on revolutionary Marxist theory, and able to conduct the fight against the influence of reformism and capitalism in the trade union and Labour movement.

International Background

Third, the international working class had seen the complete collapse of the opportunist and parties of the Second International in the war of 1914-18. This had vindicated Lenin and the Bolshevik Party as the true inheritors of Marxism, alone faithful to the decisions of the socialist international.

The foundation of the Communist Party coincided with the formation of Councils of Action, which were the outcome of a long agitation, conducted in great part by the founders of the Communist Party, for solidarity with the Soviet Socialist Republics against the wars of intervention.

In the following year the betrayal of Black Friday by the reformist leadership dealt a blow to the working class and opened the way to a capitalist offensive.

It was then the Communist Party, with members playing an active role in industry and the trade unions, with its organ the Workers' Weekly and with the Minority movement, which built up anew the working class fight and ushered in a new left advance culminating in Red Friday and the General Strike.

In the years of reaction which followed, the reformist

FEBRUARY 14, 1960

FORTY YEARS DEVOTED SERVICE

leaders moved over to the open and shameful policies of class co-operation which became known as Mondism. They expounded the virtues of a supposed "new capitalism" as an alternative to socialism, capable of achieving the abolition of poverty and unemployment.

These illusions were systematically exposed by the Communist Party, and the correctness of its policies was proved by the subsequent world economic crisis.

The second Labour Government of MacDonald ended in shameful capitulation and MacDonald and his associates passed over to open coalition with the Tories against the working class, in the National Government of 1931. Thus all the Communist warnings about the role of the Labour leaders who had previously been lauded to the skies in all Labour Party propaganda, were justified by the event.

Throughout the next difficult years it was the Communist Party which rallied the workers to struggle in hard-fought strikes and battles of the unemployed.

When the reformist Labour leadership handed over the Daily Herald, built up by the struggle and sacrifice of the militant workers, to the millionaire firm of Odhams, it was the Communist Party which founded the new Worker to become the new independent daily newspaper of the working class. The maintenance of the Daily Worker for these thirty years, by the ceaseless efforts and sacrifices of the Communist Party and the left, has been a miracle of working class achievement without parallel in the centre of the most concentrated press monopoly in the world.

Solidarity With Colonial Peoples

In the midst of the arduous struggles in Britain, the Communist Party never forgot its duties of international solidarity, especially in relation to the struggle of the colonial peoples.

In the historic Meerut Trial in India, launched by the Second Labour Government against the early developing Indian trade union movement, British Communist workers stood in the dock with Indian workers, and went to prison with them in defence of the elementary rights of democracy and working class organisation in India.

As the capitalist offensive following the world economic crisis developed into the full offensive of fascism, the Communist Party took the

lead in rallying a common front against fascism.

Anti-Fascist Struggle

It was the Communist Party which took the lead in support of the heroic struggle of the Spanish Democratic Republic, against the rebel forces and the assault of Fascist Italy and Germany, and which initiated the organisation of the British Battalion of the International Brigade.

In face of the aggression of Hitler the Communist Party fought for the alliance of Britain, France and the Soviet Union as the indispensable basis for the defeat of Nazism. It exposed the Munich conspiracy of complicity with fascist aggression, and the subsequent "phoney war" of Chamberlain and Daladier; but when the anti-fascist alliance for the defeat of Hitler was achieved, threw all its energies into achieving the aims of the alliance and speedy victory.

Following the Second World War, the Communist Party, while actively supporting every progressive reform

News from brother parties

measure carried out by the Labour Government and the present membership is wholly insufficient for the tasks to be accomplished. A review of the lessons of these forty years should give rise to the sharpest self-criticism—of all faults in the work of the Party which have hindered its growth, whether in the form of opportunist or sectarian errors or organisational weaknesses.

Fight Against Toryism

In the subsequent period of Tory domination, the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the fight against Toryism, as also against Tory policies within the Labour movement; for peace in face of the H-bomb and nuclear strategy; and for socialism in opposition to those who have abandoned socialism in favour of fresh "theories" about renovated, reformed capitalism. With the publication of its programme, The British Road to Socialism the Communist Party showed in practical terms how to win socialism in the conditions of Britain. It is the only political Party which now stands for socialism.

The experience of forty years has shown that:

1) The theories and policies of reformism, and right-wing Labour leadership, bring only harmful consequences to the working class movement.

2) The political analysis and practical policies put forward by the Communist Party

in opposition to those of reformism, have on a wide series of major issues again and again proved correct.

3) The practice of the Communist Party represents a consistent record of indefatigable service without parallel in Labour history in the cause of the working class and the people.

4) The long series of attempted left wing movements and campaigns within the Labour Party, conducted without association with the Communist Party, have all collapsed. This demonstrates that success in the fight against right-wing leadership and policies depends on an organised political party of socialism, based on Marxist-Leninist theory, a party closely associated with all militant and progressive sections in the trade unions and Labour movement, which can rally a majority to defeat the right-wing reformist leadership and policies and pave the way to the achievement of political power by the working class and the coming of socialism.

5) While the Communist Party represents a serious organised force within the

working class out of all proportion to its numbers, the present membership is wholly insufficient for the tasks to be accomplished. A review of the lessons of these forty years should give rise to the sharpest self-criticism—of all faults in the work of the Party which have hindered its growth, whether in the form of opportunist or sectarian errors or organisational weaknesses.

In the light of this review, the Executive Committee calls on all Party members to prepare for the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the foundation:

1. To open a Special Fortieth Anniversary Recruitment Campaign, beginning from the re-registration of 1959-60.
2. To organise public Anniversary Demonstrations and meetings in every District in the principal towns.
3. To ensure that every Branch carries through some form of celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary, whether by a public meeting, discussion meeting, social or other event.
4. To ensure that every member studies the literature published in connection with the Fortieth Anniversary and utilises this in order to strengthen knowledge and understanding of the history and role of the Party.
5. To popularise the record of the Party and the significance of this Fortieth Anniversary among the widest sec-

tions of the Labour movement, to promote discussions and understanding on the lessons of these forty years, and on the basis to build up new support for the programme and policy of the Communist Party and bring new members into its ranks to fight for a Socialist Britain.

OUR ROLE—CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION

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pitted against the Party, the percentage of its votes actually increased while the percentage of votes polled by its opponents actually declined is the most effective answer to those who would even now seek in the election results a justification for the 'Vimochana Samara' and Central intervention.

Support To Progressive Measures

Now that the elections are over we hope that sincere efforts will be made to put an end to the bitterness of the past. The problems of the masses and of advancement of the economic and social life of Kerala must receive the topmost consideration of all parties and individuals.

We hope that the new Government will address itself to these problems in a non-partisan spirit, particularly when large sections of the State's people are anxious about the future of socio-economic measures like the Agrarian Relations Bill initiated by the Communist Party, when it was in office.

The Secretariat assures the people of Kerala that the Communist Party will play its role as a constructive and responsible Opposition in our parliamentary democracy. The Government can count upon the unstinted support of the Party in all the measures it may undertake in the interest of the people.



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A TEMPORARY SETBACK FOR DEMOCRACY

E. M. S. NAMBODIRIPAD ON KERALA OUTCOME

It is over a week since the results of the recent mid-term elections in Kerala were announced. It will take some time for us all to study and digest all the material that has come out. Yet, there are two obvious conclusions which would emerge out of even a preliminary look at the results.

FIRST, our assessment of the shift among the people, that is, that this shift was sufficient to defeat the Congress-PSP-League alliance and to secure an absolute majority for the alliance of Communists and non-party democrats was wrong. The number of seats secured by our alliance has actually been less than half of what we had in the previous legislature. Furthermore, seven out of the eleven members of the former Communist-led Ministry of Kerala are defeated.

It is these facts which were made most of by the anti-Communist papers when they spoke of a "rout of the Communists" immediately after the election results were known. But as details came to be known, a second conclusion began to emerge; and that was that the mass support which the alliance of Communists and non-party democrats had enjoyed during the 1957 general elections had not only continued but grown.

The number of votes polled by this alliance had grown from nearly 24 lakhs in 1957 to 35½ lakhs in 1960 which means a rise in percentage of over 3, that is, from 40.74 to 43.33.

As against this rise in percentage of votes polled by our alliance, there is a fall of nearly one per cent—54.19 per cent in 1957 to 52.52 in 1960 in votes secured by the Congress-PSP-League alliance. As for such other constituents of the liberation struggle against the Communist-led Government as the RSP, KSP etc., their percentage of votes has registered a fall of 2.4 per cent (from 5.07 per cent in 1957 to 2.67 in 1960). We have thus gained at the expense of the entire anti-Communist camp, though the gain is more at the expense

of smaller groups like the RSP, KSP etc. Particularly striking are our gains against the Congress-Muslim League alliance in Muslim areas. These areas comprise parts of two districts of Palghat and Kozhikode. The percentage of votes in these two districts registered an increase of 9.66 per cent and 11.60 per cent (from 44.13 per cent in 1957 to 53.79 per cent in 1960 and 34.78 per cent in 1957 to 36.38 per cent in 1960) respectively.

Taking twelve constituencies in which the Muslim League contested on the basis of the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance in 1960, the following figures are instructive:

● The Congress and League had together polled 4,48,267 votes in 1957 which came to 74.2 per cent of the votes polled. In 1960, their votes increased in absolute numbers to 5,14,753 but its percentage fell to 61.3.

● On the other hand, the Communist Party and its allies had polled 1,53,091 votes in 1957, but it increased to 3,22,116 in 1960. This means an increase from 25.3 per cent in 1957 to 38.4 per cent in 1960.

It is thus clear that, while we have suffered a setback in the number of seats secured, we have registered an advance in the number and percentage of votes secured. Significantly this reality can be fully grasped only if it is seen against the background of the broad developments that have taken place in our State in the post-independence years. These developments are:

● The Congress had an unassailable position among the people and the Communist Party was an extremely

weak electoral force, at the time of our country attaining independence. Although the Communist Party contested the general elections in Malabar in 1946 and in Travancore in 1946, it could not secure a single seat. As for the Congress, it secured all the general seats in Malabar and all the seats except one in Travancore.

But by 1952 not only did the Congress become a minority in terms of votes secured by it but unlike in most other States, it could not even secure a majority of the seats, either in Malabar or in the then State of Travancore-Cochin. Furthermore, it is significant that among the parties of opposition, the Communist Party came out the strongest and most powerful.

● This position continued and was further improved upon in 1954 when a mid-term election took place in the then Travancore-Cochin State and the periodical election to the Malabar District Board was also conducted.

In the former, the three parties of the United Front of Leftists who had an understanding with the PSP came out as the biggest electoral force and would have been able to form their own Government, had it not been for the betrayal of the PSP.

In the latter, the Communist Party with its allies was able to secure just 50 per cent of the seats (24 out of 48) and take charge of the administration.

● The 1952 and 1954 victories were secured by the Communist Party in alliance with other Left Parties. The Congress, therefore, was the biggest single party both in 1952 and in 1954 (although this was no more the situation in Malabar, as revealed at the time of the District Board elections). A further improvement on this was registered in 1957, when, in the general elections, the Communist Party with such non-party democrats as were prepared to work with it, was able to secure an absolute majority of

seats in the legislature, though on a minority of votes.

● This was taken by the Congress as a danger signal; it came to the conclusion that it was not in a position, on its own, to halt the advance of the Communist Party and the democratic movement headed by it. It, therefore, adopted the new strategy of forging a united front with all those who had nothing in common with it, except a blind hatred for Communism and the democratic movement headed by the Communist Party. It was on the basis of such a united front that the Congress fought the Communist-led Government during its 28-month tenure of its office.

● It was against such a united front of the Congress and other parties which had raised the banner of anti-Communism that our Party and its allies had to fight in the present mid-term elections.

The additional number and percentage of votes se-

curved by the alliance of Communist and non-party democrats in 1960 is thus not an isolated fact, but a part of the steady growth of the Communist Party and the democratic movement headed by it as an electoral force. The Congress on its own could not halt this advance in pre-1957 years; it has not been able to halt it during the last three years.

It is this reality that is slowly impressing itself on the spokesmen of anti-Communism not only in Kerala, but also in other States of India but even in other countries. Leaders of the anti-Communist alliance in Kerala like R. Sankar, KPCC chief and Pattom Thanu Pillai of the PSP as well as their friends outside are telling their followers that the increase in votes secured by the Communist Party is a point of danger to them.

Just as this is a point of danger to the anti-Communists, so is it a point which gives confidence that the democratic movement can register further advance and inflict defeat after defeat on Congress and its allies, if we discover and remove the

shortcomings in our work.

We, however, can ill afford to ignore the fact that we have suffered a temporary setback at the hands of our opponents. The agrarian and other reforms that had been initiated while our Government was in office are in danger of being sabotaged by the new Government that will be installed in the next few days.

A new offensive will be launched on the common people by the vested interests who have received a new impetus from our electoral defeat. Tens of thousands of active workers of the alliance of Communist and non-party democrats are already under physical attack, which is bound to continue unless the democratic conscience of Kerala and the rest of India is immediately roused against it.

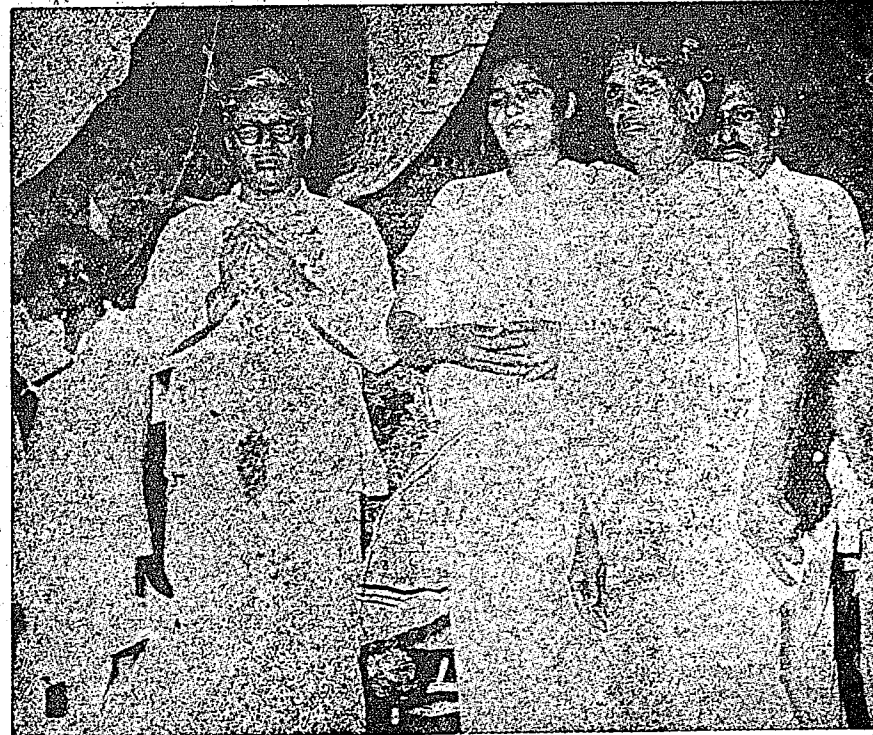
Our defeat in Kerala will prove to be a setback—although temporary—not only for us in Kerala, but for the entire democratic movement in India. For, the necessity to defeat us has made the Congress set a new pattern of political alliances: it is prepared to ally itself with any body with the sole idea of perpetuating its own monopoly rule.

This is going to make it more difficult for parties and elements of democratic opposition to carry on their struggle to end the Congress monopoly of power.

However, we are confident that this very seriousness of the setback suffered by the democratic movement in Kerala and in the rest of India will awaken us to the necessity for a more broad-based and more united struggle against reaction.

Democrats belonging to all political parties; including the Congress, as well as those who belong to no political party, would ponder over the grave threat to our glorious traditions of nationalism, democracy and socialism, which the alliance of the Congress being perfected in Kerala constitutes in our national life.

As the Executive of our Party's State Council expressed itself in its resolution of February 8, "The Party wishes to affirm that their victory is not a victory for democracy. This triple alliance took shape and continued its activities destroying all values which the Indian national movement, through half a century



E. M. S. Namboodiripad with Catholic women, who presented a garland to him.

of sacrifices and hardships, had built up. The Congress has buried its national traditions and openly allied itself with the Muslim League. Congressmen degenerated into storm-troopers of Mannam who has always fought the Congress. Those who talked

loud about the superiority of our secular State used the Church and priests to get votes.

"Thus vested interests who are at the helm of the Congress-PSP-League combine won this victory in alliance with the most reactionary

forces in our social life. They canvassed their votes raising false anti-Communist slogans for diverting the attention of the people from the burning political, economic and social problems."

(February 10)

RESOLUTION OF KERALA PARTY EXECUTIVE

The Executive Committee of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party met in Ernakulam on February 8 and 9. C. Achutha Menon presided. The Committee discussed the post-election situation and the tasks facing the Party and the democratic and working people of the State in the new situation created by the success of the Congress-PSP-League alliance in the elections.

Dr. A. R. Menon, attended the meeting on both days on special invitation.

The Committee decided to immediately launch a Statewide campaign against the large scale violence being unleashed against the workers of the Communist Party and against sections of the people who are supporters of the Communist Party which has already resulted in four murders during the last one week.

The Committee adopted the following resolution:

THE Executive Committee of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India sends its heartfelt gratitude to the people of Kerala who gave the candidates of the Party and Independents supported by it over 35 lakhs of votes despite the organised terror and violence never met before in any election.

The Executive pays its homage to those who had to make the supreme sacrifice in this struggle and sends its condolences to the grief-stricken families of those brutally murdered.

When it is remembered that contrary to the belief of Party members and sympathisers on the basis of the good work done during the 28 months of the Communist-led Ministry, the Party was not only not able to defeat the Congress-PSP-League combine, but could not secure even half the number of seats it had in 1957, it is clear that this is a very serious defeat for the Party. The Executive wishes to point out that it is useless trying to ignore its gravity or

minimise its seriousness. The Congress-PSP-League combine won this victory by wielding, apart from its own political influence, the entire organised strength of reactionary communal forces and the Church hierarchy. The truth is that the Communist Party failed to correctly gauge the influence which these forces still have on the common people.

But the Party wishes to affirm that their victory is not a victory for democracy. This triple alliance took shape and continued its activities destroying all the values which the Indian national movement, through half a century of sacrifices and hardships, had built up. The Congress buried its national traditions and openly allied itself with the Muslim League. Congressmen degenerated into storm troopers of Mannath Padmanabhan who has always fought the Congress. Those who talked loud about the superiority of our secular State used the Church and priests to get votes.

Thus the vested interests who are at the helm of the Congress-PSP-League combine won this victory in alliance with the most reactionary forces in our social life. They canvassed their votes raising false anti-Communist slogans for diverting the attention of the people from the burning political, economic and social problems.

Defeat Endangers National Gains

This defeat is not a defeat of the Communist Party alone, as mentioned earlier it is a defeat which endangers all the achievements of our national movement, and, as such, it is a defeat of all the ideals which the Congress held in the last five decades under the leadership of Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. We believe that Congress friends who were blinded by anti-Communism will be able to see this truth when they give it calm consideration.

It is a regrettable fact that the elections held on February 1 were not completely free and fair. In some places the triple alliance created a situation of terror which made it impossible for people to record their votes according to their free will. The authorities failed to remove this terror and give a feeling of security to the people.

Right on the election day polling began in Thiruvalla with the fatal stabbing of Communist voter Kunhu Kunhu. Eleven others were injured in the same incident. Goondas attacked some polling agents while they were on their way to the booths and even inside the booths with the result that Communist

candidates had no agents in some poots. They indulged in freely canvassing votes in the queues themselves, and attacked voters who had lined up for recording their votes.

The authorities failed to take any steps to prevent such incidents, create a feeling of security among the people and make the polling fair. In the eagerness to conduct polling in one day throughout the State, there was not enough police force in any place, there was just one policeman to a booth.

Consequently, many polling booths in Thiruvalla, Chengannur, Changanasseri, Haripad, Aramulla and other constituencies were fully under the control of the goondas of the triple alliance; many Communist voters kept away from the booths because of this terror and false votes were recorded in their names by the Alliance. In short what took place in these constituencies were not elections, but an election farce. We say this with the fullest sense of responsibility.

We are proud that facing the formidable opposition of the powerful Church, communalism, moneybags, partiality of the bureaucracy and the influence of the Central Government the Communist Party was able to increase its popular votes from 2,350,000 to 3,548,000. This proclaims the position of the Party among the people of Kerala. Even though there is a slight increase in the combined votes polled by the Congress, PSP-League parties, their increase however, is not proportionate to the increase registered by our Party. These are facts which

should give confidence to the Party and the democratic movement under its leadership in its firm foundation among the people and that the democratic movement can rapidly advance if our shortcomings are found out and rectified.

Though the popular measures adopted by our Government such as passing the Agrarian Relations Bill, Debt Relief Bill, Fixation of Minimum Wages for Agricultural labourers and promoting the cooperative movement had emboldened the workers, agricultural labourers and the poor peasants to stand firm and solidly, the Party could not remove certain misunderstandings that had been prevailing among a section of the middle class.

The Executive Committee calls upon the Party workers that they should give special attention to understand the problems of the middle class and approach them explaining our policy and solution of their problems.

Not only the middle class but also a section of the poor peasantry who had benefited by the measures of our Government had been caught in the grip of the Church oligarchy and communalists. The reactionaries have succeeded in turning a considerable section of them against the Communist Party.

Build Broad Democratic Movement

The Executive wishes to point out that the immediate task of the Party is to build up a broad democratic movement including those sections of the middle class and poor peasants who had gone against us.

Having secured a big majority in the legislature the Congress-PSP-League alliance have now an opportunity to establish a stable government and tackle the complicated problems of the State without any disquiet.

It is not for us to forecast how they are going to utilise their opportunity in service of our people. But one thing is clear: Kerala's problems are complicated; her problems can be solved only through maximum unity of the people enlisting mutual confidence and working with maximum cooperation.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned, it was made clear many a time that it will cooperate wholeheartedly with any measure or programme for the good of the people and advance of the State. Any government can expect the constructive cooperation of the Communist Party in its efforts to develop agriculture, regulate distribution of food grains, to develop small scale industries and cottage industries, broaden the cooperative movement, work for giving fair wages and bonus to the working class and protect their rights and such other measures for improving the lot of our people.

But it is doubtful whether those who have risen to power now are really anxious to have such cooperation and welcome it. The very fact that they are celebrating their victory by indulging in cold blooded murder of Communist workers and harassing the people, attacking those who voted for the Communist Party and setting fire to their homes shows that their intention is to hide the real problems of Kerala in their orgy

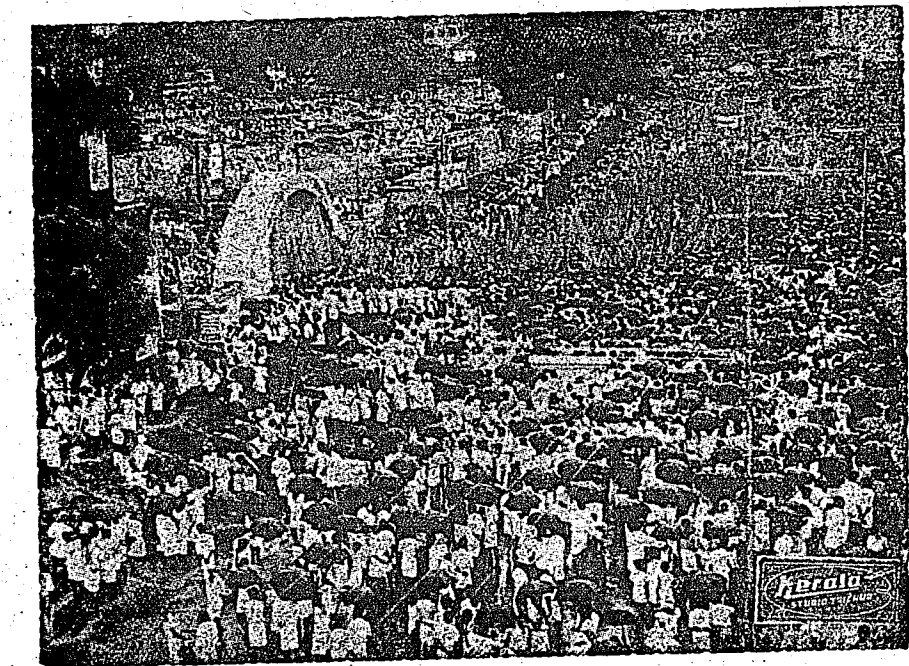
of anti-Communist madness generated during the election campaign. They are trying to deceive sections of our people by giving them contradictory promises which would certainly recoil upon them when facing reality.

We Shall Work For

Whatever may be their tactics, the path adopted by the Communist Party is clear: The Party will tirelessly work with greater enthusiasm and efficiency than before to solve the problems of agricultural labourers, working class, peasants, middle classes, intelligentsia, industrialists, religious and linguistic minorities and all other sections of our people. The Party will conduct agitations and struggles to solve their problems.

The Communist Party renews its pledge that it will tirelessly work for the overall advance of our State, to build a happy prosperous Kerala, for her agricultural, industrial growth and development of art and culture. While giving complete protection to believers in all religions the Party will work hard to build up a secular democratic State.

The Executive calls upon all our Party workers and sympathisers not to be dejected or demoralised by this passing phase of defeat, not to be vindictive in our approach to those sections of the people who had temporarily become our opponents and who should be with us, to be proud in the growing might of our Party and to march forward to action with unflinching faith in the final victory of our Party and the democratic movement.



The people of Kerala will rally in ever larger numbers round the Communist Party.

From Herdsboy To Prime Minister . . .

Nikita Khrushchov was born in the village of Kalinovka, Kursk Region (in the centre of the European part of Russia), on April 17, 1894. The Khrushchov family belonged to the poorest sections of the rural population, and N. S. Khrushchov's father had worked in the Donbas mines (the Ukraine) from his early youth.

KHRUSHCHOV went to work at a very early age as a herdsboy in Kalinovka and in the neighbouring villages. Joining his father in the Donbas (owned by Boscet), he later became a mining-machinery repair mechanic.

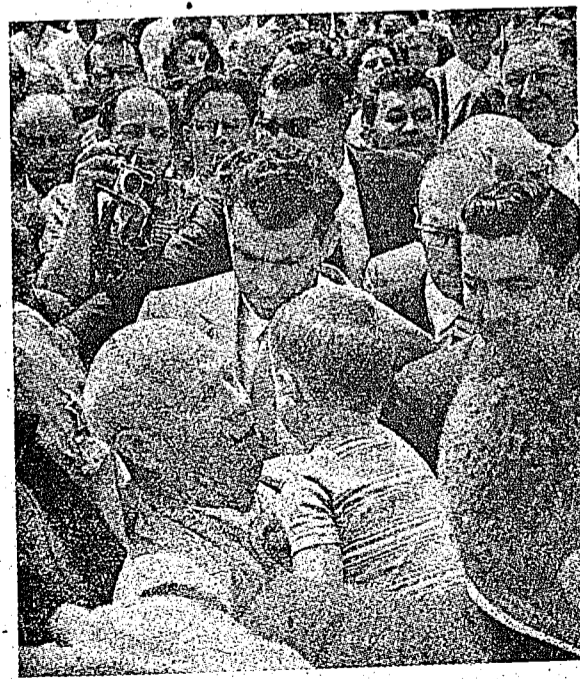
"When I was reading Zola's 'Germinal' he recalled later, 'it was under the impression that he was writing not about France, but about the pit in which my father and I were working. The lot of the workers was the same in France and in Russia.'

"And later, when I attended lectures on political economy and the lecturer spoke of the wage system under capitalism, of the exploitation of the workers, I had the feeling as if Karl Marx had seen the mine where my father and I were working."

In 1918, Khrushchov joined the Communist Party—42 years of glorious record in the great Bolshevik Party! During the civil war he served in the ranks of the Soviet Army on the Southern Front.

After the civil war, he returned to the Donbas, where he was employed for a time as assistant manager of a mine. He left the mine soon, to enter the Workers' Faculty of the Donets Industrial Institute, and after graduating from it he was elected Secretary of the Petrovsko-Marinsky District Committee of the Party, where he had to handle matters relating to mining and to agriculture.

Later, Khrushchov worked as Chief of the Organisation Department of the Yuzovka District Committee of the Party, whereupon he held leading Party position in Kiev (the Ukraine). In 1929, N. S. Khrushchov entered the Industrial Academy of Moscow,



Tumultuous welcome for Khrushchov in U. S. A.

Moscow Regional Committee of the Party. In 1953 he was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Since 1952, he has been a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In March, 1958, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR appointed Khrushchov Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

In April, 1959, in recognition of his outstanding services in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, N. S. Khrushchov was awarded a Lenin International Prize "For the Promotion of Peace among Nations".

Briefly speaking, Khrushchov could be described as a leader of the Lenin type. Nearness to the people is the most typical trait of his character and of his style of work. He maintains close contact with the working masses.

He often visits factories, construction projects and collective farms, speaks at meetings and talks to rank-and-file workers. The head of the Soviet Government is personally acquainted with thousands of workers, collective farmers, engineers and other

During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, Khrushchov worked at the front with the

Khrushchov—Harbinger Of Communist

fighting forces; he was a member of the Military Council for a number of fronts. He took an active part in the defence of Stalingrad and in the preparations for the defeat of the Hitlerite troops at Stalingrad. Important work was conducted by him in connection with the organization of the partisan movement in the Ukraine against the fascist invaders.

In 1949, N. S. Khrushchov was elected Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Secretary of the

workers employed in different parts of the vast country.

Thanks to his direct contact with the masses, Khrushchov is able to acquire deep knowledge of life, to check up on the efficiency of government undertakings. He seeks the advice of people in different localities on important state affairs and encourages the initiative coming from the rank-and-file.

His deep faith in communism, in the people, accounts for his complete frankness with the masses, even in cases where extremely complex political problems are involved. It is enough to mention in this connection his speeches on the question of Stalin's personality cult, and on the serious shortcomings tolerated formerly in the management of the country's agriculture.

Khrushchov's initiative was responsible for most important economic and social undertakings corresponding to the present stage of communist construction in the USSR, carried into practice lately beginning with 1953.

That applies among other things to the reorganization of the management of industry and construction. The change from the system of industrial ministries which directed the enterprises and construction jobs from one centre, from Moscow, to the system of Economic Councils functioning in the localities, has had a most stimulating effect on the development of the national economy of the USSR.

He has been the inspirer and most energetic organizer of the measures for the fast-



Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov

est advancement of all branches of Soviet agriculture.

Most important among these measures were: large-scale reclamation of virgin and lay lands (36 million hectares having been reclaimed since 1954); greater scale of state financing and quickening of mechanization and electrification of agriculture; decentralized planning of agricultural production; reorganization

operating at the present stage of construction of a communist society, he elaborated the principle of planning the national economy of the USSR for a longer term than five years. The main trends and tasks of the long-range plan for the development of the Soviet national economy in the current 15 years were outlined in his report to the session of the Supreme So-

of the Machine and Tractor Stations and the sale of agricultural machines to the collective farms; introduction of a new system and terms of state purchases of agricultural products from the collective farms.

The progress of public education will be quickened as the result of the law passed recently by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with the object of strengthening the ties between the schools and life. The principles upon which the new system of education is based are: combination of theory with efficient labour, combination of a general education with polytechnical and vocational training in the secondary school.

The system of higher education is also based on the principle of closest contact with production, with practice. Khrushchov's initiative was responsible for this most important reform which reflects concern for the harmonious development of the young generation of the Soviet people, for the all-round education of the builders of a new society.

Continuous progress of the socialist economy of the Soviet Union in the last few years has furnished the basis for the further improvements in the people's life. All this is justifiably associated in the minds of the Soviet people with the name of Khrushchov.

On the basis of the laws

the CPSU, the proposed control figures of the Seven-Year Plan were submitted to a general discussion by the people. More than 968,000 meetings were held in connection with this discussion; more than 70 million people attended these meetings, and 4,672,000 speakers at these meetings proposed amendments and corrections to the draft plan. Further recommendations were contained in the 650,000 letters addressed to various organisations.

Further perfection and development of Soviet democracy accomplished under Khrushchov's leadership and with his energetic cooperation have produced the most favourable results.

His personal role on the practical implementation of the principles of socialist democracy is exceptionally great. At his responsible posts of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and as Head of the Government, he adheres consistently and most strictly to the principles of collective leadership and fights energetically for the observance of the Leninist standards of Party life. That can be most convincingly illustrated by facts.

Two Party Congresses (the highest authority in the Party is its Congress) were held since 1953. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee (highest organ in intervals between Congresses) are con-

Government in internal developments and in the foreign policy.

In his report to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (1956), Khrushchov formulated a number of profound theoretical propositions on questions relating to the construction of communism and on fundamental and urgent problems of international affairs.

The theses developed by him concerning the possibility of peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in our time, about the general laws governing the transition, and multiple forms of the transition, of different countries to socialism, have been of extremely great progressive value and have been fully confirmed by life.

An example of a creative approach to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in inseparable connection with the practice of building communist society in the USSR and with the present stage in the development of international relations, is afforded by N. S. Khrushchov's report to the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU (1959).

This fundamental document, which is composed of five large sections, contains a profound scientific analysis of the essence of all basic social problems of our time and defines the tendencies of development in the coming period.

A specific feature of

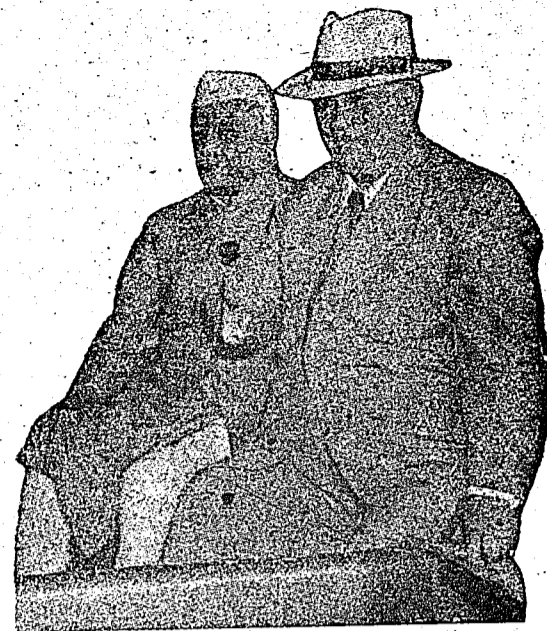
Khrushchov in the last few years, to the cause of world peace, to the relaxation of international tension and the struggle to end the "cold war."

Khrushchov misses no opportunity of exploiting every possibility for the consolidation of peace and mutual understanding among nations. He has visited many foreign countries, including the People's Republic of China, India, Britain, Burma, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Finland, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, and Albania.

Through these visits and personal contacts with leading statesmen, and, in particular, with President Eisenhower (Geneva, 1955) and with Prime Minister Nehru, and through his participation in a number of major international talks, Khrushchov has made effective contributions to the relaxation of tension and the settlement of controversial questions.

Asked by foreign visitors about the prospects of peace among nations, he invariably answers: "I am an optimist."

Of exceptionally great importance is the historic conclusion drawn by Khrushchov at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, namely, that the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan of the USSR (1959-1965) and of the economic plans of all the other countries of the socialist camp, "will create a real possibility of exclud-



Khrushchov with Nehru in New Delhi.

port, adopted a decision to carry out—unilaterally and irrespective of the course of the discussion on the disarmament problem at the UNO—a fresh large-scale reduction of the armed forces of the country, by 1,200,000 men.

The decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was met by the world public as a peace measure of world-wide significance.

Khrushchov devotes much attention to the problems of strengthening the friendly relations of Soviet peoples

inevitably be cast aside by history."

"What has the Communist Party been to you all your life and what is it to you now in the plan of your personal feelings?" was the question put to Khrushchov by a foreign correspondent in 1957.

Here is the answer given: "The Communist Party is dear to me because it expresses the interests of the working class, the interests of the people, and my own aspirations and dreams of building a new society."

"I am happy that, after having lived for many years and having worked in this Party for a long time, I can state that our Communist Party, advancing along the path indicated by Lenin, has ensured such colossal progress in our country that our people have blazed the trail which is now followed by many peoples of other countries."

"Like all Communists, I dream only of ensuring a happy life to all people, of enabling all people, irrespective of nationality, irrespective of religious beliefs, irrespective of the colour of their skin, to enjoy fully the fruits of their labour. We are working for the accumulation of as much material wealth as will be necessary to provide an abundance of everything to all the people."

"And we believe that mankind will achieve this. It is hard to foretell exactly when it will happen, but one thing is clear: mankind is advancing towards it. I rejoice at this, and, on my part, I am doing everything within my power to assist in this advance."

These words contain the programme of the whole life of this outstanding man who has advanced from the very thick of the people and is devoting all his strength and energy to the struggle for man's happiness.

The happiness of man and mankind—that is the goal of the new world. It is to the service of this great goal that Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov is devoting himself completely.

Peace, Stalwart Leader Of Construction

vened regularly. The Presidium, which is the executive organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, meets regularly at least once a week.

A most valuable contribution has been made by Khrushchov to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, to the scientific substantiation of the major undertakings implemented by the Communist Party and the Soviet

Khrushchov's theoretical propositions is their organic contact with life, with the tendencies towards future developments. Based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism, these propositions take into account the specific character of developments, and objective and subjective factors. It is hard to overestimate the contribution made by



Khrushchov with Mao in Peking

ing world wars from the life of society" in the immediate future, even before the complete victory of socialism on earth and with capitalism existing in a part of the world.

In September 1959 Khrushchov visited the United States of America.

The exceptional significance and success of his visit to the United States were, in substance, recognized unanimously throughout the world. Here are some typical appraisals given by the world's press of the visit and its results: "A blessed event for the whole world," "A victory for peaceful co-existence," "A big step on the road to a thaw," "A success in bringing West and East closer together."

In his well-known speech at the United Nations General Assembly Khrushchov put forward, on behalf of the Soviet Government, the great programme of our time—the plan for general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union proves by deeds its sincere desire to settle the problem of disarmament. The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, held in January 1960, discussed the question of reduction of the Soviet armed forces.

The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, having discussed Khrushchov's re-

with the peoples of the Eastern countries, that have already taken, or are just taking the road of independent national development. He emphasizes the need to give all peoples the opportunity of making all-round spiritual and material progress.

"It is necessary to assert the right of all peoples," he said in an interview with Indian journalists on July 29, 1959, "to live as they desire, and to deliver mankind from the policy of strength, with the help of which some persons in the West still intend to impose their rule on other peoples."

"It is necessary to deliver mankind from the methods of the last century, when the imperialists decided the fate of peoples and divided and redivided the world into spheres of influence for themselves."

"There is no going back to a past when a small handful of countries exploited the Asian and African peoples and waxed fat at their expense. In our day anyone who is not willing to take into account the aspirations of the peoples for peace and freedom, anyone who still seeks to continue the policy of colonialism and imperialism, in accordance with the 'divide and rule' principle—such a person will

Life Of Dedicated Service. To Toilers

STOP SHEDDING ALGERIAN BLOOD!

THE heroics of General de Gaulle vis-a-vis the ultras have not impressed many people. Particularly unimpressed are the Algerians. The Voice of Free Algeria has given the Provisional Government's reaction. De Gaulle's deceptive manoeuvres it stated cannot save his imperialist policies: "the Algerian people will continue their heroic struggle until the attainment of independence."

It said that French imperialist propaganda seized on this opportunity to give the impression that de Gaulle really wanted to get rid of those elements who opposed any improvement of the situation in Algeria and that de Gaulle was seriously working for a solution of the Algerian problem. It was trying to divert world attention from the bloodshed in Algeria.

But, the radio stressed, French propaganda failed to deceive the world and the Algerian people in particular. De Gaulle had dismissed those elements only to consolidate his power and to pursue his policy in Algeria which was based in the continuation of the Algerian war.

MEANWHILE, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France after a two-day session released a resolution giving its assessment of the situation, inside France as well as in relation to the Algerian war.

The resolution expressed satisfaction that the French rioters in Algiers and their civilian and military supporters had met with powerful and prompt rebuff from the working class and the rest of the people.

It noted that the French people were now demanding of the government to dissolve all fascist organisations, prohibit their publications, severely punish their supporters in the army and the police, disband the armed groups and strictly and promptly punish the leaders of the riot and their agents in France. It said that the events had shown how right the French Communist Party was when it insisted that the war in Algeria was a scourge that plagued the nation and a source of conspiracies against the freedom of the people.

The resolution stressed the necessity of a prompt stop to the war on the basis of the Algerian people's self-determination and the necessity of a cease-fire for realisation of self-determination. "To achieve this," it said, "negotiations must be conducted with those against whom the war is fought on the terms of cease-fire and also on the conditions under which the Algerian people will be able to decide their destiny at the earliest possible date in conditions of full freedom and security."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France declared that all the French people opposed the fascist riot and that in Algiers the riot met with no support from the Moslem population and was received with hostility by part of the European population.

It denounced the Government's connivance with the conspirators in the civil administration

organs and the army, thus encouraging the fascist armed riot in Algiers. At the same time, the Government prohibited the trade unions (including the trade unions) to meet against the riot and seized copies of Humanite and many many other democratic papers.

The resolution pointed out that the recent events showed that the Government and its agents did not lack means but the desire to use them to solve the Algerian question. Therefore, the Communist parliament members were opposed to conferring emergency powers upon the Government.

The resolution pointed to the necessity of promoting democracy in the country and electing a new national assembly based on proportional representation, which would really reflect the political trends in the country and which would support the struggle against the rioters and for a policy of true peace in Algeria.

The leadership of the Communist party called on the working people and all anti-fascist fighters and patriots "whose actions were of decisive importance in defeating the conspirators" to consolidate further their unity. It was the united action of the French working class whose total mobilisation in the general strike had made the repulse of fascism possible.

MACMILLIAN ANGERS AFRICA

BRITISH Prime Minister Harold Macmillan concluded his one-month African tour and sailed from Cape Town for home on February 5.

The angry demonstrations which greeted him in almost every place he visited are eloquent proof of the African people's determination to shatter their colonial bondage and win

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF SINO-SOVIET TREATY

SPRING was in the air when representatives of the two great powers of the socialist camp—the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union—gathered at the Chinese embassy in New Delhi this Tuesday on ambassador Pan Tzu-li's invitation along with a number of Indian friends and members of the diplomatic corps from other socialist countries to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. Rarely has Delhi seen such a scintillating get-together. It was a get-together of members of the socialist world family.

Great Friendship

"The atmosphere was relaxed, informal and in the real sense fraternal. Screening of two Chinese films was followed by a buffet dinner. The two ambassadors spoke toasting the Great Friendship as imperishable and eternal which nothing

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

national independence. They also testify that no matter what device British, U.S. or French imperialism may resort to, it cannot pull the wool over the eyes of the awakened African people.

British Manoeuvres

The British Prime Minister's visit to West, Central and South Africa followed his colonial secretary, Iain Macleod's visit to East Africa.

An earlier UPI dispatch noted that Macmillan intended to explore the currents and trends which would sweep Africa in 1960 and try to strengthen British influence and win new friends at a time when Africa was heading from the status of colonies to that of independent nations.

During Macmillan's tour, British home secretary Richard A. Butler, declared that Britain must necessarily build in the African countries a society which would "protect the minority rights."

Now what formula, one may ask, is Britain seeking to preserve its sphere of influence in Africa, at a time when U.S. imperialism is penetrating and expanding its foothold in the continent behind the mask of "anti-colonialism" and French imperialism is patching up its colonial empire with the so-called French community?

In the face of the irresistible African tide for independence, Britain has appointed a number of commissions for the East and Central African colonies which in turn have put forward plans for fraudulent "constitutional reforms." In this way, Britain hopes to appease explosive African sentiments and consequently preserve its colonial rule by adding a few veils to African representation and granting the Africans some powers of what it calls "internal self-government," which would enable Britain to pull the

wires while its fostered agents staged the show.

All this, it must be emphasised, is in addition to the usual and sustained practice of armed suppression, the sowing of discord and bribery.

The current Kenya round-table constitutional conference in London provides an example of British tactics. Despite Kenya's insistent demand for independence, the British colonial secretary stated at the conference that independence was not the objective of the conference.

With regard to the countries which have attained or will soon attain independence, Britain is trying by various means, including "assistance" and "investment," to maintain its political influence and control and economic domination and positions.

In the course of his tour, Macmillan put up a show of "keen interest" in the well-being of the people of the under-developed countries. He appealed to the Africans to "co-operate" with the colonialists and for "peaceful evolution." But it is impossible to cover up the true colours of colonialism.

In defiance of the demand of the Central African people for independence and dissolution of the "Central African Federation," Macmillan declared emphatically that Britain would not withdraw its "protection" of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. In addition, he asked the Africans to "co-operate" with the "Monckton Commission" which was seeking ways and means of preserving the "Central African Federation."

Macmillan also tried his best to justify the "state of emergency" proclaimed in Central Africa and other territories and the mass arrests of African nationalists including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland. He declared that this was "necessary" for the "maintenance of order." All this naturally arouses the anger of the African people. The demonstrators greeted him

by shouting slogans like "Africa must now be free."

—Ziaul Haq

G.D.R. LEADER'S MESSAGE

LEADING representatives of "the other Germany"—the one that is irreconcilably opposed to that great nation ever again being made a tool to plunge the world into the holocaust of a war—visiting India last week endeavoured to draw our people's attention to the serious situation that has lately been developing in Europe thanks to the expansionist ambitions of the West German rulers.

In a statement they made before leaving Delhi the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) delegation led by Deputy Premier Heinrich Rau, stated:

"The Government of West Germany continues to oppose the lessening of tensions in Germany. It refuses the conclusion of a peace treaty with both the German states and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin and tries to prevent by all means that positive solutions are found to the German problem at the forthcoming Summit Conference."

"The West German Government is reinforcing the campaign against the GDR and is openly preparing to conquer the GDR by force."

It is as a part of this trend in West Germany—the GDR delegation could not but draw attention of Indian authorities and public opinion—that the recent serious incidents of chauvinism and racial hatred have appeared in that part of their country.

Altogether acknowledging "considerable understanding" on the part of Indian circles for the GDR Government's efforts to settle things peacefully and to safeguard peace in their part of the world, the delegation could not help pointing out to Indian authorities that "the establishment of normal relations of all countries with the GDR" would be a great help to consolidate peace and facilitate the rapprochement of the two German states.

It is high time that the Government of India which is so actively striving and has such a big role in the preservation of world peace extends full diplomatic recognition to the GDR as it has done in the case of West Germany.

The delegation had discussions mainly on economic issues with the Indian authorities. They found agreement on the point that "there are great possibilities for cooperation of the industries of both countries and that much attention is to be paid to this question in course of further relations."

GDR help particularly in questions of utilising local lignite and iron ore deposits in Madras State was discussed between the delegation and the authorities here.

The delegation had talks with Prime Minister Nehru, Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon, Minister for Commerce N. K. Kunju, Minister for Agriculture Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, etc.

FEBRUARY 14, 1960

W.F.T.U. CALLS FOR WORLD DISARM CAMPAIGN

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which has just celebrated its 15th birthday has called on all national and local trade unions, whether they are affiliated to it or not, to mobilise to their capacity in favour of universal and controlled disarmament and to draw up a common economic and social programme, geared up to a plan of world without arms. It was a fitting birthday eve message from the premier world trade-union organisation, which had been founded in London in February 1945.

It was on November 30, 1959 that the WFTU addressed a letter to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) for discussion at the latter's congress. The WFTU had proposed to the ICFTU that a joint discussion between them be held on the basis of the resolutions of the ICFTU and the WFTU on the questions of disarmament. As a result of these discussions a common economic and social programme, geared up to a plan of universal disarmament, could then be submitted to the UNO.

But the ICFTU leadership neither circulated this letter to its congress nor did it care to even reply to the WFTU. However, the WFTU Executive met in Bucharest in Rumania from December 14 to 17, 1959 and discussed the great programme of our times—the Soviet proposal for universal disarmament.

The WFTU knew that the mass of the workers and the entire humanity is seized with the idea of building a world without arms and armies, a world free of all wars and all fear and apprehension of any war. It, therefore, has called on all the trade unions to discharge the task of mobilising the workers in support of universal disarmament. It has suggested certain themes around which the mobilisation could be made.

The unions should insist on immediate reduction in military expenditure, cut in taxation and a lowering of the cost of living. The colossal savings brought about by a universal restriction in armaments should be channelled into increasing the production of capital goods and raising essential consumption. The demand should be raised that fairer distribution of national income could be ensured by proposing economies in the subsidies granted to monopolies.

Higher wages, pensions, benefits and family allowances, new and more comprehensive social security measures and shorter working hours should be demanded with greater vigour by the various unions.

Long-term economic aid at moderate interest to economically underdeveloped countries which is fully possible if military budgets were restricted, should constitute one of the main planks of the world-wide movement of the unions.

Trade unions should insist on their right to be consulted and have a say in drawing up and implementing programmes concerning the economy.

Such should be the content of the new economic and social programme of trade unions. This would create new and favourable conditions for favourability of action of the trade unions and workers

FEBRUARY 14, 1960

LABOUR NOTES

BY RAJ BAHADUR GOUR, M.P.
SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

than Rs. 7 and Rs. 5 respectively to the lowest paid workers. And the Rs. 2 increase from January 1, 1962 shall be flat for all workers.

The Board has recommended linking of D.A. to the cost of living index at all centres. The index for nearest centre should be taken for centres that have no index. In cases where there is consolidated wage or fixed D.A., the Board says that D.A. should be made adequate and linked to the cost of living index. For Madras State the Board has recommended that D.A. should be neutralised on the minimum basic wage with 1936-39 as the base.

The Board has recommended that consolidation of D.A. with basic wage in each mill should take place at an index which will yield an amount equal to three-fourths of the average D.A. of the first six months of 1959. The remaining 25 per cent will continue as D.A. and shall rise or fall according to the cost of living index.

The difference between the future index and the point at which D.A. has been consolidated with basic wage shall be compensated, according to the existing method and the existing scale.

As regards gratuity the Board says that the amount of gratuity wherever calculated in terms of basic wages shall be paid in terms of the existing basic wage up to December 31, 1959; but from January 1, 1960 the basic wage for such purposes will include the increase given by the Board but will exclude the D.A. consolidated.

The working out of the differentials in the wages for other categories has been left to the employers and the workers in accordance with the terms and tenor of the report.

The Board has divided the industry into two categories. In the first category fall such centres like Bombay city and island (including Kuria), Ahmedabad, Baroda, Billimora, Navsari, Nadiad and Surat in Bombay State; Phagwara and Hissar in the Punjab; the Union Territory of Delhi; Modinagar in U.P.; Calcutta city in West Bengal; Bangalore in Mysore and the whole of Madras State. The mills in all other centres will fall in category II.

The Board has recommended that an increase at the average rate of Rs. 8 per month per worker shall be given to all textile workers in category I from January 1, 1960 and a further flat increase of Rs. 2 per month per worker shall be given to them on January 1, 1962. Likewise an increase at the average rate of Rs. 6 per month per worker shall be given from January 1, 1960 to all workers in category II and a further flat increase of Rs. 2 per month per worker from January 1, 1962.

These increases are subject to the condition that the average rates of Rs. 8 and Rs. 6 shall ensure not less

there should be an equitable sharing of the gains of rationalisation as between the community, the employer and the worker, according to the recommendation of the Board. It has also stressed that there should be proper assessment of work loads by experts mutually agreed upon and also suitable improvements in the working conditions.

The Board has endorsed the Joshi Committee (Textile Enquiry Committee) recommendations with regard to rationalisation and the setting up of national and regional committees to deal with essential matters concerning rationalisation as also its implementation within the industry.

The Board has recommended that for a period of five years beginning with January 1, 1960 no claim for further revision of the minimum wage should be made either by the employers or workers.

EMPLOYEES RESTIVE

A fact to be noted is that middle class employees are on the move.

The Confederation of Central Government Employees representing two million central government employees has given shape to the mounting resentment among the

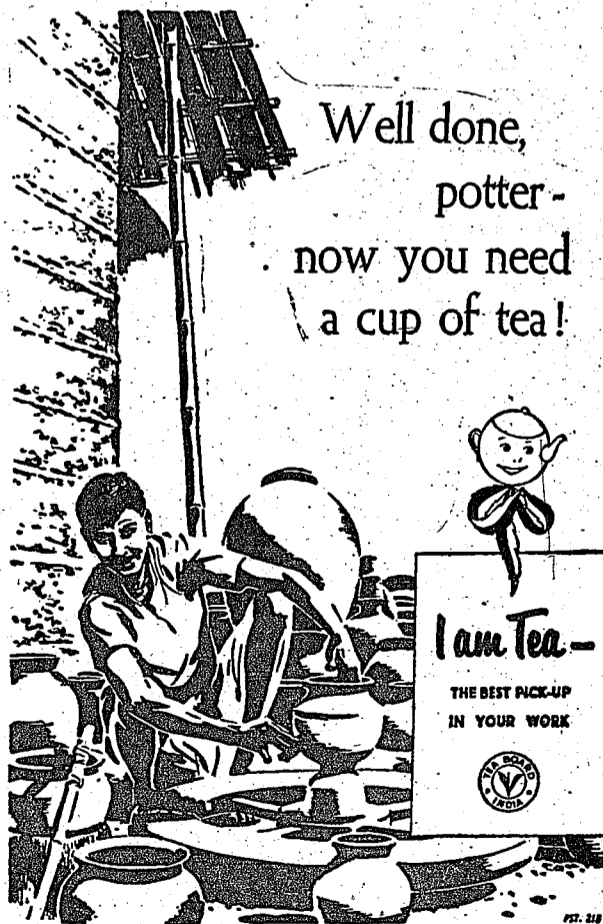
employees against the Pay Commission recommendations and the Government decisions on the same.

It has demanded that the Government convene a conference of the representatives of all central government employee's organisations to settle the grievances arising out of the Pay Commission report. It has decided that all the employees should abstain from work on February 13 as a mark of protest.

The All-India State Bank of India Staff Federation has decided on January 18, 1960 to serve strike notice on the management, since the latter has rendered fruitless all the efforts made by the Federation to arrive at an amicable settlement on their charter of demands.

The Bank is not prepared to refer the dispute to voluntary arbitration and a grant of Rs. 25 interim relief pending the arbitrator's award.

The Reserve Bank Employees have served their charter of demands about more than six months ago. The Reserve Bank has so far shown no signs of moving towards a negotiated settlement. Then there are many pending demands that have to be settled. The Bank is not prepared to grant any grievances machinery involving the principle of arbitration failing mutual settlement but desires to be the final arbiter of all disputes. The employees are growing restive.



Well done, potter - now you need a cup of tea!



I am Tea -

THE BEST PICK-UP IN YOUR WORK

Dawn is now breaking over the horizons of the dark continent. With nine independent states already in existence, with four more to join their ranks by the end of 1960, the separate national liberation struggles of the African peoples are now being coordinated and unified on the continental level. The liberation movement in Africa has thus reached a new stage.

The first All-African People's Conference held at Accra in December 1958, was the first organised expression of this process. The Second All-African People's Conference which concluded its deliberations on January 31, 1960 marks its further advance.

During the seven-day session of the Conference held in Tunis, over 140 delegates from 30 African countries, reviewed the rapidly developing situation since the Accra Conference, discussed the new tasks in the struggle for the liberation of Africa, and adopted over 20 resolutions and other documents.

The growing solidarity of the African peoples reflected in this Conference is at once the result of the surging tide of the national liberation movement that has swept over this last stronghold of colonialism, and a sure sign of its further rise.

Wave Of Freedom

● Nigeria, the largest remaining British colony in Africa—and in the whole colonial empire—with an estimated population of 35-40 millions, will achieve independence in October.

● A few months later, the Northern Cameroons (now part of Nigeria's northern region) and southern Cameroons (now a separate region) will vote in a plebiscite to decide the destiny of these territories.

● Trusteeship over French Togoland ends in April, while constitutional discussions with the British Government regarding Sierra Leone are to start early this year.

● Italian Somaliland, a trusteeship territory since after the Second World War, will become independent in December 1960. Alongside it, are French Somaliland and British Somaliland—and in all these three territories there is a strong demand for a united Somalia.

● The focal point of African solidarity is Algeria. The Conference has resolved to "recommend to African independent Governments to recognise the Algerian Government and to give regular aid to Algeria."

It "demands that tens of thousands of black African soldiers kept by France withdraw from Algeria and recommends the creation of African volunteers corps for the Algerian war of independence. Finally the conference launches an urgent appeal to the United Nations calling it to bring about peace and to recognise the independence of Algeria."

Alive to the dangers in the latest moves of the French Government, this resolution states: "the Conference denounces the plots to divide Algeria and affirms the principle of indivisibility and integrity of Algerian territory."

The resolution "firmly supports the stand of the Algerian government to open negotiation with the French Government on conditions of the application of self-determination and deno-

unces the delaying policy and manoeuvres aimed at prolonging the war of aggression against the Algerian people."

● Belgian Congo became the scene of a mighty upsurge when in its capital, Leopoldville, over 200 Africans were shot dead, over 1,000 wounded besides many thousands

apartheid in South and South West Africa.

A most important feature of the present mighty advance of the African peoples, is their growing sense of unity and the realisation of its importance. The old artificial boundaries imposed by imperialism are being broken down, the political gap between the Arab North and the Negro South is being eliminated. Any particular struggle on the African soil becomes the cause of the whole of Africa. The resolution of the Tunis

—it still retains a considerable degree of political influence.

Liberia's entire economy is in the clutches of big United States trusts, the Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company holding the dominant position. Out of Morocco's total investments, only ten per cent belong to Moroccan capital, while nearly 90 per cent come from abroad, mainly France. Imperialist powers are making enormous profits from the production of primary products and cash crops in East and West Africa.

strategic base, linking up with British Somaliland and Aden, for military operations in Oman, Yemen and the Persian Gulf. Britain is now reputed to have secured Southern Rhodesia to be used as a nuclear base, in cooperation with South Africa.

Macmillan's recent trip to Africa, has to be seen in the context of these developments and trends.

Economic Independence

All the more pertinent, therefore, was Ghana's Minister for Economy, Kojo Botso's remark, made from the rostrum of the Tunis Conference:

"If we examine the situation carefully and more closely, we are jerked up into a position of justified alarm and anxiety to ask the pertinent question: What sort of independence are the imperialists and colonialists giving to the new countries emerging into nationhood? We want independence, yes, but we must have genuine independence, not a faked one."

The Tunis Conference has shown itself to be aware of the need to strive for developing the independent national economy of the African States in order to consolidate their national independence.

Its resolution on economic development states:

"...Considering that foreign powers sometimes use their economic aid as means of endeavouring to divide African territories and isolate independent states from the territories that are still under colonial rule; the conference recommended to all independent African States the intensification of their efforts to wrest their respective countries from economic dependence on the imperialist countries, refusal to enter into any undertaking with foreign powers which may either directly or indirectly prejudice the movement for liberation and unity of Africa."

It called for the development of the cooperative system and the harnessing of essential resources of their territories in the interests of the masses, to ensure social justice and raise the living standard of their peoples, and the promotion of industrialisation, direction of efforts towards agrarian reform and modernisation of agriculture in order to make Africa's economy independent.

Among the other measures recommended by this resolution are the removal of customs barriers between independent African States, encouragement of joint enterprises and inter-African companies, conclusion of multilateral payments agreements, the setting up of an all-African investment bank and the creation of an all-African institute for research and training of various functionaries.

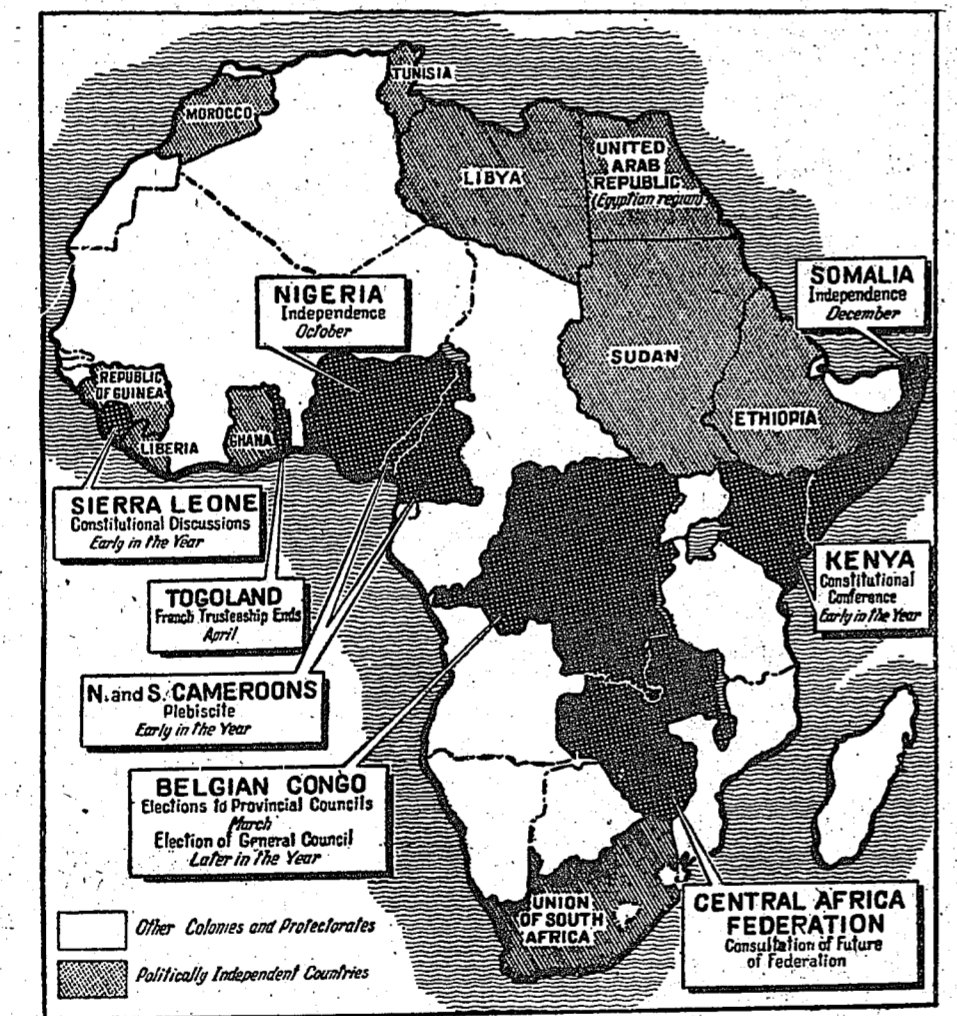
And finally, there is the general policy resolution of the Conference, which sums up the tasks now facing the African people. Among other things this resolution,

"Urges all African people to take immediate and unconditional action for total evacuation of all foreign forces of

AFRICA! AFRICA!

put behind the prison bars. The legend of imperialism, as "enlightened" policy in Africa was torn to shreds and now the Belgian Government has been forced to make far-reaching concessions.

● The bitter and long drawn out struggles of the African people in Kenya, Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias, in Tanganyika and in



Uganda, have raised the African liberation movement to a higher pitch.

The imperialist powers have been forced to bend on their knees and offer political concession—though not as yet to the satisfaction of the growing national movement in Africa.

The conference resolutions concerning these territories, and others as well, focus the attention on the immediate tasks facing the movement in the various territories, taking into consideration their respective levels of development.

The Conference also adopted a resolution condemning the application of the vicious and oppressive policy of

Conference on African unity states: "Considering that the division of Africa into different spheres of influence is a means for imperialist powers to maintain their pressures, the conference decides to rally the African masses around the idea of unity."

With the aim of promoting this unity the resolution calls for closer human and cultural

Even in Ghana, as revealed in the latest report of a British industrial mission, 85 per cent of its imports were in the hands of British and other European firms, ten per cent in the hands of Asian firms, and only five per cent in the hands of Ghana traders. On top of this foreign capital investment in Africa

is growing at a rapid pace. Uncle Sam's shadow is appearing on the African scene. United States trade with African countries has increased by 80 per cent in recent years, and West German trade has more than doubled.

And close on its heels, unfold imperialism's military plans. U.S. has its own military bases in Libya and Morocco, and has secured strategic "platforms" in Casablanca, Algiers, Oran, Tunis, etc. NATO is going ahead with its military base in Southern Rhodesia. There is close cooperation in the military field between U.S., Britain and the government of South Africa.

Kenya has long served as a

BIHAR MINISTRY BACKS TATA'S ZAMINDARI

From Our Special Correspondent

The fact of Tata landlordism and its oppressive system is not very much known outside Jamshepur even in Bihar, let alone the rest of the country. In reality, the Tatas are not only industrial monopolists, but also powerful landlords, who have been able to escape the clause of the Bihar Land Reform Act, for the last five years.

A deputation on behalf of the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union and the United Iron and Steel Workers which met the Prime Minister on March 24, 1958, among other things, drew his attention to this situation. The note submitted on behalf of the deputationists said "The whole township of Jamshepur, Burnpur and Kulti are the private properties of the Company, almost their private empire." No means exist there to exercise the rights of the citizens in these areas.

The exercise of the rights of meetings, access to quarters, establishing TU offices, etc., is made impossible by the Companies owing all land for miles and prohibiting any activity in their "private estates" as they call these townships.

"Such a state of affairs should be ended by suitable measures and by taking over their townships by the Government and by declaring all areas except the work shops free for exercising trade union and democratic rights."

Landlordism Rampant

The entire problem of the existence of Tata landlordism and whether it is governed by the provisions of Bihar Land Reform Act has been discussed by the learned court of the Deputy Commissioner Singhbhum in a recent Judgment dated September 29, 1959.

The Deputy Commissioner, in his orders held... "all agricultural tenants who are required by law to pay rent directly to the State, and none else have come under the State of Bihar and so also the hats, bazars, jalkass, serutis, fisheries and such other rights enjoyed by them (namely Tatas) so far in this estate (namely the 18 villages constituting Jamshepur) under Section 4 of the Act. Similarly all lands leased out by them have vested in the State of Bihar" (emphasis and brackets ours).

The Tata Iron and Steel Co. has filed an appeal against these orders before Patna High Court and it is expected that P. R. Das will be representing the Company.

Modern Kutchery

The Land Office of the Tatas is a modern Kutchery of a modern landlord, whose

AFRICA

* FROM FACING PAGE despatch of volunteers to African peoples engaged in struggle and especially the despatch of volunteers of Algeria."

The Tunis Conference has thus made a proper appraisal of the present situation in Africa, recommended measures to raise the liberation movement to new heights and given the clarion call to the African people.

The resolution also "recommends the establishment of an organisation for coordinating aid and solidarity of all in-

powers and scope could be a matter of envy for the zamindari kuteheries of a Maharaja of Darbhanga in the hey days of zamindari in Bihar.

Private houses in Jamshepur can be sold only with the permission of the company at prices and to persons determined and approved by it. The Land Office records all transfers of and decides disputes over inheritance in landed and house property, in fact arbitrates in civil disputes over these issues.

What a whiphand it provides to the company to strangle a democratic and free civic life in Jamshepur. No wonder the Company officers preside over the affairs of most of the clubs and cultural institutions. Even today the Company imposes the condition on these clubs not to lend their premises for political purposes.

The Company is, thus, in a position to deny political parties and trade unions, not to its liking, the use of any hall or club premises for their meetings. The Tata Company actually threatened legal action against the Utkal Association, because it allowed the use of its hall to the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union to discuss such a political issue as how to accord a reception to Nehru on his visit to Jamshepur.

The orders of the Deputy Commissioner Singhbhum would have dealt a fatal blow to this empire of the Tatas. On the one hand, vesting of all agricultural lands and lands leased out by the Company, markets, hats, etc., in the State of Bihar would have meant accrual of a vast sum of revenue to the people and the State.

On the other hand, it would have meant accrual of tenancy rights directly under the State to all the lease-holders, proprietors of houses, and tenants in agricultural land.

It would have freed the civic life of Jamshepur from the monopoly grip of the Tatas, and made it possible for the citizens to manage their own civic affairs.

Pro-Tata Bihar Govt.

One would have expected that the Government of Bihar would have energetically participated in the case against the Tata Company which was heard by Additional Deputy Commissioner and then by the Deputy Commissioner, Singhbhum, and decided in favour of the tenants and the State of Bihar. But nothing of the sort happened and it appears from the orders of the Deputy Commissioner that the Government of Bihar was actually interested in helping the Company.

The story begins on November 30, 1956, when on the advice of the Government Pleader at Chaibassa, a proceeding was initiated against

the Tata Iron and Steel Co., before the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Singhbhum asking them to explain why they had not submitted returns under the Bihar Land Reforms Act 1950.

Officers Get Busy

We find thereupon, Rajendhari Singh, the liaison officer of the Tisco in Patna (a big landlord and at present the Mayor of the Patna Corporation) addressing a letter DOJRR/72/57 on January 22, 1957 to the Revenue Minister, Government of Bihar requesting him to intervene in the matter.

On July 28, 1957 the Revenue Secretary, Government of Bihar addresses a letter to the Deputy Commissioner, Singhbhum saying "Government, therefore, desire that the notices issued by you, asking the Tatas to show cause why they had not filed the application and other relevant documents in respect of land acquired for them at Jamshepur, may be withdrawn immediately."

On the July 30, 1957, the Revenue Secretary wrote to Rajendhari Singh, the Tisco liaison officer, saying "...the position has now been made clear to the Deputy Commissioner, Singhbhum and he has been advised that in respect of the lands in question, the Tisco cannot be deemed to be an 'intermediary within the meaning of the Bihar Land Reforms Act.'"

The result was that the proceedings against the Tata Company were dropped. Meanwhile the tenants had

taken up their own cause. Ahy represented by Ananga Mitra, Advocate Jagbandher Mahto and 32 others of Aliyan Bustee, P. S. Bishtupore filed a petition praying that the State should realise rent from them.

Pleading For Whom?

It was this case which was decided in favour of the tenants by the Additional Deputy Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner Singhbhum.

The Tata Company was represented in this case by Mahabir Prasad, Advocate General of Bihar and the Government Pleader, Ranchi. Here is what the court of the learned court of the D.C. Singhbhum had to say about the advocacy of the Government pleader.

"The lawyer appearing on behalf of the Government was rather very brief in his arguments. He pleaded that the Company and the tenants had argued placing their viewpoints and the court should pass orders it considered proper in view of their arguments. When asked to clearly state the Government case he said he would stick to the letter of the Revenue Secretary dated July 29, 1957 on the issues under consideration although, he would not press the same."

While the final disposal of the appeal by the Tata Company rests in the hands of the High Court, the people of Bihar and of Jamshepur would be justified in asking an explanation from the Bihar Government for its peculiar conduct in this case.

They would be justified in demanding that the Government energetically pursues the case in order that a speedy decision is assured. At the same time, the people can demand that if there are any technical difficulties standing in the way, suitable measures should be adopted, and amendments introduced in the Bihar Land Reforms Act.

TERROR IN KERALA

Gopalan Wires Nehru

Ernakulam, February 9, 1960

A. K. Gopalan, M. P. who has set out on a tour of Central Travancore where large-scale attacks on Communists and sympathisers and even murder of those who voted for the Communist Party are taking place, in a telegram to the Prime Minister of India, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Chairman of the Home Minister sent this afternoon from Alleppey says:

"I am touring Central Travancore, where the situation in many parts is getting serious and alarming after the election. Four murders have taken place of those who voted against Congress. The victims are mainly Harijan, agricultural workers.

"On polling day in Thiruvella, the agricultural worker Kunjankun was murdered while going to cast his vote. After polling one old Harijan aged 85 was murdered for having

voted for the Communist parade in Ettumannur at-candidate.

"The Congress victory parade in Ettumannur attacked a shop and killed Damodaran. On February 2, at Kayamkulam the Communist candidate's agent Raghavan was murdered.

"On polling day in Hari-pad people who came to vote were driven away from queues by rowdies, while in Aranmula, the Communist candidate's agent was assaulted inside the polling station. The huts of poor Harijans are being burnt down.

"Muslim League leader Bafaki Thangal has openly threatened social boycott of those who voted Communist.

"Employers are refusing work to those workers who voted for Communist candidates. The situation is getting worse day by day." A. K. Gopalan is going to visit the villages in Niranam area and Vemmony.

NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV

NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV displays tireless activity in the international arena. He holds that direct contacts between statesmen and public figures of different countries is one of the most effective means for promoting relaxation of international tension and strengthening peaceful cooperation among peoples.

Always extending hospitable welcome to the leaders of other countries, when receiving them in the Kremlin, Khrushchov at the same time travels much himself to foreign countries. He gladly utilises the possibility of making such trips not only in very important cases, when his journey is connected with world interests (for instance, his visit to the USA), but also in those cases when the aim and results of the journey are of a more local nature. To grudge no time or efforts for the cause of peace—such is his invariable principle.

In recent years Khrushchov has visited many countries of the world together with other Soviet leaders. He has been to the People's Republic of China, Britain, India, Burma, Finland, Afghanistan, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia and the USA.

Now he will visit India, Burma as well as Indonesia and Afghanistan. In the near future he will make two journeys to France: in March, to meet the President of the French Republic, Charles de Gaulle, and in May to attend the four-power heads of government conference.

Khrushchov invariably sets out on his journeys to foreign countries with an open heart and with good intentions. This is the essence of the diplomacy of the Soviet state, the diplomacy of peace and truth, the diplomacy of friendship

and creative cooperation of the peoples.

As is universally recognised, quite exceptional importance for the cause of world peace attached to the historic visit paid by him to the United States of America in September 1959. "Suddenly everything has changed. In the space of a few days the world's mood has improved, with the result that mankind is now not on the brink of war, but on the brink of peace," wrote the American News Week at the time.

The fact that the great principles of coexistence were recognised in documentary form by President Eisenhower reflects the historic service rendered by Khrushchov, who has stood for these principles for many years past already.

During the 13 days of his



Citizens of San Francisco turn up in thousands to greet Khrushchov.

public speeches "to the nation," i.e., over the US radio and TV.

Here is a passage from his speech in San Francisco:

"You may not agree just now, but the time will come when you will admit that communists have the noblest of thoughts and aspirations. We strive to build a commu-

who do not wish to accept our convictions retain their own. We understand people who respect their own system."

A particularly important and far-reaching result of Khrushchov's journey to the United States is the appearance of political and psychological atmosphere of coexistence in the world. This

In one of his speeches made in India (in November 1955) N. S. Khrushchov said: "We have come to you with an open heart and with good intentions. We say to you: You want to build factories? We are very glad of that. Perhaps, you have not sufficient experience? Apply to us, we will help you. You want to

Tireless Traveller For Peace

stay in the United States Khrushchov literally "shook" that country, as it were, from one condition to another: from a condition of painful and dangerous anti-Sovietism to a condition of serious pondering over the questions of war and peace, over the possibility of peaceful coexistence. He achieved this both by talks and discussions with representatives of different sections of American society as well as by his own extensive

nist society based on the loftiest of ideals. Communism is not yet our present, but our future. But we are already building it. We are building a society where man is to man a friend, where no enmity exists, where no blood is shed, where all people are equal....

"At present we are waging our fight for communism with the best of human motives. We are not waging it arms in hand, but with the word, by peaceful means, with our labour. Let those

life-giving atmosphere is now enveloping the world more and more. It is melting the ice of the cold war.

On his visits to the countries of the East, Khrushchov devotes special attention to problems connected with the fraternal disinterested aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the countries which have embarked upon the path of independent development in building up their national economy and culture.

build power stations? If you have no experience in this matter and if you need technical assistance, apply to us, we will help you. You want to send your students and engineers to our country to study? Please do."

And here is an excerpt from another speech which he made in India:

"...if you want to utilise to any extent the experience which we have gained in different branches of economy and culture, we shall gladly, like friends, share our experience with you and render you what help we can without any mercenary interests."

These friendly wishes were subsequently reflected in countless examples of disinterested and mutually-advantageous cooperation between the two countries in different fields of economy, technology, science and education. Khrushchov pays constant attention to Indo-Soviet relations, contributing to their development and consolidation in every way.

While in our country five years ago he planted several trees of peace and friendship in the soil of our land! During the past five years these trees have developed and grown. But there is something still more important that has remained after Khrushchov's visits both to India and to other countries—the ideas of peace and friendship. These noble ideas have taken "deep root" in our country, with its noble tradition of peace and friendship, with its proud title of co-sponsor of Panch Shila. There are signs visible everywhere that India will rise as never before to welcome our dear friend and honoured guest—Nikita Khrushchov.



Khrushchov announces to the Supreme Soviet on January 14 the thrilling decision to unilaterally reduce the armed forces of the premier Socialist state.

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