

# NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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25 nP.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT LAOS

The United States threatens to launch upon a massive war of intervention in Laos. Kennedy, invoking the Seato Pact as a "collective defence" treaty has landed 5,000 U.S. marines in Thailand, making out that the latter's security is threatened as a result of the reverses suffered by U. S. puppets in Laos.

What has really happened in Laos? Who has been violating the cease-fire and refusing to implement the agreements arrived at? What has been the game of the U. S. and its puppets?

**L**IGHT on these questions is thrown by a speech made by Vice-Chairman of Neo Lao Haksat Party, Kayson Phoumvihan. Speaking on May 8 in Sam Neua, Kayson Phoumvihan, condemned the United States for creating pretexts to kindle a war of aggression against Laos.

The heinous crimes they committed in the past year in Laos were detailed by the Pathet Lao spokesman.

30 temples and 12 schools were burnt.

He said that in the past year the U.S. imperialists stuck to their double-faced policy in Laos. On the one hand, they had introduced into Laos 1,400 military advisers,

reds of groups of bandits to harass the rear of the liberated areas. They had launched scores of large-scale attacks on the liberated areas. The rebel planes had bombed and strafed the liberated areas on more than two hundred occasions.

What was more serious, U.S. imperialism had reinforced Thailand, set up military airfields, artillery and logistics bases in north-eastern Thailand and a logistics command in that country, and was ready for aggression against Laos at any time.

On the other hand, he added, under the pressure of world opinion, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys pretended to be willing to conduct the

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**STOP INTERVENTION**  
—Call by CFI

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He said: Preliminary reports showed that in the past year 593 persons were killed, 1,776 wounded, 2,283 imprisoned and 5,500 compelled to live in areas concentrated around the enemy strongholds; more than two thousand women were raped; 17 villages, 562 houses,

more than 10,000 aggressive troops from U.S. satellites as well as remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits.

They had supplied several thousand tons of ammunition to the rebel troops which had been augmented to fifty thousand. They had sent hund-

## Call Off The Blackmail

### Editorial

Neither the people at large nor Parliament know as yet as to exactly at what stage the question of purchasing and later on manufacturing Soviet MIG-21 fighters for the Indian Air Force stands. One fact, however, that is no longer secret is that both United States and Britain are moving heaven and earth to have the deal stopped.

Having armed Pakistan with the latest weapons including supersonic jets, U.S. and Britain would have India remain defenceless and at their mercy.

The moment India takes steps to correct the imbalance, Galbraith and Gore-Booth begin warning us of dire consequences.

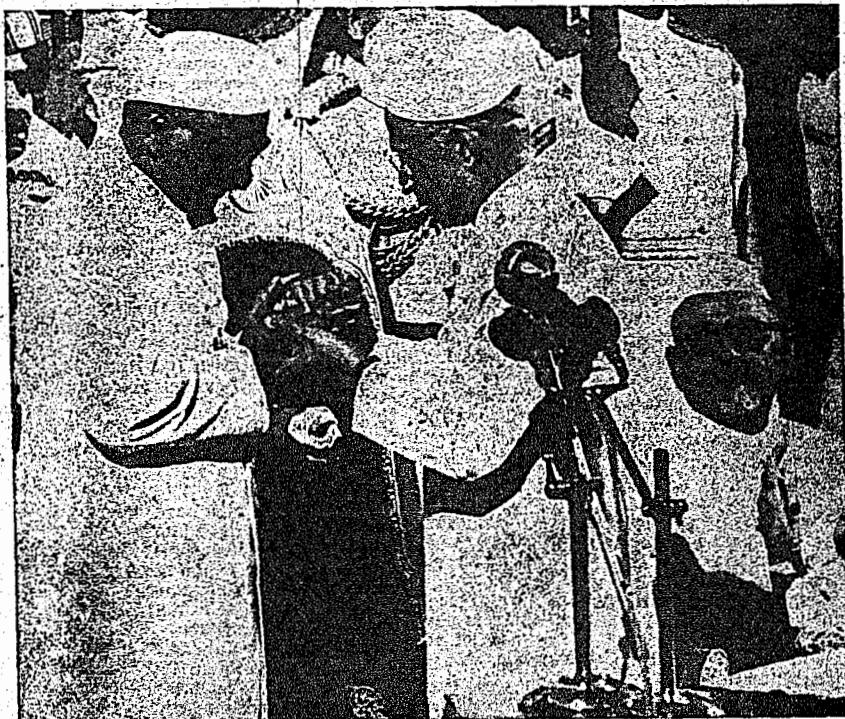
It will be difficult, says Galbraith, to persuade Congress to restore the 25 per cent cut already made in the aid to India, if India were to go ahead with the proposed MIG-21 deal.

The cut itself, they openly tell us is punishment for Goa, for our "large military expenditures", for our "refusal to negotiate a settlement of the dispute with Pakistan", as well as for India's "attitude towards the West in the United Nations and elsewhere".

Now if we are good boys and do not go in for arms from the Soviet Union, Galbraith will see to it that the cut is restored.

Meanwhile, the date for the Kashmir debate's resumption in the Security Council is sought to be fixed by the Chiang Chairman behind India's back, and in such a way that it may not be possible for India's chief delegate to attend.

How long more shall we take this bullying and blackmail? Isn't it time to tell the West that we have had enough. They will not be allowed to exploit our need for foreign aid to play with our security.—The MIGs must come.



## RADHAKRISHNAN TAKES OVER

The New President of the Republic seen taking over from the outgoing one, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, on May 13. (Photos by Virendra Kumar)

(See pages 2 and 4)



Rarely does one come across a career so rich and purposeful, so active and significant as that of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the new President of the Republic of India.

**EPITOMISING** in his own personality the greatness of India's cultural heritage, Radhakrishnan's background provides the clue to his philosophy. His boyhood days spent at Tirutani, a well-known centre of pilgrimage in South India, he received his education mainly in Christian missionary colleges. This peculiar blending of two cultures has had important bearings on his character.

He himself wrote: "We are a little free in choosing our cultural ancestors as we are in choosing our physical ancestors. Insofar as a person lives according to tradition and obeys it instinctively, he leads a life of faith, of a believer. The need for philosophy arises when faith in tradition is shaken."

And that was precisely what happened to the young Radhakrishnan.

His schooling under the Christian missionaries with their criticisms of Indian thought "disturbed his faith and shook the traditional

props on which I leaned" and this, as he has himself stated "restored for me the primordial situation in which all philosophy is born". A critical study of the Hindu religion became for him a compelling necessity.

Radhakrishnan started his forty years' career as a teacher of philosophy at the Madras Presidency College in 1909. The early years of this remarkable career and his devotion to the critical study of the great works of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, together with those of the Western thinkers—among whom, by his own admission, prominent were Plato, Plotinus, Kant, Bradley and Bergson—influenced him greatly, while a third stream was provided by his contemporaries, Tagore and Gandhi.

Yet his thinking does not comply with any set traditional pattern; for, Radhakrishnan has always stressed the importance of living experience. "Philosophy is produc-

ed more by our encounter with reality than by the historical study of such encounters".

In a contribution written in 1950, entitled "Fragments of a Confession", Radhakrishnan, himself no adherent of Marxism gives a remarkable insight into his striving for objectivity:

"My conception of a philosopher was in some ways similar to that of Marx, who proclaimed in his famous Theses on Feuerbach that philosophy had hitherto been concerned with interpreting life, but that the time had come for it to change life. Philosophy is committed to a creative task. Although in one sense philosophy is a lonely pilgrimage of the spirit, in another sense it is a function of life".

It was this harmonious blending of all that is finest in Eastern and Western thought—combined with his

deep learning and acute awareness of the reality around him—that could make him such a towering personality whether as teacher, philosopher, diplomat or statesman. From Calcutta to Oxford, from Banaras to Chicago, generations of his pupils have sat at his feet delving deep into the religions

extremists are of opinion that without risk and suffering nothing great can be realised. These have a sincere desire to face the issues and think out the problems, and shrink from consoling themselves with comfortable illusions. It is their contention that political problems cannot be solved by a philosophy of phrases."

In the final chapter of his world-renowned work, Indian Philosophy, Radhakrishnan gave vent to the urge for freedom of the Indian people: "The spirit of man craves, not comfort, but happiness, not peace and order, but life and liberty, not economic stability or equitable administration but the right to work out one's own salvation even at the cost of infinite toil and tribulations."

Making a pointed reference to British rule, he asserted: "A bureaucratic despotism which forgets the spiritual ends, for all its integrity and enlightenment, cannot invigorate the people beneath her sway, and cannot, therefore, evoke any living response in them".

It is well to remember that this was written in 1927, even before the goal of complete independence was proclaimed by the Congress. And it is not surprising that the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, quoted it approvingly at the time.

Radhakrishnan even utilized the occasions of Convocation Addresses before university gatherings to pay tributes to the leaders of the Congress engaged in the struggle against the British. For instance in 1934, during one of the bitterest phases of the struggle for independence, Radhakrishnan addressing the Allahabad University Convocation with the implacable Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Chair, did not hesitate to refer to Gandhiji's call for Swaraj through non-violence:

"His appeal will be written not only by the side of the utterances of the great national leaders like Pericles and Cicero, Washington and Lincoln, but also of great religious reformers, as that of one of the immortal voices of the human races in all that relates to the highest effort of men and nations."

At home and particularly whenever he was abroad, Radhakrishnan was never tired in his efforts to enlist intellectual opinion in support of Indian freedom. During the war, he openly defended Congress stand even when Congress leaders were kept behind bars.

In 1942, Radhakrishnan's personal stature and bold stand stopped British Government from closing down the Banaras Hindu University—of which he was then the Vice-Chancellor—despite the fact that it was one of the active centres of direct action against British rule.

The national movement gave due recognition to his patriotism by electing him to the Constituent Assembly and at the momentous session of August 15, the man who spoke next to Jawaharlal Nehru was Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who concluded his great address as the clock struck the

"The followers of this 'begging method' do not have any clear ideas about the future of the country, do not know what paths lead to success, and even if they know, have not the courage to pursue them. The extremists are not the bomb-throwers and the train-wreckers but the advocates of independence of action.

"While the moderates feel that by talk, persuasion and such other cheap and easy methods, the political aim can be attained, the

by An Old Pupil

and philosophies of every age and clime, and at the same time groping for an answer to the essential problems of the day.

Despite the majesty of his intellectual stature, no pupil of his has ever felt hesitant to approach him, or even to argue with him: a truly democratic mind, he always evokes discussions and arguments in which even the humblest and the youngest are encouraged to participate.

In any world gathering of savants whether it was the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation under the old League of Nations or the highest body of the UNESCO, Radhakrishnan has stood out as one of the most significant thinkers of the present times. When in 1939, Radhakrishnan, the first Indian to address the British Academy, chose Gautama Buddha as his subject, the President of the Academy described the inspiring lecture as "not only on a Master Mind but by a Master Mind".

Here was a man who won laurels not only for himself but for his country as well: a worthy representative of the great civilization out of which he was born.

Radhakrishnan, by his outlook of life, has never been an ivory-tower intellectual. His world philosophy never ignored the cause of patriotism. When he was 26, he crossed swords with a loyalist on the question of India's participation in the first world war.

In an article entitled "India and the War" published in the Asiatic Review in London, Radhakrishnan wrote that it was not till Britain promised freedom to India that the Indian people could really be enthused. Significantly, a portion of the article though printed was withheld by the censors.

His very first work published in 1923—it is interesting to note that it was on the Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore—had caustic things to say about the Moderates of those days:

"The followers of this 'begging method' do not have any clear ideas about the future of the country, do not know what paths lead to success, and even if they know, have not the courage to pursue them. The extremists are not the bomb-throwers and the train-wreckers but the advocates of independence of action.

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## KORAPUT STRUGGLE

ONE hundred and ninety-two Satyagrahis had courted arrest till May 5 and had subsequently been convicted. Satyagraha began on May 2 in the District of Koraput led by the Communist Party. The satyagrahis started their first round in the two important sub-divisional towns, i.e. in Jeypore and Noowarangapur.

On May 2 morning the satyagrahis led by district leaders of the Communist Party shouted slogans before the offices of the sub-collector and tahsildars, whereupon they were arrested forthwith. Out of the 94 persons arrested on the first day, 84 at Jeypore and 10 at Noowarangapur were immediately summarily tried and were convicted to one month's imprisonment.

## Action Planned Against Taxes

\* From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: An important two-day session of the State Council of the U.P. Kisan Sabha, held here on May 12 and 13, has decided to launch a statewide agitation against enhancement of taxes and increase in the irrigation rates in the State.

THE Kisan Council has called upon the kisans and their friends to organise demonstrations and meetings on June 16 at the Block, Tehsil and District levels all over the state to protest against the burdens that are being continuously heaped over the peasantry.

In its resolution on the subject the Kisan Council has said that last year the Central Government had levied new taxes amounting to Rs. 57 crores on the people. This year by increasing railway fares and freights the Central Government has imposed an additional burden of Rs. 21 crores and now they have levied further taxes amounting to Rs. 71 crores and 70 lakhs on the people (including indirect taxes to the tune of Rs. 44 crores).

These conferences or conventions must lead to a mighty demonstration before the Assembly in Lucknow when it reassembles for the autumn session.

The Kisan Council has also called for the distribution of waste land to the landless and poor peasants. Ishaq Sambhal, who moved the resolution dealing with this problem, said that there was about 75 lakh acres of wasteland lying in the state.

The Sabha has asked the kisans to launch a strong movement for the distribution of this land. The resolution has warned that if the state government does not heed this appeal, the kisans would be forced to start satyagraha, squatting movement and occupation of the wastelands to make them cultivable and useful to the people.

Zonal conferences are to be organised immediately to work out the details of this struggle. The first conference will be held on June 12 in Lakshimpur Khiri to discuss the problem of wastelands in the central region.

By another resolution, the Kisan Council has asked the

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## UNBELIEVABLE INHUMANITY

Koraput is a neglected part of Orissa; 57% of the population are most backward and 85% of them are Adivasis. These people are poor, without any land to cultivate. They do not have an alternative means of life and livelihood.

THEY are either bond-slaves working on the lands of the big holders or practising shifting cultivation. It is government's policy that is mainly responsible for their peculiar state of life. It is pleaded on behalf of the government that these people are burning down valuable forests through shifting cultivation. Nobody, of course, favours this kind of shifting cultivation.

But what is it due to? The pity of the whole thing is that though there are thousands of acres of fallow land available for cultivation the government does not allow the poor people to bring them under the plough. Even the people who are dispossessed of their land, taken away from them for developmental works, do not find any substitute land for cultivation. There are some 1,500 families dispossessed of their land for the Machkund hydro-electric project; they were assured of alternative land, homesteads and implements of agriculture but in course of eight long years, according to Government admission, only 500 families have been rehabilitated.

And the Dhebar Committee says the 'rehabilitated families number only 400. Government policy has always gone in favour of the rich big-holders. To cite one example: some 200 landless families were cultivating among themselves 80 acres of land in the village Asan in Kotapada area. The government of Orissa recently auctioned away all that land to a big-holder for 33,000 rupees.

In another case, in Jagannathpur area of Gunupur the people have, after untold pains, taken lease of the government fallow (banjar) land. The big-holders have no right or title over this. But at the instigation of the local "Sahukars"—village rich—and big-holders, the government promulgated section 144 over these lands against the leaseholders—the poor people.

put as "salami" per acre. And this money is to be paid by the Adivasis who do not have daily acquaintance with a rice meal.

Then again, the tale of the agricultural workers' woe, the pernicious system of "Goti" may not be known to people outside the District of Koraput. Today under the system an attached agricultural worker gets Rs. 60. Until this amount is fully cleared up, one cannot be released. This sounds rather simple, but in practice the amount remains an eternal liability binding down whole generations to Goti slavery.

Out of this amount Rs. 5 will be adjusted towards his annual pay. Naturally, it will take more than 12 years to clear up the whole amount of Rs. 60 with interest. But what about his pay? All calculated, his monthly wages will come to Rs. 6.50, whereas government's law provides a monthly wage of Rs. 22 per head under this "Goti" system. Like every other government measure, this has been long since a dead letter.

People, however, do not sit idle, waiting for the white-collared gods to come to their aid. They have mobilized themselves under the flag of the Communist Party and realised a wage of Rs. 20 per month and the bondage is all ready on its way out.

Government loan is not available to the landless, nor even to the small-holders. It is within the absolute domain of the village rich. Naturally therefore the landless poor has got no other alternative but to run to the village-rich year in and year-out.

The village-rich gives him Rs. 20 as loan, at the year-end the interest will be 4 "manas" of paddy per rupee, i.e. 80 "manas" per Rs. 20. If the whole thing is paid off so far so good. If not, that 80 "Manas" interest calculated in money will be Rs. 60; so loan with interest will be Rs. 80. And this Rs. 80 will form the capital for the second year.

Thus will soar the spiral rocket of inhuman exploitation reducing whole loan-taking families into financial wrecks in course of two to three years. In Koraput once the poor gets into debt, there is no coming out of it. If he brings in a loan of Rs. 100 in September, in January-February, he will pay Rs. 150 and that loan in October-November will double up with interest. In the result, the poor are ruined, selling away patch by patch, their tiny homestead lands or small agricultural holdings. And all of these lands get into possession of the rich.

There is again the Panchayat Raj to fill up any deficiencies with its taxes on almost anything and everything—one pays two annas for the fault of having a tamarind tree in the homestead land.

The double oppression of the government and the village rich is grinding the poor people hard. During the mid-term elections, the present Chief Minister, then Congress Chief, Bhojyanand Patnaik promised to the people of Koraput that all their encroachment cases will be withdrawn and their titles on the encroached lands accepted.

AN ELECTION PROMISE

Like all election promises of the Congress this has remained a dope. The people however cannot indefinitely wait for the government to shake off its slumber. They are human beings with bellies to fill. Whatever the consequences, they do take to shifting cultivation under the indirect government goading.

So if shifting cultivation is a crime it is the government which creates the conditions for its perpetuation. Prayers and petitions have been made but to no avail. The Communist Party has always been the vanguard of the people's cause and it has notified the government that government shall be held responsible for any consequences following from the popular agitation. It has already started from April 25 last.

And what are the slogans of this movement? They are mainly two:

(1) withdraw all encroachment cases;

(2) distribute without "Salami" all fallow lands among the landless and the poor peasants.

These demands are moderate and minimum. But the perjured government fails to see. The Communist Party has therefore called on all progressive forces, parties and people to lend their support to the hard fight which the poor Adivasis of Koraput are putting up against a reckless government. (May 6)

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## Party's Tribute

FELICITATING Dr. Radhakrishnan on his election as President of India, Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Group, made the following speech in the Rajya Sabha on May 11:

Mr. Chairman, Sir, on this occasion I rise on behalf of the Communist Bloc to say a few words with feelings of both sorrow and happiness—sorrow because this House shall be missing you, Sir, in this Chair, happiness because you are going to be elevated to the highest position in the State.

Only the future can tell whether the loss here will be compensated by the gains of your role from your new situation. We, however, hope that none of us will have any reason to complain that we have only lost but not gained.

You, Sir, will have no doubt noted that your candidature for the Presidency of this great Republic of ours has been supported not only by the party in power but by us and other parties of the Opposition. In a political set-up where contending parties with conflicting ideologies and policies exist, this more or less universal acceptance of you as the President is in itself a great tribute to your qualities and accomplishments. I am sure, Sir, you will always cherish it and draw the right conclusions from this.

We have been associated with you in this House for the last ten eventful years. You have long been known as a man of deep scholarship and learning. But in these ten years by your role as the Vice-President, and more particularly as the Chairman of this House, you have unfolded another side of your character. You have shown that you are a wise statesman with deep human sympathies.

In this role of yours what has attracted us and the

Parliament and he is unquestionably the Constitutional Head in a system where Parliament is supreme. This perhaps will make your position difficult at times and may find you in situations not always encouraging or inviting. But we hope that those who advise you and on whose actions you have to put the seal of your constitutional authority will display due regard for your humane ideas and democratic approaches. You, Sir, will be invested with the highest moral authority that our Republic can bestow on anyone.

We fervently hope that this moral authority and power will be exercised to prevent another World War and end colonialism, to promote the noble cause of world peace and national independence. Let the message of peace for mankind and freedom for all nations acquire new strength when you assume your new office.

We also sincerely hope that on the home front you will devote all your wisdom and energies in strengthening the forces of democracy and in eliminating poverty and hunger and social injustices. For this, Sir, you have the sanction of the Preamble and the Directive Principles of our Constitution itself and you have all our unstinted support.

As you leave us today in this House, Sir, our best wishes go with you. Let the bonds of ten years which you have built up between you and us in this House live for ever. Let them give you new inspiration and courage. Let these bonds give us new hope and confidence for the future that lies ahead.

Once again I thank you, Sir, and give you all our best wishes and fervent feelings.

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## Stop U. S. Intervention In Laos

**E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD**, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, has issued the following Press statement:

The landing of 12 United States super-Sabre Jet fighters in Thailand and the moving of 1,800 Marines to that country, which was announced yesterday, will be considered by all lovers of peace throughout the world as a provocative act.

The excuse given for this step, i.e. that it is intended to "serve as a warning that any Communist aggression would be resisted," would deceive no one. For, it is well-known that it is the United States and its allies of the SEATO who are adopting an aggressive attitude in that area.

This action taken by the United States Government will further prolong the conflict in Laos where a settlement would have been arrived at several months ago, had it not been for the obstruction caused by the Right-wing clique. The interest of peace in Laos, as well as in the rest of the area demands that the United States keeps out from the area.

I would therefore appeal to all Party members and units to join other lovers of peace in protesting against U.S. intervention in this area.

New Delhi, May 17

## Pakistan Stirrings

IPA SERVICE

President Ayub, it is stated by knowledgeable circles, has been greatly upset that in spite of all the precautions taken by him, the election of a fairly large number of 'former politicians' to the National and Provincial Assemblies under the new Constitution could not be prevented.

But, the Field Marshal, it would appear, has not given up the fight. His Government has decided to publish a White Paper on former politicians, giving details of their 'misdeeds'.

The Government has already issued an order extending the period of the ban on political parties till the National Assembly arrives at some new decision, if any.

These quick developments immediately after the elections point to revival of the sharp internal struggle for power which was temporarily subdued. Many former Muslim Leaguers, who are pledged to fight for the revival of the political parties and amend-

ment of the Constitution are expected to wage their battles inside the parliamentary framework, if it may be so called. The former Muslim Leaguers from East Pakistan are, furthermore, pledged to seek autonomy for the province and the immediate release of all political prisoners.

The high tempo of the political agitation in the eastern wing has already secured the release of seven prominent political prisoners who were detained under the Security Act following the arrest of H. S. Suhrawardy in January last.

This, of course, does not mean a general relaxation of the political life in this country. In fact, repression has been intensified, specially in the Western wing. Six arrests have been made in Karachi and twelve in Lahore for alleged anti-State activities.

The Editor of the Bengali daily 'Ittefaq', Mr. Taffazul Hussain (Manek Mian) and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, besides several student leaders and others in East Pakistan are also still in jail. It seems, President Ayub is specially afraid of Manek Mian and Sheikh Sahib. The reason for this is not difficult to discover.

The approach to the problems facing Pakistan in general and Indo-Pak relations in particular as reflected by the daily 'Ittefaq' is quite the opposite to the one the present regime in power here takes. This stood out particularly sharply in connection with recent incidents in Malda.

The 'Ittefaq', even in the absence of its Editor, Manek Mian, appealed to the Indians to help the democratic forces of Pakistan to combat communalism in their country, which was again raising its ugly head even in the Eastern wing, as a reaction to the Malda incidents, which were presented

to the people here in a highly coloured way.

It might also be added that progressive and democratic elements, when they heard of the Malda incidents, were only surprised and shocked that communal incidents, even though on a small scale, could have occurred in West Bengal. At the same time they continued to express their deep faith in the democratic and secular forces in India.

The military regime, on the other hand, was even happy and full of glee that the attention of the people could be diverted from their fight for democratic rights to real and imaginary happenings in India.

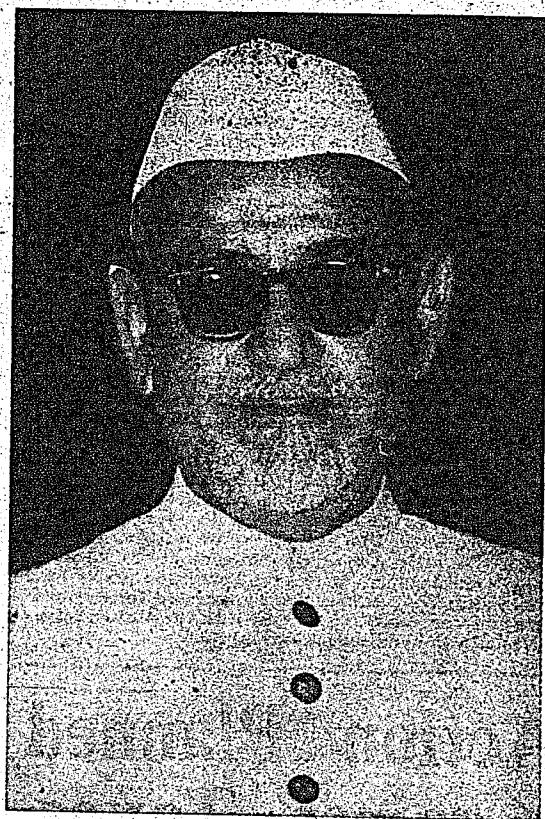
The regime's retiring representative in East Pakistan, Gen. Azam Khan, for the first time during his tenure came out with the most virulent attack against India, and the 'Indian agents', meaning the minority community in East Pakistan, in his speeches on the eve of his handing over charge to the new Governor.

In spite of the growing consciousness in East Pakistan that communal outbursts in one country cannot be fought by riots in the other, the agents of the military regime and anti-social forces backed by the regime in East Pakistan had a chance to come to the forefront to provoke clashes in certain areas.

This has created a general feeling of panic among the minority community. It also helped them to step up campaign against India to divert the attention of the people.

The military regime has evidently suffered a setback in its prestige because of the failure to prevent adjournment of the U.N. Security Council meeting on the Kashmir issue. Their threats to the allies, the United States and the United Kingdom, had not worked nor their cajoling of the socialist countries.

In an editorial on May 14, Dawn threatens the U.S. that "if she does identify herself with India's aggressive designs by helping to build up India's striking power against America's own allies, this nation too will be free to exercise its own sovereign right of a different choice". Mock heroics again.



## BEST WISHES

In the turbulent phase that lies ahead, with the forces of communalism repeatedly raising their ugly head, it is difficult to think of a more appropriate choice for the office of the Vice-President of the Republic than Dr. Zakir Hussain. Steeped to the core in the spirit of Indian patriotism Zakir Sahib brings to that high office, an understanding of the deepest maladies that afflict certain vital and virile sections of our people.

With the active part that he played in the last National Integration Conference he can well be expected to exert, with considerable results, his great influence in that noble cause.

As in the case of the President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Communist Party right from the beginning wholeheartedly welcomed and supported the candidature of Dr. Zakir Hussain.

Wishing him the best of health in the coming years we wish him full success in the accomplishment of the tasks ahead.

## Warning Against Casteism

Patna, May 16: Significance is attached among political circles here to the warning given by Dr. Zakir Hussain on the eve of his relinquishing office of Governorship of Bihar, against the dangers of casteism, which had "assumed menacing proportions".

The former Governor and now the Vice-President of India who has been sounding this warning several times in the past, laid special emphasis on this problem at the farewell receptions that were given to him by the citizens of Patna.

Dr. Hussain, it is stated by well-informed circles here, had watched closely the rise of casteism in the political life of the State, and its impact on the recent elections. The ruling Congress Party was divided into groups on the basis of caste, and the elections were also fought on caste lines. Almost all political parties had tried to exploit caste feelings of the people. Consequently caste tension mounted in various parts of the State and conflicts on caste lines also took place. Even after the elections, harmony could not

be established fully between the various castes. The outgoing Governor is reported to have been deeply moved by this deterioration in the political life in the State. At one reception, Dr. Zakir Hussain warned the people that if casteism was not liquidated by them, they would be liquidated by casteism. He said that so long as casteism was confined to the social sphere, it was not as dangerous as it was today when it had come to have dominant role in politics too. Caste politics would ruin Bihar if honest and determined efforts were not made by all sections of the people to root it out from social life, he added.

Dr. Hussain made a fervent plea to all social and political workers "in office or out of office" to search their hearts

### CORRECTION

Last week's back-page write-up stated that Hsin-hua had not carried report of Security Council Debate on Kashmir. This is not a fact, although till the time of writing the particular issue of the bulletin had not arrived. The mistake is regretted.

## FOR INDO-ARAB COOPERATION

If we are to take stock of the values common to India and the Arab world, values that are the result of contacts and exchanges accumulated in the course of history, we would find it quite abnormal that present relations between our two worlds are not closer than they are. Mutual exchanges between the two great civilisations viz.—the Hindu civilisation and the Arabo-Islamic civilisation have been of immense benefit to entire humanity as much in the field of moral and spiritual values of science and culture as in the field of material progress.

There is no doubt that the Indo-Arab Society has been founded with the avowed object of maintaining this acquisition, making it known and developing it. It is certain that the objective of the Indo-Arab Society is really commendable namely that of diffusion of knowledge regarding our past relations, study of our present problems and constant strengthening of co-operation in all fields between our countries.

To bring two worlds together more closely, worlds which are in fact already pre-disposed to be so linked one to the other, by reason of their being both interested in perpetuating common values of peace, justice, liberty, tolerance and progress, is an excellent task and because we are directly interested in the success of this enterprise, we shall abstain from lavishing our wishes on it, but we shall make promise that we shall be doing everything for its

the Arab world: the struggle of the Algerian people for its national independence.

Several avenues are open to us in this perspective of our common objectives of educating our masses, of economic development, of peace, of social justice and co-operation between peoples.

Political Co-operation: on the basis of democratic principles of secularism, i.e. of tolerance on the home front; and on the international front, anti-colonialism and non-alignment, general disarmament and co-operation in accordance with the spirit of the Bandung and Belgrade Conferences.

Cultural Co-operation: We must make a research study of our heritage, strengthen the current of exchange of knowledge in the fields of literature, history, science and arts in order to enable us to know each other better, we should keep each other informed of the experiences and

What a fine programme: The Indo-Arab Society has much, very much to do. It can do a lot, both directly as well as indirectly.

I can assure you, at any rate, that you have all the support all the sympathy of the Algerian people for the realisation of your objectives.

The Algerian people are an integral part of the Arab world. To be able to bring in her positive contribution to this so much desired co-operation, the Algerian people like other Arab peoples who are still under domination need to reconquer their independence. That is an absolutely necessary prerequisite.

### What Is Happening?

Now, what about Algeria? After seven and a half years of war which has cost her a tenth of her population (one million dead), a cease-fire had been signed between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government on the 18th of March, 1962.

This agreement contains the conditions of application of the Referendum of self-determination as well as the modality of co-operation between Independent Algeria and France.



Algerian Premier Ben Youssef Ben Khedda

—In these quarters misery and famine reign supreme; dangerous epidemics are also reported; —In the interior of the

NEVER CONTINUE WITH-  
OUT PROVOKING VERY  
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES.

This is the important warn-  
ing contained in the commu-

Text of a speech delivered by Layashi Yaker, Representative of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, on May 11 under the auspices of the Indo-Arab Society, at New Delhi.

## ALGERIA CALLS

strengthening and the complete realisation of all its aims.

We have spoken of a commonness of values and a commonness of objectives, and now to make it complete we must also add a commonness of conditions. Our peoples have simultaneously undergone the assault of European colonialism whose negative aspects much more than the positive have left their imprints on our soil. For the people of our countries, colonisation meant (and still means always) racial inequality, political as well as cultural oppression and economic exploitation. Whereas our civilisation, at a time when Europe was plunged in backwardness, preached a message of equality, European colonialism, on the other hand, in these modern times utilising its material superiority, indulged in domination and exploitation of the rest of the world for its own profit.

We could, very well, ask ourselves the reason for the decline of our civilisations. The answer is clear that it is due to the very fact that our people attached more importance and put more stress on the cultivation and expansion of spiritual and cultural values. This at least is one of the reasons. I shall refrain from going further on a subject which is really very interesting.

Respect for common values, same past of oppressed peoples, common objectives. It is the ideal platform of a very close co-operation between our two peoples, the Indian people and the Arab people. Hence the duty of a close common study of our respective problems. Hence the duty of mutual help.

I shall at a later stage, deal with one of the problems of

achievements gained in the campaign against illiteracy. An even if we are interested in continuing European languages, it shall be our duty to strengthen the reciprocal study and use of our respective languages as they are the instruments for the spreading of our civilisations.

Economic Co-operation: Our countries, which are called underdeveloped countries, are languishing due to the fact of their having been under colonial domination, for a long time. Colonial domination means complete economic exploitation of our countries and our peoples. But we are not utterly deprived of resources and we shall definitely come out of our economic underdevelopment and backwardness.

One of the most important and efficacious means for doing so consists in close co-operation and in co-ordinating our economic policies. It is a pity that though threatened with economic groupings by developed countries, whether they are of the West or East, our countries still act in a scattered manner.

The other means are: our natural and human resources being immense, we must, as any cost, spread education to all citizens, develop by all means and accelerate scientific research, technical studies as well as the requisite organisation which is one of the most important factors in productivity.

Exchange of information, development of transport, commercial exchange and a more clear perspective of our common interests are the essentials of a more fruitful co-operation between the Arab States and the Republic of India.

But if it is true that the signing of the agreement was a necessary one, its application is all the more important.

Judged from this point of view, what is the actual situation in Algeria, seven weeks after the end of the Evian negotiations?

—more than 3,000 innocent Algerians, men, women and children, have been assassinated or burnt or lynched to death, several thousands have been wounded.

—the situation is very dangerous in the two principal cities of Algeria: Algiers and Oran. Due to these assassinations a sort of de facto segregation has been brought about; the Algerians who were living in the European quarters have left their homes in order to take shelter in the Algerian quarters;

—tens of thousands of Algerians are unable to reach their work spot in pursuance of their normal avocations, for people murder them there;

—Algerian women cannot go to the market, for there they are assassinated;

—the wounded Algerians refuse to be taken to hospital for it has happened several times that instead of being looked after and healed they have been mercilessly put to death. Some camp hospitals have therefore been set up in Algerian quarters;

country some sections of the French army continue their attacks against the Algerian people and the Algerian Army; —economic and administrative sabotage is being organised on a very large scale by a "Union of French Workers of Algeria and Sahara";

The command for peace and discipline and for refusal to be dragged in by provocations given by the G.P.R.A. has up till now been scrupulously obeyed. The G.P.R.A. has once again, if need be, demonstrated its hold and authority over the Algerian people.

This situation would not have been so grave had it not been for the complicity and the active participation of a section of the French Army in Algeria. We have ample proof of this fact.

These facts plainly show that the cease-fire has not been effectively enforced by the other party.

For it is indeed unimaginable that, being responsible for maintaining law and order in the two main cities, the French Army, composed of several hundreds of thousands of men, are not able to subjugate and disarm the armed gangs of fascist organisation. The attitude of the French Army would be entirely different had it been a question of dealing with the Algerian people.

THIS SITUATION COULD

nique issued by the G.P.R.A. on May 8 after several days of deliberations.

It is crystal clear that the Fascist forces in Algeria, in France and the world over are bent upon utilising all the means at their disposal and wreck the enforcing of the Evian agreements and thus hinder the independence of Algeria.

Very recently the G.P.R.A. has drawn the attention of the French Government to the necessity of doing everything in order to put an end to a situation that is bound to wreck the application of the Evian Agreements. The command for discipline, and non-violence cannot be maintained indefinitely. In other words, if the French Army is incapable of maintaining order, the G.P.R.A. which is responsible for the Algerian people, will see to it that order is ensured by its own means.

It is in the light of these facts that the G.P.R.A. requests friendly Governments to augment and intensify their support for the Algerian people struggling for their freedom and national independence.

This request would not have been so pressing and so urgent if the Evian agreements were people.

\* SEE PAGE 12

for urgent,  
active support!



The heroic struggle of the students at Dacca and in other places of East Pakistan during the last two and half months has deep roots in the political development of East Pakistan since 1948. Had it not been for this fact, such a heroic struggle for such a long period could not have taken place in face of the brutal repressive measures of the military dictatorship.

PAKISTAN is a peculiar state. It is inhabited by five distinct nationalities—the Bengalis in East Pakistan and Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis in West Pakistan. Furthermore, the two wings of Pakistan—East and West—are separated by a distance of one thousand miles. These five nationalities and two widely separated wings have been welded into one state on the basis of religion (Islam). Such a state has no parallel in the modern world.

No doubt, the overwhelming majority of the people of Pakistan had once wholeheartedly supported the formation of such a state based on religion. But religious fanaticism or the cry of Islam could not for long suppress the national urge of a people.

Since March 1948, the people of East Pakistan had begun to voice demands for their national rights—that Bengal should be recognised as one of the state languages, East Pakistan should be granted full autonomy, etc., as also for civil liberties and other democratic rights. The reactionary ruling clique had always dubbed these demands as "disruptive", "anti-Pakistan", "anti-State", "instigated by Communist and Indian agents" etc. But these demands grew stronger and stronger.

The Pathans of the North West Frontier area had also raised the demand for their national rights and for autonomy (Pakhtoonistan) since 1948. The demand for autonomy was also the basic demand of the newly rising democratic movement in Sind. The Baluchis were also raising similar demands.

In fact the demand for full autonomous rights of the various nationalities had been a main plank of the democratic movement in East and West Pakistan from its very inception. And it was but natural in a state like Pakistan.

The demand of the East Pakistani people for full autonomy was all the more aggravated because of the following reasons:

Pakistan was as yet a backward agrarian country. But since partition, there had been some industrial development as compared to the pre-partition days. The main industrial sectors were: Cotton and Jute Textiles.

### Favoured Big Business

In the field of industrial development, the reactionary ruling circles had from the very beginning pursued a policy of giving all facilities to a narrow stratum of big businessmen, such as Adamji, Dawood, Bawani, Latif, Saigol, etc. A great number of these people were not originally inhabitants of Pakistan. They had migrated to Pakistan from India.

These people together with a few money-bags of Punjab, dominated almost the entire national industry, commerce, and banking. For example, the jute industry and jute trade of East Pakistan, which bring in about 80% of the foreign exchange of the country, were under the control of a few

belonging to this group. (It is this group which collaborates with foreign imperialism and is also recently entering into joint ventures with U.S., West German and Japanese capital.)

This group of big business had for various reasons chosen Karachi as their headquarters and had invested more capital in West Pakistan than in the East. The government had also spent much more money in the so-called

development in West Pakistan than in the East. Consequently, a sharp disparity in the economic development had arisen between the two wings. A major portion of the newly developed industries were located in the West, whereas East Pakistan lagged behind. There was disparity in the price level as well as in the per capita income between the two wings.

These two factors, viz. the domination of a few non-Bengali big business over industry, commerce and banking and the comparatively higher industrialisation in West Pakistan than in the East had created deep resentment amongst the general people of East Pakistan. There was a general sentiment that "East Pakistan is being plundered by non-Bengalis" and that "West Pakistan is being developed at the cost of East Pakistan".

The domination of non-Bengali officers in bureaucracy and the army and the location of the capital in West Pakistan had further aggravated this sentiment.

A widespread sentiment arose that "East Pakistan has been turned into a colony of West Pakistan".

As a result, the demand for full autonomy for East Pakistan, meaning thereby that the central government should have jurisdiction only over defence, currency and foreign relations and that all other subjects, including foreign trade should be vested with the East Pakistan Government, had practically become a national political demand of the East Pakistani people.

The demand for such autonomous powers was raised as the main political slogan by the United Front in East Pakistan elections of 1954 and the people gave their verdict in its favour. The United Front then bagged 209 out of the 300 seats in the provincial assembly and the ruling Party, the Muslim League, got only 10 seats.

Since then, the situation has developed further. There are many in East Pakistan now, who think in terms of "Confederation" of the two wings. A number of people also think in terms of "Secession" and "Independent East Pakistan." A new thinking, namely that "there cannot be

any State on the basis of religion" is also perceptible amongst a section of the intelligentsia. This theme was publicly discussed a few months ago in the editorial columns of two Bengali dailies—Ittefaq, which is highly popular, and Sambad. (East Pakistan has three Bengali dailies. The third one is Azad—a most reactionary paper.)

In fact, a new political consciousness had arisen amongst the people of East Pakistan since 1950. They were no longer the old masses of the pre-partition days. They were demanding their national rights as Bengalis or as East Pakistanis.

On top of this had come a terrible economic crisis which

The reactionary ruling clique, backed by the U.S. imperialists had always tried to suppress these popular movements by severe repression. Hundreds of patriotic workers including many Communists were hurled into prisons and inhumanly treated there. Many Communists and other leftist workers were driven underground. Police firing and vandalism, especially against the peasant movement, became the order of the day.

How cruel and fierce were the repressive measures could be seen from the fact that about 130 Communists and other patriotic workers were killed by police firing in various places and by inhuman treatment inside

and feudal lords, Pakistan was a land for their plunder. To the U.S. imperialists, Pakistan was a military outpost in their desperate gamble for another world war. So they could not see eye to eye with the growth of the democratic movement. They conspired and were waiting for an opportunity.

### Ayub's Coup

And when an unstable political situation was created due to the scramble for power amongst the leadership of various political parties and the people got fed up with it, the reactionaries clamped down a military dictatorship

# East Pakistan Students' Heroic Struggle

jails. Seven political detainees were shot dead in Rajshahi Central Jail in 1950.

To crown all, the United Front ministry formed constitutionally after the 1954 election was dislodged by the Centre in a dictatorial way and massive repression took place.

Together with this fascist type of repression, the reactionary ruling clique had also taken recourse to political tactics. They generally raised anti-India bogey and every democratic movement was dubbed as "instigated by Indian agents and Communists," as "anti-state", etc. The Kashmir issue was also raised to divert the attention of the masses.

The advance of the democratic movement was sometimes halted as a result of the severe repression. But it could not be crushed and after every pause, it again rose with renewed vigour.

### Popular Victories

The people also scored some significant victories. In the Constitution which was framed in 1956, Bengal was recognised as one of the State languages, some amount of autonomy was granted to East Pakistan, parliamentary form of government with adult and universal franchise was guaranteed and some fundamental rights of the people were conceded too. Joint electorate was also introduced by a special Bill in the then Parliament in 1957.

By the latter part of 1956, Awami League came to power and civil liberties were restored to a considerable extent, though the Communist Party remained illegal. The first general elections under the new Constitution were to be held soon.

These gave a fillip to the democratic movement. Together with autonomy and democracy, the demand for a neutral and independent foreign policy was becoming stronger and stronger. This was the situation obtaining by the middle of 1958.

The native and foreign reactionaries were in no mood to tolerate this situation. To the native reactionaries, i.e. the reactionary big business

on the country in October 1958.

It was an all-out attack against the democratic forces. All parties were disbanded, all civil liberties were ruthlessly suppressed, the Constitution of 1956 was scrapped, Communists and other patriotic workers were rounded up and military terror was let loose against the people. The democratic movement received a serious blow.

But the imposition of the military dictatorship could not solve the basic problems for which the people of East Pakistan were fighting for so long. Instead of autonomy, they were suppressed under a ruthless unitary government, instead of democracy and civil liberties, they got military terror and instead of a higher standard of living, the economic condition deteriorated further.

Under these conditions, the popular urge for autonomy, for democracy and for a human standard of living deepened further. True, the people were terrified by the military terror. It seemed to many that all the popular movements of East Pakistan were finished and the democratic forces were totally crushed. But it was a wrong idea.

Beneath the calm and quiet surface, widespread discontent amongst all classes of people was brewing. Whatever illusions the people had regarding the military regime during its first days were shattered within a year or so. The military dictatorship soon lost popular support in East Pakistan and the people began expecting that the democratic forces, which had fought many a battle in the past, would come out again against the military dictatorship.

The objective situation was thus ripening for another round of popular upsurge.

But still there were some vital weaknesses as far as the subjective factors were concerned, i.e. in the democratic forces which could organise and lead the masses. Firstly, many elements in the democratic camp were frustrated and thought that no popular movement could be organised in conditions of a military dictatorship. Secondly, many democrats were confused and

did not know what to do and how to proceed. Thirdly, the democratic forces were disunited. There was also lack of organisation.

In these conditions, it was thanks to the student movement in Karachi in March 1961 against police repression and the satyagraha movement of the Pathans in April-May 1961 for democracy and autonomy, that the democratic forces of East Pakistan could cast off their frustration to a great extent. These movements practically demonstrated that popular struggles could take place even under a military dictatorship. This encouraged the democratic forces in East Pakistan.

Further, by the latter part of 1961, the various democratic forces, i.e. people belonging to Awami League, National Awami Party, the Communists and others could come to some understanding on the basis of a common programme.

Ayub Khan's new Constitution was to be announced soon. This was then the main political issue before the country.

The united democratic forces took up this issue and the common programme included:

- 1 Parliamentary and Federal form of government with adult franchise and joint electorate;
  - 2 fullest autonomy for East Pakistan;
  - 3 liquidation of one-unit in West Pakistan and autonomy for different linguistic nationalities there;
  - 4 parity between East and West Pakistan in all matters and
  - 5 restoration of civil liberties, freedom of speech, freedom of organisation, etc.
- Preparations for launching a movement on the basis of the above programme were taking place.

mi League, National Awami Party and Communist Party unitedly organised and led the strike. The struggle took a sharp political turn. The students not only demanded Suhrawardy's release, but raised the following demands: (1) Release of all political prisoners, (2) full autonomy for East Pakistan, (3) restoration of democracy and civil liberties, etc.

Students of some other institutions of Dacca city had also joined the struggle. For four consecutive days (from 3rd to 6th) the students of Dacca held meetings in their institutions, passed resolutions pressing for the above demands and brought out huge demonstrations with posters, shouting "Down with the military regime."

The urge of the people for autonomy and democracy had again burst out and the martial law regulations were thrown to the winds.

### Martial Law Smashed

President Ayub Khan was then at Dacca with his whole Cabinet holding a meeting to finalise the Constitution. Under the very nose of the military dictator, the heroic students of Dacca challenged his regime and held high the banner of democracy and autonomy defying military terror.

How great was the hatred and wrath of the people against the military dictator was demonstrated by the fact that Ayub Khan's portraits were brought down from the shops of Nawabpur (an important business centre) by the demonstrators, thrown into the street and trampled upon. The student demonstrators also carried a big portrait of Ayub Khan on a pole with a garland of torn shoes around it! Ordinary people were highly amused.

keep aloof. But the students are not to be misled by this old and rotten canard.

They bravely faced the repressive measures and for four days Dacca city witnessed a pitched battle between the unarmed students and the armed police—between democracy and autocracy. It was a glorious and unique thing.

The military rulers got panicky and as a last resort the University authorities, under instructions of the Government, closed down the University from February 8 for more than a month on the plea of "Ramzan" and "Id-ul-Fitr". "Ramzan" was only an excuse—because during the last two years the University was not closed for Ramzan. Previously the Id holiday lasted only a week or so.

After this it was no longer possible to continue the struggle at Dacca.

But by that time, the struggle had spread to mofussil districts. The Dacca battle had acted as a signal for the whole student community of East Pakistan. From February 4 students' strikes and demonstrations began to take place almost in all mofussil towns and in many rural areas. It had become a province-wide struggle against autocracy.

Everywhere the Government took similar repressive measures such as lathi charge on demonstrations, arrest etc. as in Dacca and ultimately all schools and colleges throughout the province were closed down.

The first round of the heroic struggle against the military dictatorship then came to a halt. But it has not the end. On March 1, 1962, President Ayub Khan announced his Constitution. As expected, it was a most undemocratic and reactionary one in which parliamentary form of government, adult franchise, civil liberties, autonomy to different nationalities etc. were denied. It was meant only to

have already been laid down in the Front's common programme.

When the Dacca University opened, the students decided to act. On March 15, the students of the University, Medical college, etc., staged a one day token strike as a protest against Ayub Khan's Constitution. A meeting was also held in the University campus which demanded a democratic constitution and release of all political prisoners.

Strikes and demonstrations also took place on these demands in many other districts on the 15th and subsequent days.

Again there was an orgy of violence by the powers-that-be and there were lathi charges on the students in many places and many arrests took place.

On March 23 the students of Dacca University, etc., had again decided to go on strike for three days on the demands which they had previously raised. Together with these, they had also raised a new demand that all examinations which were to be held soon were to be shifted to a later date. The students of the Agricultural University at Mymensingh had also taken a similar decision.

The students went on strike from the 24th. The Government was fully prepared now. Armed police pickets had been posted in the University area and immediately after the strike, they entered the Dacca University campus, seriously assaulted many students and arrested many.

This was a clear provocation. But the students remained peaceful; they became more determined and decided to continue their strike till their demands were fulfilled. The Mymensingh Agricultural University students had also taken this decision. The strike continued.

During this period armed police were continuously patrolling the University areas at Dacca and Mymensingh and the University authorities had repeatedly warned the students that those participating in the strike would lose their stipends, scholarships and other facilities. The government also made frantic attempts to influence the guardians by threats and so on to persuade their wards to join classes. Arrests were also taking place.

But the authorities failed to break the strike. In face of all these intimidations and threats, the students stood united like a rock, occasionally held meetings within the campus and passed resolutions reiterating their demands.

Ultimately the students decided on April 5 that they would submit a memorandum containing their demands to the authorities of their respective institutions, and that they would withdraw the strike and would give the authorities 10 days time for fulfilling their demands.

The strike was withdrawn in a disciplined manner on April 6 after it had lasted for 12 days.

The authorities did not however fulfil the demands of the students and another round of struggle became inevitable.

At this stage, another significant development took place. On April 14 (incident

ally, it was the first day of the Bengali New Year) East Pakistan Press splashed a statement by some top leaders of East Bengal, including three ex-Chief Ministers of the Province, namely, Ataur Rahaman Khan (Awami League), Nurul Amin (Muslim League) and Abu Hussain Sarkar (Krisbow Sramik Party) and an ex-Finance Minister of the Centre—Hamidul Haq Choudhury.

This statement, signed by leaders of all parties, urged upon the Government to accept the demands of the students, to release all political prisoners and to restore democracy. It was the first political statement by the political leaders since the imposition of the military dictatorship.

### Entire People's Demand

It had a very good effect on public opinion. A series of resolutions were then passed by the Dacca High Court Bar and other Bar Associations of the Province urging upon the Government to release all political prisoners and to accept the demands of the students.

Virtually, the demand for release of the political prisoners and for democracy, for which the East Pakistani students were fighting, had now become an all-party, and unanimous demand of East Pakistan. It had its echo in West Pakistan too. Some leaders as well as some "basic democrats" of West Pakistan also raised the demand for release of all political prisoners and supported the demands of the Dacca students.

But the reactionary military regime did not care for popular voice and did not accept these demands.

So, the students of Dacca University had to decide that a token strike for three days would again taken place from April 16, i.e. from the date when the time stipulated in the memorandum to the authorities expired.

The students of Dacca Ahsanulla Engineering College (recently turned into a University) had also decided that they would boycott the examination which was to commence on April 16.

Once again the students went on strike. Immediately the Dacca University authorities closed down the University till the end of the academic year, May 31. The Government issued a stern warning to the Ahsanulla Engineering College students that if the stipend and scholarship-holders did not sit for examination their stipends of scholarships would be cancelled.

In reply, the students held a meeting on the 15th and unanimously decided by show of hands that they would stick to the boycott decision and on the 16th no student went to the examination Hall. This unnerved the College authorities and on that very day, the head of the institution met the student leaders and gave them an assurance that their

At this stage, another significant development took place. On April 14 (incident

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# —Background And Significance

It was just at this time that Suhrawardy was arrested at Karachi on January 3, 1962. The main reason for Suhrawardy's arrest was the fact that though he still cherished pro-U.S. sentiments, he was in favour of raising popular voice for restoration of parliamentary democracy and for restoration of the 1956 Constitution.

He was trying to enlist the support of some West Pakistani leaders for this. This information somehow leaked out and to forestall the move, the government locked him up.

But this step acted as a boomerang against the government itself.

When the news of Suhrawardy's arrest was broadcast over Radio Pakistan, a wave of indignation swept throughout East Pakistan. The students of the Dacca University and Medical College, who had many elements in the democratic camp were frustrated and thought that no popular movement could be organised in conditions of a military dictatorship. Secondly, many democrats were confused and

All citizens of Dacca gave support to the battle of the students.

The military regime, true to its character, let loose the armed police upon the students. From February 3 armed police pickets were posted around the whole University area and it took an appearance of a battlefield. The Army was stationed in a nearby park and kept ready for "emergency".

For four days (February 3 to 6) the armed police made repeated lathi charges on the demonstrating students, tear-gassed them again and again and wounded many of them.

Students were arrested on a mass scale. On the 6th almost all the leading democratic personalities of Dacca, including some prominent Awami League leaders, and other Leftist and Communist workers were arrested.

In the meanwhile, the authorities had also opened a political propaganda barrage saying that "the disturbances were instigated by agents of India and the Communists" and students were asked to



Given below is the full text of the speech Deputy leader of the Communist Group Renu Chakravarty delivered on the Budget proposals in the Lok Sabha on May 8, 1962.—

To call this budget a socialist budget would be a euphemism. It is a budget of an intelligent person no doubt, who talks of welfare and picks the pockets of those who can ill afford to pay the extra amount which is every year fleeced out of it, those who are almost at subsistence level.

He talks of socialism, but peculiarly enough, as my friend, Shri Morarka said, the stock exchange booms. He professes to bring about social justice and demolishes one by one—the wealth tax on the corporate sector and now he has followed it up by abolishing the expenditure tax.

He talks of planning, and yet he rejects all economic and social controls, specially the much needed control for stabilisation of prices. To sum up, it is a capitalist budget, with a sprinkling of welfare measures misnamed as socialism, and it is a self-defeating budget as far as quick regeneration and planned development of India goes.

But I want to mark, however, one difference between this budget and the earlier

one. Shri Desai, being intelligent, knows that Rs. 57 crores of indirect taxation in 1961 cannot be followed up by another big lash of Rs. 44 crores without some softening up of resistance. That is why he has brought a small measure of direct taxation in the form of slight increase in the corporate tax, capital gains tax and wealth tax.

This shows that public opinion can still put pressure to defeat such policies which hit the people, and we say that it is a step in the right direction though it is but a drop in the ocean of that sea of wealth which still floats about, and about which we are always told the Government does not know where that wealth is, it is neither in the share mar-

# MORARJI'S

ket nor in the speculative market or in the secret vaults which we know are there in banks, in Bara Bazar and other places!

Now, Sir, these new direct taxes disprove another point. It has always been flogged at us, who have always insisted that there should be more direct taxation, that we have reached the "saturation point." The very fact that in this budget even a Finance Minister like Shri Morarji Desai has inflicted some more direct taxation proves that saturation point was never reached and there is still quite some margin left. As yet, however, the proportion of direct taxation to indirect taxation remains at 2:3. My hon. friend Shri Morarka has already pointed out about the over-collection and under-estimation of budget receipts.

But one thing which he has

not pointed out is that this over-collection is always more in the sector of indirect taxation than in the realm of direct taxation—for example, I was just looking as to how much of actual realisations have been made in wealth tax and expenditure tax between 1959 and 1962—I find that the percentage is much lower than indirect realisation. This is the reason why we say that even the amount of indirect taxation has been shown is but an invisible one, it will be far exceeded and the pressure on the common mans' pocket will be much greater.

I do not want to touch the point about non-developmental expenditure because Shri Morarka has already said about it. But I would like, certainly, to touch on one point which, very clearly, Shri Morarka has not touched, and that is about the question of

abrogation of the expenditure tax. Now what is it that Shri Desai has told us?

Shri Morarka: I said that it was a rationalisation of the tax structure.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: That again, I would say, is euphemism because according to Shri Morarji Desai, the reason for doing it is that it is not bringing in much of revenue nor is it producing savings. Let us remember what Shri T. T. Krishnamachari said at the time he introduced this tax. Shri Morarji says that it has been abolished because it has no backing of historical experience. True. But it is something which we have introduced because of the special conditions prevailing in India where evasions are also great. Again, he says:

"Expenditure tax has contributed little to restraining ostentatious expenditure

and for promoting savings." But look at what Shri T. T. Krishnamachari says:

"While we should not allow any income to escape, we must also understand that the income is not the main thing for this tax because if we do not get income from this tax we get it from the other side. If a person does not pay the expenditure tax that means he does not spend. Money is available for the community by way of savings. Wealth is created which will attract wealth tax... the operation of it will undoubtedly take time and we cannot see the results in a year or two."

Yet, within three years, Shri Morarji Desai has scrapped it. Should not the princes and richer sections of our people have reason to be grateful to him? Brick by brick, even this effort to check evasion has been smashed. How fatuous preceding. These are very disconcerting features. Moreover, I am quoting figures of prices which we never get in the retail market at all. Here the prices quoted are for the wholesale markets, but when we go to the markets we find the prices are much higher.

## Increasing Prices

Apart from this even if you take these indices, you will see that the trend is far from being arrested; actually, the trend is of increasing prices.

Then the rents of houses have gone up like anything and even Government does not pay city compensatory allowance or house rent allowance in many places. In this background, whose consumption do you want to cut?

Then, in regard to excise duties, we are told every time that their impact on the consumer will not be much. Only the year before last we were told by the Finance Minister that by the imposition of the additional excise duty on tea there would be an increase of 1 p in 12 cups of tea and, therefore, it will not affect anybody. But does anybody remember that even though the excise duty was only 1 p on 12 cups, when we went to buy loose tea we found that its price had increased? The same thing is going to happen in the case of these levies also, whether we admit it or not.

Already the prices have gone up for not only tea but cloth, matches and other commodities.

Just now I have received a short note from the Kanpur Gunny Traders Association that from April 23, the excise duty on jute manufactures has been passed on to the second and third transducers, and they are being forcibly made to pay the whole excise duty. That is to say, the duty instead of coming from the pockets of the owners, is being passed on to the consumers. This is the way in which the excise duties are really passed on to the ordinary consumer.

Then I come to another point, and that is on the policy of the Government in helping small industries like the handloom industry. Now the Government is trying to put the handloom industry on par with the big industries like textile mills. This has happened last year also and it has happened again this

by Renu Chakravarty



year. For example, take the handloom industry.

I come from the State of West Bengal where we have many small units; we do not have big powerloom units like those obtaining in Bombay. Here we have got about 5,000 workers working in the power looms. In the Hindustan Cotton Mills, Belghoria, the employer has reduced the looms from 96 to 24 with the result that hundreds of workers are thrown out of employment. The Jatia Cotton Mills of Howrah, of course, is a bigger unit with a paid-up capital of about Rs. 8 lakhs.

It used to pay a compounded levy of Rs. 70,000. If he has to pay at composite mill rate he will have to pay Rs. 2,75,000 or more in the form of levy. It is, therefore, impossible for him to carry on.

Another industry which has been badly hit is the rubber proofing cloth industry, which also comes under this duty. In West Bengal there are seven or eight small units of this type of rubber-proofing cloth industry. These are medium-sized factories mainly concentrated in our State. They produce things which are used by hundreds of men and women, things like bazar bags, school bags for children, etc., which are sold at 12 annas or so.

These bags find a ready market in Bengal, South India and all over the country. About 33 lakhs of yards of handloom cloth, especially of double textile rubberised cloth which was cheaper than canvas cloth will become more expensive.

The excise duty expected to be realised is not more than Rs. 17 lakhs. Even this will be circumvented, because tarpaulin will be going in for bigger-process waxing. I would also like to say that the rubber proofing cloth should be exempted from excise duty and power-looms up to 100 should not be charged as much as products of composite mills.

Coming to export excise drawbacks to promote exports, if we want to increase our exports to earn foreign exchange, in a planned way we must not think of robbing the exchequer by giving these drawbacks. We must realise that we have to contend against political groupings of West European countries, in

# FRAUD EXPOSED

the ECM and their African associates which put out of bounds our trade with them. Secondly, our main foreign exchange earners like tea and jute especially are dependent on exporting houses which are dominated by foreigners.

Thirdly foreign shipping freights and bottoms still determine our pattern and competitiveness of our trade. Therefore the drawbacks permitted on exports do not touch the fringe of the problem.

My hon. friend Mr. Morarka referred to excise on jute. Now, Sir, we are against having any excise duty on jute in order to restrict the consumption of jute manufactures within the country. It is a well-known fact that our jute trade in the foreign markets has been suffering from many ups and downs. We are increasing our trade. But it is an industry where looms are often sealed, chronically pestered by unemployment. When it is reviving by a bigger internal market we should see that nothing is done in the name of exports to hamper this industry again. At the same time we do not want these bonus incentives which I think Mr. Morarka was pleading for in the case of jute exports. If you put an excise duty on jute sacking, what will happen is that it will be passed on to sugar, or added on to rice or other food-grains, or cement. It will ultimately be passed onto the consumer,

by allowing the foreign exporters and auctioneers to build up their profits in tea and jute at the expense of the Indian exchequer.

## Control Tea Auction Market

In tea you can control the auction market only when we can get out of the grips of Mincing Lane in London, only when we can control the Brooke Bonds, Liptons and Jardine Hendersons. Secondly, why should we permit foreign exchange build up in the hands of the private sector?

On the May 4 in answer to a question in this House it was found that 950 accounts have been declared to the Reserve Bank of India totalling Rs. 330 crores kept in foreign banks! This is nothing. I am sure my hon. friend Mr. Bajaj can tell us in secret of more foreign accounts which are there.

Mr. Speaker: Why should Mr. Bajaj be chosen?

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: I say so because he is a friend of mine and he may tell me in secret.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Why in secret?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not keeping the secret of a friend with herself.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): I am not in the habit of divulging the secrets

of the people as communists usually do.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: I meant it only in joke and did not mean Sri Bajaj has a foreign account.

Foreign trade if it is to be for purposes of gaining foreign exchange for planned development must be in the hands of State Trading Corporation. The thirty-five crores of rupees of profits of the STC is not bad. I know that the performance could have been much better. Instead of rebates on tea and high spending in the USA by the Tea Board with declining export markets in the United States of America, we must organise selling tea outside the grip of Mincing Lane. Only state ventures can break international cartels, monopolies and regional commercial groupings.

Uncompetitiveness of prices is always laid down at the gate of workers' wages. Why not at the door of undue profits? Yet see what Capital says: "Profits and turn-overs during the past year have risen." My hon. friend Mr. Morarka also says this is true.

Government we find has no grip over the cost structure of manufactures, what is the amount going towards raw materials, labour cost, capital cost, depreciation and profits. Further at the root of unstable prices is the refusal to lay

\* SEE PAGE 14

# Communist M. P. Offers To Pilot Ship To Christmas Islands

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

A thunderous ovation was given to Communist M.P. Md. Ilyas when he disclosed at a public meeting at University Institute, Calcutta, on May 8 that he had written to Prime Minister Nehru that, with 18 years of experience in Marine Engineering behind him, he was prepared to undertake the responsibility of piloting a ship to the Christmas Islands to express India's protest against the present series of U.S. nuclear tests in that area.

M. D. ILYAS further disclosed that in his reply of May 4, the Prime Minister had thanked him for his offer and had pointed out that it was not possible for the Government to despatch a ship to the Christmas Islands; but if any person unofficially took the initiative in the matter, the Government would not stand in the way.

Md. Ilyas expressed his firm belief that there were hundreds of people in our peace-loving country, who would willingly volunteer to go in the ship and sacrifice their lives in the noble cause of world peace.

The public meeting was organised by the West Bengal Peace Council.

Moving the main resolution, Prof. Kalyan Dutt, Secretary of the West Bengal Peace Council, traced the history of the negotiations for disarmament among the Big Powers and emphasized that the problems of disarmament and of the banning of nuclear tests were inseparably linked. He further pointed out that only a powerful worldwide campaign could compel the warmongers to come to an international agreement on these questions.

Ila Mitra, Communist M.L.A., stressed the vital role of the womenfolk in the movement, which was developing on an international scale, for the banning of all nuclear tests.

Dr. A. M. O. Gani, Communist M.L.A., said that apart from the terrible destruction that a nuclear war would cause, it would bring about such biological changes in man that those who would be born in

these out of existence with a nuclear war. The reasons were not far to seek. One-third of the population of the world were already living in Socialism. U. S. Statesmen were hatching war conspiracies to stop the march of the people in the capitalist world towards socialism.

## U. S. Tests Condemned

The main resolution adopted at the meeting expressed the deep resentment of the citizens of Calcutta at the new series of nuclear tests by the U.S. Government. It pointed out that the resumption of tests at a time when statesmen had met at Geneva to discuss the questions of disarmament and stopping of nuclear tests had seriously undermined the prospects of peace and understanding among nations.

The resolution emphasized that the "only way to stop nuclear tests for all time to come and to save humanity from being killed and maimed even in peace time is to disarm universally and completely."

It appealed to the Peace Committees and other organisations to start an intensive campaign to bring pressure on the U.S. Government so that "it desists from any further test and comes to an understanding with the other powers for universal and complete disarmament."

The message from the meeting to Bertrand Russell paid homage to the great scientist and philosopher and to the British fighters for peace for their heroic battle against nuclear tests and arms race.

The message further said that the decision of Bertrand Russell "to go in person to the Christmas Islands to offer passive resistance to the diabolical tests has quickened the conscience of humanity. Masses are on the move. We, the peace partisans of India, assure Lord Russell and our Bri-

tish comrades that they are not alone in their fight. The Indian people will do everything possible to lend support to the noble mission of Russell. Our united fight will bring sense to the war maniacs and the forces of peace will triumph."

## Communal Tension

FOLLOWING in the wake of the recent communal disturbances in Malda in West Bengal, in which some members of the minority community were burnt to death, reports have come of communal tension and panic prevailing in certain areas of the State. In East Pakistan also, there have been attacks on the minority community, resulting in a number of deaths.

Newspapers in West Bengal as well as East Pakistan have been giving currency to exaggerated accounts of the disturbances in the two countries, as a result of which the situation has worsened. To cite an instance, the New York Times has published a "report" from its special correspondent, Robert Trumbull, to the effect that "at least one thousand Muslims have been done to death in Malda" and further that "it is thought that hundreds of Muslims have been killed in Murshidabad," (West Bengal). This "news" was given wide publicity in Morning News, an English Daily of Dacca, in its issue of May 10.

The Press note expressed the hope that these newspapers would exercise a sufficient degree of responsibility and restraint. It also urged upon the newspapers in West Bengal to exercise similar restraint about the publication of news relating to disturbances in East Pakistan.

## Mahasabha Mischiefs

The motives of Trumbull and his paper are obvious. Needless to say that his report is a downright fabrication, meant to serve his imperialist masters. Some—and not one thousand—Muslims have been killed in Malda, but there have been no disturbances whatsoever in Murshidabad.

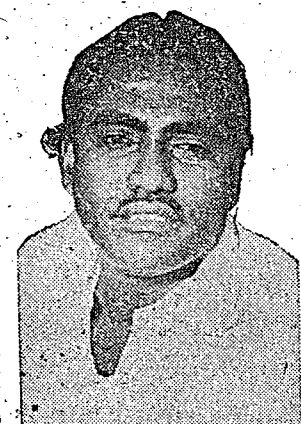
The Hindu Mahasabha is once again in the picture. Taking advantage of the present situation in West Bengal, it is again raising the slogan of "exchange of population". This disruptive demand is, of course, rejected by the people of W. Bengal.

Referring to reports about communal tension and panic in certain areas of West Bengal, the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party issued a statement, pointing out that with the approach of the Bakr-Id festival (on May 15), some reactionary and communal elements were at work to create disturbances.

The West Bengal Government issued a Press Note, pointing out that there had been no incidents in Malda district during the past three weeks. But certain newspapers in East Pakistan had been giving publicity to entirely baseless or grossly exaggerated accounts of happenings in Malda district and to imaginary stories of alleged atrocities in Murshidabad district.

The Government appealed to the people of West Bengal, particularly the leaders of the different communities, to do the utmost to maintain communal harmony and peaceful relations everywhere in the State, specially during the forthcoming Bakr-Id observances.

The Government, however, made it clear that "the slightest attempt to provoke a breach of the peace or disturb communal harmony will be firmly dealt with and the wrong-doers promptly brought to book."



Mohamed Ilyas

the future would be sub-human, hideous creatures.

Narendra Dev, well-known poet, said that the entire people of the world must unite to save human society.

Referring to the tremendous achievements of man in course of the past 5,000 years of his development, he said that preparations were now being made to wipe out



# W. German "Miracle" On Last Legs

The national economy of the Federal Republic of Germany which has been put on a war footing by the revanchists has now reached a stage which in economic terms may be called the "beginning of a recession."

IN the words of Antony Taddy, Sunday Times economic expert on Germany, "the German economic miracle, for long one of the phenomena of post-war Europe, has come to an end" now. (Sunday Times, April 1).

Professor Ludwig Erhard, the Bonn Economics Minister has warned the West Germans in his recent budget speech that Britain's arrival in the Common Market will probably speed up the process of pricing the West German manufacturers out of some of the most profitable export markets, unless urgent preventive measures are taken. At the moment it is France and Italy whose goods are under-cutting the West German firms at home and in the foreign markets.

But the long range danger which Prof. Erhard sees threatening his countrymen and their "boom psychology" is really the impact of American exports to Europe where tariffs no longer shield the German manufacturers (and the German workers) from the icy wind of inter-capitalist competition in which American monopolists dominate.

The Bonn Economics Minister is reported to have said that the competition from the under-developed countries (of Asia, Africa, etc.) is an added challenge.

This challenge was explicit in the Leipzig Spring Fair in March where many capitalist and socialist countries concluded trade agreements with countries like India and UAR.

whose foreign trade is expanding extensively, while, due to West German Government's ban and NATO boycott, many West German manufacturers and industrialists could not go to Leipzig and make trade contacts.

The "1930 approach" of many West German manufacturers is worrying the Economics Minister and he added: "In the Common Market we are all facing an economic process so vast that its full implications are only just beginning to be realized."

In the West German economy the balance of consumption-investment ratios is upset now leading to serious consequences. According to valuable figures compiled by Prof. Otto Reinhold, a leading German economist, the personal consumption percentage of the total production output value is falling while capital investments as percentage of total production value are steadily growing in West Germany, where 14 monopolists rule the country.

Personal consumption of the West German people has dropped from 64.2 per cent to 57.3 per cent in ten years time. At the same time, the investment ratio has grown from 21.4 per cent to 29.1 per cent. When the common people are consuming less and less, giant monopolists (like Krupp) are amassing their profits and investments.

For an underdeveloped country like India where industrialisation is the urgent need of the day, if invest-

ments grow, it can be welcomed, if some prerequisites are there to safeguard people's consumption. But for a highly industrialised country like Germany, where people are used to a very high standard of living (when compared to countries of the Orient) and capital investments have been monopolised by 14 giant companies, a gradual and steady decline in people's consumption ratio is a dangerous sign of economic depression.

People eat less while monopolists invest more for larger profits. This is the simple picture in West Germany.

Another phenomenon of developing economic depression is expressed in the relation between wages, taxes and profits in the West. Real wages have declined while taxes paid by the industry, profits and capital transactions have been gradually reduced as percentage of the profits. The following chart will illustrate this phenomenon.

	Index of relations between profits, taxes and wages.			
	1951	1954	1957	1960
Profit	100	100	100	100
All taxes paid by industry	40	38	43	37
Taxes on property and capital transactions	37	26	31	26
Wages of workers and employees	125	115	116	81

While the taxes on industry, profits and capital transactions are going down, the actual per capita taxation in West Germany has grown enormously. While industrial tycoons are paying less taxes, the common consumers and

workers are shouldering the major share of the heavy tax burden.

The per capita taxation in West Germany has increased in the following order:

1936	310 DM
1950	612 DM
1957	1313 DM
1961	1950 DM
1962	2100 DM

(Budget estimate)

Unless the West Germans heed to the warning of Bonn Economics Minister and submit to his demand (a wage freeze like in England), writes the Sunday Times (April 1) Germany's employment boom could quickly turn into an unemployment figure of several millions.

Even though West Germany's hard currency reserve still stands at well over 2000 million dollars and the country is not yet on the rocks, an economic recession is not far from sight. Immediately after the budget speech of the Eco-

nomics Minister, most West German car firms started preparing the market for price increase of 5 per cent more.

Already, the Volkswagen plant, which is regarded as a barometer of West Germany's economy because of the stability of its prices through the years, has increased the price of its cars by 20 per cent.

Rising costs in many industries are making German goods less competitive inside and outside the Common Market. The Solingen Cutlery industry 'once unrivalled in its field lamented loudly last week about declining exports and high wage costs, which now represents 70 per cent of the basic prices. Competition from France, Italy and Hong-kong was blamed.

## MILITARY EXPENDITURE

While the industries are in difficulty and people's consumption is being axed year after year, the military expenditure of the Federal German State is growing enormously. The following chart shows growth of West Germany's war budget (in million DM):

1955-56	95
1956-57	3400
1957-58	5400
1958-59	7900
1959-60	10900

These are direct military expenditures shown in the war budget. Concealed military expenditure in other items of the budget is not included in this.

In the year 1960-61, the total budget estimates were 41,900 million marks. Of this direct military expenditure was 13,500 million marks and indirect expenditure 11,900 millions. The total war preparation expenditure was thus 61 per cent of

# As G D R Prepares For New Spurt

the total budget. In 1961-62 this rose to 65 per cent.

From 1958 to 1961, the West German Government has spent, according to official figures, 100,000 million DM for war preparations. From 1945 to 1961 the total West German money spent for feeding foreign occupation forces is estimated to be 70,000 million marks.

While the situation in West Germany is looking gloomy, West Berlin's "prosperity" is somewhat artificially maintained. Its industry with 800 million dollars turnover, of which 11 per cent is exported, enjoys more tax concession and generous credit facilities which are paid for political reasons at encouraging firms to start business to catch up with the industrial expansion in Democratic Berlin and maintain the face of the 'shop window'.

West Berlin capitalists recover their investment costs in a remarkably short time, but owing to political crisis and general uncertainty, capital investment in West Berlin, though, on the upgrade, is still 25 per cent down on West Germany, despite 250 million dollar aid payment given by Bonn Government as annual "pump priming" for West Berlin economy. And now read what the Daily Express (London) correspondent from West Berlin wrote in that paper on January 19:

"General Lucius Clay, President Kennedy's personal representative in West Berlin, assured the chief of West Berlin's Department of Economy and Credit, Herr Carl Schiller that he can rely on more American cash and on the establishment of more American business in the Communist encircled city.

"The cash is a stiff item. Last year West Berlin received \$15,000,000 in American credit. For the coming year, so I was assured by an official in Herr Schiller's department, about \$20,000,000 is expected.

"I have been staying in a giant hotel of supreme luxury, built with American money three years ago. The place is like a morgue. The staff outnumber the guests. Things in (West) Berlin are getting tougher all the time. Retail trade is down by 10 to 12 per cent. The latest official figures, for Oct-Nov. (1961) reveal that 19,000 people left West Berlin and 6,400 came in... Small advertisements screaming for labour fill the newspapers. Attractive flats stand forlornly empty...

"Industry, still employing 320,000 people in West Berlin has been taking precautions. There has been a quiet organisation of what the Germans call 'the Second Band' far to the West. There the industrial giants—including Electronics, Radio, building materials, heavy machinery and car firms with internationally known names—have been setting up 'reserve production lines' just in case.

"The workers' and peasants' State of GDR repelled all attacks of West German imperialists aimed at economic disintegration and bleeding of GDR to death. The Republic suffered heavy economic losses until August 13, 1961 (when the Berlin border was closed) in this struggle against imperialism.

Enticement and organizing GDR citizens to leave the Republic have resulted in losses amounting to at least 30,000 million marks to the national economy. This is approximately the equivalent of the sum the Socialist industry should have additionally invested in order to have a most modern, newly equipped, productive industry.

Over and above, the measures taken on August 13 for the security of the Socialist State's border caused considerable additional expenses.

## W. BERLIN DREARY

Berlin's West is now a dreary, aimless sort of city. A Frenchman visiting Berlin after a year's interval said to me: West Berlin must be one of the few cities in Western

Europe where there is no difficulty in parking your car."

And this is not a Communist writing. This is Daily Express—and its rabid anti-communist, pro-American correspondent writing. Every German patriot will think: Why is West Berlin "withering away"?

In Professor Erhard's view, the main danger to the West

But, despite all these serious difficulties, the GDR Government had seen to it that the working people did not suffer. Wages were kept up and more milk, meat and eggs came on to the market.

A comparison with West Germany reveals that the per capita consumption of important foodstuffs is considerably higher in GDR.

	GDR	West Germany (in 1961)
Meat	57.5 kg.	57 kg.
Butter	13.4 kg.	8.4 kg.
Fish	14 kg.	11.6 kg.
Sugar	32.9 kg.	28.8 kg.
Grain products	94.4 kg.	77.3 kg.
Potatoes	168.7 kg.	132 kg.
Vegetables	59.6 kg.	48.8 kg.

German economy today is the ruthless competition between employers for the last few remaining workers who are willing to change job for the promise of higher wages. The Finance Minister who claims this is "Germany's path to economic destruction" wants employees to "put the national interest first."

Whether the West German common man is willing to make any more sacrifices still is doubtful.

Even though modern international checks and balances rule out another 1929 crash, the thought even of a minor recession fills many West Germans with grim foreboding. And the following words of Chancellor Adenauer testify to the growing economic difficulties in West Germany:

"The development of our economy has caused me concern for some time. In broad sections of the population, the view is held that economically things must go on expanding as they have done hitherto. I do not now wish to look for culprits" (Times, April 9).

WHILE the capitalist economy in West Germany, pressurised by heavy armament expenditure and corroded by super profits of monopolists, is facing the danger of a recession, the Socialist economy in the German Democratic Republic is steadily growing.

When GDR was founded, its industrial potential was only six per cent of the whole Germany, since all the mineral deposits and industrial concentration happened to be in West Germany. Now GDR is the fifth biggest industrial power in Europe.

The workers' and peasants' State of GDR repelled all attacks of West German imperialists aimed at economic disintegration and bleeding of GDR to death. The Republic suffered heavy economic losses until August 13, 1961 (when the Berlin border was closed) in this struggle against imperialism.

Enticement and organizing GDR citizens to leave the Republic have resulted in losses amounting to at least 30,000 million marks to the national economy. This is approximately the equivalent of the sum the Socialist industry should have additionally invested in order to have a most modern, newly equipped, productive industry.

Over and above, the measures taken on August 13 for the security of the Socialist State's border caused considerable additional expenses.

(All figures taken from official statistics for 1961)

People eat more and live in good flats. Last year construction work was completed on 90,600 new flats in GDR. This means that some 280,000 citizens could move into new homes. Ten thousand more multi-storied flats were built in 1961 than in 1960. A total of 3,300 million marks was spent for the entire building programme last year.

Students of higher educational institutions and technical universities get handsome stipends in the GDR. The stipends range from 250 DM to 500 DM. But in West Germany, higher education is available only for those who

BY  
P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

are rich and can afford to pay fees. The State does not give any stipends.

The 1962 Economic Plan, introduced in the GDR Parliament last week envisages that industrial production should increase in the current year by 5 to 8 per cent. A great part of this increase would be earmarked for capital investments.

In the past few years expenditure in fields of education, social services and health has increased much faster than production. As a result the GDR has highest social consumption in Europe.

Last week I visited some villages in Magdeburg District. The co-operative farmers live in most modern houses, with radio and TV sets, their village flats could only be compared with the MPs flats in North Avenue in Delhi.

The Western Press deliberately reports often to spread falsehood that the economy of GDR is stagnating. But the gross industrial production has increased, in thousand million marks, between 1955

and 1962 in the following order:	1955	46.0
	1958	58.5
	1960	71.1
	1961	75.7
	1962 (Plan)	80.1

As a result of the division of Germany instigated by Western monopolists, the old economic relations were severed. Particularly for GDR which does not have any basic industry in the important fields worth mentioning, the change in economic structure is a complicated process of development.

The greatest importance is now placed on increasing accumulation for Socialist industry, using a biggest part of national income for investments to renew, reconstruct and modernise production plants, without cutting down the present standard of living of the people.

The developing Socialist economy of GDR without any inherent crisis, will forge ahead while the crisis-ridden capitalist economy of West Germany will face many more difficulties like the approaching economic recession. (April 18, 1962)

# Segni's Election

★ From S. BENSASSON

THE election of the new President of the Italian Republic, in the person of Antonio Segni, has acquired a far greater political importance than one would have been able to foresee, and it is sure to leave a sufficiently deep trace in Italian political life.

All the forecasts on the eve spoke of a laborious, difficult and long election, and it has been so. But it was also expected that, after some uneventful ballotings, a compromise would have been reached on a name capable of achieving the greatest unanimity. It has not been so, and Segni won by a narrow margin (51.8 per cent of votes), as the candidate of a faction extending from the centre to the monarchist and fascist extreme-right, against all democratic and anti-fascist forces, ranged around Saragat, and against 51 blank ballot papers, also representing a rejection of Segni's candidature.

The "inter-classist" character of this party continues to mark its policy with a constant fluctuation between the exigencies of renewal and progress coming from the people who form its base and the conservative resistance coming from its "elite", the economically and socially privileged.

If the Christian Democratic party wished to convince its friends and allies (Republicans, Radicals, Social-Democrats, Socialists) of its resistance to a policy of real renewal, it could not have done better. Palmiro Togliatti did not fall the day after the election to call public attention to the 'scandalous fact of the recourse to the votes of the monarchists' and fascist right-wing groups", and the fact that "the achievement of the few pledges of the new government is today once more in discussion, as it is

## RIGHT-WING STRENGTH

This election calls for a certain number of considerations which enable us to evaluate more exactly the Italian political situation and its more or less immediate prospects. At the beginning the choice of the candidate of the Christian Democratic party the situation was that Segni was notoriously the representative of the right-wing tendency of the party, and the secretary of the Christian Democracy, Moro, who has however been

clear that in the battle for the election of the new President, it is the most reactionary group of the ruling circles of the Christian Democratic party that have prevailed."

At the same time, Palmiro Togliatti stressed that "in the course of the successive ballotings, an example of convergence of democratic and anti-fascist forces had been given, which should be and certainly will be followed up on future occasions".

The latter affirmation of the Communist leader has found a positive echo in a statement of the Social-Democratic leader Saragat, who thanked all those who had voted for him "in a democratic competition—he added—which, although not crowned by success, has however seen the affirmation of the anti-fascist solidarity".

This steering to the right of Christian Democracy enables us to foresee that a serious resistance is to be put up in the future to a serious and complete implementation of the programme of the government, and the solidarity and the unity of all left-wing forces will then be more than ever necessary. Have the Republicans, the Social-Democrats and the Socialists understood and will they understand that, in this situation, the pretension of "isolating" the Communists is pure folly, and that the convergence which has taken place around Saragat's name will have to be maintained and strengthened in future battles?

clear that in the battle for the election of the new President, it is the most reactionary group of the ruling circles of the Christian Democratic party that have prevailed."



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ASPLIC-79



# ADENAUER OPPOSES TALKS

From P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

Berlin, May 12:

Across the Atlantic, this week two great imperialist powers publicly washed their dirty Berlin linen. West German Chancellor Adenauer in occupied Berlin and American President Kennedy in Washington loudly quarrelled, for the first time after war on allied negotiating position on West Berlin.

RELATIONS between U.S. and West Germany have become extremely strained over Adenauer's rejection of Washington proposals for thirteen member international access authority for West Berlin.

Chancellor Adenauer speaking in West Berlin on May 8 said, "The U. S. plan for a 13 - member International Authority to control access to West Berlin was unworkable because it would leave the power of decision in the hands of three neutrals". The so-called neutrals are Sweden, Austria and Switzerland who in U.N. generally vote with Western bloc. But Adenauer does not believe these three countries will be always willing to be neutral in the international access authority.

According to American plan the international access authority would be composed of five socialist representatives—Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and East Berlin, five Western representatives—U.S., Britain, France, West Germany and West Berlin and three "neutrals"—Sweden, Austria and Switzerland.

What is more, Adenauer cast doubt on the very wisdom of continuing negotiations with Soviet Union over West Berlin.

And about the gravity of the rift New York Times wrote "at both the White House and State Department, the reaction to Chancellor Adenauer's acid criticism of American negotiating efforts was a combination of astonishment, dismay and anger".

In a swift reply to West German Chancellor, President Kennedy at his press conference on May 9 rejected

Adenauer's line and said U.S. will continue talks with Soviet Union on West Berlin crisis irrespective of West German objections. President Kennedy referring to leakage in West Germany of American plan said "it makes very difficult to carry on negotiations with Soviet Union because all our proposals are fought out in the public even before they become our official position".

## Kennedy's Reply

The big imperialist four now stand neatly divided with Paris and Bonn opposing West Berlin talks and London and Washington in favour. The State Department in an unusually vigorous statement told Adenauer that his outright rejection of West Berlin talks is reversal of position taken by NATO meeting in Athens

Moreover, West German Ambassador in Washington, William Grewe has apparently become the casualty of this inter-imperialist conflict. His imminent recall demanded by Washington was very much regretted by Adenauer who publicly defended him as "an innocent victim". Grewe was in trouble in Washington for criticising American plan for international control for West Berlin access and he was found guilty for leakage of American plan.

After leakage sabotage on April 14 the United States has changed the channel of informing West German Government of U.S.-Soviet talks from Ambassador Grewe to U.S. Ambassador in Bonn Walter

"The question of access to West Berlin is completely clear. Soviet Government and the Government of GDR have repeatedly declared that unhindered access is possible. It is possible but only after agreement has been reached with GDR as the sovereign controller of the traffic routes and air lines. Without such an agreement it is impossible to settle the question of access.

"An international supervisory body can be created, but only as an arbitration body to investigate possible difficulties arising from the implementation of the agreement with GDR on transit traffic. Such a body can only be established when agreement has been reached on withdrawal of troops from West Berlin.

"No agreement can be reached while West Berlin is utilised as a centre of political intrigue, provocation, and enemy propaganda against socialist States and in particular against GDR".

Policies of imperialism and socialism on Berlin access are thus quite clear.

The rift in Western alliance is so serious today that there is no guarantee that Bonn and Paris will accept any agreement on Berlin

C. Dowling. About recall of Bonn Ambassador, leader of Social Democrat Opposition in Bonn Parliament Fritz Erler said:

"It would have been better to replace Chancellor Adenauer rather than Ambassador Grewe."

Even though the rift on Berlin policies between U.S.A. and West Germany is widening, the U.S. is still unwilling to recognise the full sovereignty of GDR. The sort of authority Americans are willing to concede to East Germany on the West Berlin access authority is compared by President Kennedy in his May 9 press conference with the port of New York authority—"not a Government facility but an organisation empowered to manage regional traffic." And about negotiating itself U.S. is very sceptical.

White House spokesman Lincoln White said on May 9 "as for the talks itself, I would like to recall that at the outset of these explanatory talks, we made it clear that we do not entertain any great expectations that the talks would necessarily lead to prompt and far reaching agreement with the Soviet Union on German and West Berlin issues".

President Kennedy's internationalisation of access route is clearly rejected by Walter Ulbricht in his interview with Pravda. He said GDR will exercise hundred per cent control over the communications through its sovereign territory.

Regarding International control Pravda had written earlier "These are utopian plans directed against the sovereignty of GDR and they have been produced at a time when U.S. Secretary Rusk has admitted that GDR supervises 95 per cent of traffic which passes over its territory to West Berlin.

All additional support given to the Algerian Government at this critical stage in the history of Algeria must necessarily be considered as a positive contribution in favour of the application of the Evian agreements and as a disavowal of the fascist and other forces which are interested in maintaining colonial domination in Algeria.

## Solemn Appeal

Finally for reasons simply human and in the name of our common values, in the name of the commonness of our internal and external policies which make us natural allies both in the present as well as in the future, in the name of the Algerian people, the disarmed Algerians who are collapsing under the fascist bullet. I solemnly appeal to the anti-colonialist Indian people, to all its national organisations, to persons in responsible positions, to the distinguished leaders of the great Indian Republic to awaken to the extreme gravity of the situation:

1 to bring in the concrete expression of a total support to the G.P.R.A. which is formally recognised by 35 States.

2 to protest publicly against the heinous crimes committed by the Fascists in Algeria and demand that ener-

even if U.S. tries to reach it with Soviet Union.

Secret negotiations are already going on between West Germany and France for co-operation in producing nuclear weapons independent of American assistance. France already knows atom secrets and West Germany is rich enough to finance mass production of nuclear warhead. The danger of West Germany becoming a nuclear power free from American control cannot be ruled out.

Now since the competence of U.S. to act as spokesman for Western alliance has been impaired by two big imperialist partners, the effectiveness of United States leadership on German question on behalf of other imperialist powers itself is challenged.

So America is trying through its Ambassador in Bonn to make up with Adenauer. West Germany may propose a four power international corridor authority instead of America's earlier thirteen member proposal. This however cannot solve the crisis.

# Algeria Calls

\* FROM PAGE 5

sincerely enforced by the French authority as has been done by the G.P.R.A., if the daily massacres of tens of women, children and men were efficaciously put down by them.

Consequently considering that a complete agreement has been signed between the G.P.R.A. and the French Government on the basis of an independent Algeria co-operating with France;

Considering that the French people, by an overwhelming majority (90.7%) had adopted the Evian agreements which means that it already recognises the independence of Algeria;

Considering the aims and the behaviour of the fascist forces in Algeria and France as stated above;

Considering also that in spite of the Evian Agreements the battle of the Algerian people still continues, more painfully than ever before, under the leadership of the G.P.R.A. which is the sole authority responsible for the Algerian people.

All additional support given to the Algerian Government at this critical stage in the history of Algeria must necessarily be considered as a positive contribution in favour of the application of the Evian agreements and as a disavowal of the fascist and other forces which are interested in maintaining colonial domination in Algeria.

May I thank the Indo-Arab Society and its devoted leaders Dr. Syed Mahmud and Dr. Miss Chopra and all the others for all that they are doing—and they have done much—for an every growing co-operation between our two worlds which in reality are but one.

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getic measures be taken for liquidating this fascist organisation and bring back normalcy which is the indispensable conditions for the application of the Evian agreements;

## Aid The Suffering

3 to do everything possible for helping the wounded Algerians; for coming to the rescue of those who are threatened with famine and epidemics in the big cities of Algeria and Oran and for aiding our hundreds of thousands of refugee, by sending them medical missions, medicines, provisions, clothes, tents etc.

I thank all those who have already expressed their support, condemned the fascist organisation, and decided to send help.

I thank, before hand, all those who would respond to our appeal, the appeal of those who are fighting for freedom, social progress and democracy.

Tomorrow Algeria shall definitely be independent. Rest assured that, being a part of the Arab world, her sons will honour their commitments with regard to a world of peace, liberty, friendship and prosperity.

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# P. M. On China, Non-Alignment

The following is a verbatim record of what the Prime Minister said in reference to a basis for talks on the India-China border question in the Lok Sabha on May 14 in course of his reply to the debate on External Affairs Ministry's grants:

Now coming to the border question it is very easy for some hon. Members to talk—some new Members, I would say, lest the old Members might suspect I am referring to them—bravely of our border and say that we should do this and that. As every one realises now, any war between India and China is going to be tremendously disastrous affair.

What is more, it may well become interminable because I do not see any easy possibility of either party defeating the other. Warring what for? Well, for certain pieces of territory, important though they may be, but some pieces of mountain territory.

Therefore, one tries to avoid war because war would be disastrous both for India and China.

## Policy To Avoid War

It is our policy to avoid war unless it is thrust upon us but whether we avoid war or not, we have to be prepared for it and we prepare for it to defend these areas and to recover them.

How to recover them short of war? If one is prepared to recover them and one is strong enough, other things also help in the process and it is possible that those things plus our preparation for any action may result in some kind of agreement for these areas to be liberated.

Therefore, to say that we will not talk to the Chinese Government is not right. But to talk to them we must talk to them on some basis and not just talk to them in the air.

What basis can there be? We had suggested at one time that they should withdraw according to their maps leaving the area in between which is unadministered. It does not seem very much matter because it is mountain area where very few people dwell. These are important and strategic areas but no administration existed there and none is necessary for the time being.

I had suggested and I had further added something a little later that in regard to the northern Tibet-Aksai Chin where they built a road and which was used as a caravan route, they might use that road for civilian purposes for a temporary period till we discussed this matter and presumably came to an agreement or not or whatever it might be.

All this was for a temporary period. This was to enable us to talk to each other and discuss the matter.

So I had said they should withdraw according to our maps, which meant withdrawal from the vast area which they have taken, and our withdrawal according to their maps.

This applies, may I say, entirely to the Ladakh area and not the eastern area at all, because we are not going to withdraw in the east. In the Ladakh area, it meant a very small withdrawal for us—a few villages—and it meant a large withdrawal for them.

I had said that for civilian use, as they used to before, they could continue to use the Aksai Chin road for a temporary period. I think that was a very fair offer which they did not accept.

I still think that is a fair offer. That would immediately give us a base for talks, because, without a base, one cannot talk merely repeating our respective claims. The only other basis was the basis of the officials' report.

## MESS OF POTTAGE

PRIME Minister Nehru gave a spirited reply to nominated member Frank Anthony's attack on the policy of non-alignment. Anthony had painted a picture, in the style of U.S. State Department, of India and South East Asia being threatened by Communism, etc.

Nehru replying to the foreign affairs debate told the Lok Sabha on May 14: I was surprised to hear the speech

of Sri Anthony. He challenged the very basis of what we are doing and I think the argument he raised was quite so extraordinary that I was simply taken aback that anything so ridiculous could come from an Hon. member of this House....

He made a long string of things of what is happening in Laos, Vietnam and other places. I wonder if he knows anything about what is happening in Laos and Vietnam, because in Laos and Vietnam much is happening which is not very credible....

I do not wish to hurt Sri Anthony by strong language. But what he said hurt me as being quite beyond the thinking of reasonable human beings....

We attach ourselves to these power blocs—why? To protect us from somebody? We are damned, whether we are protected or not is immaterial, but by the mere act of doing so, we give up our individuality, what we stand for and what we stood for through the ages. Am I going to give all this up for a mess of pottage?

I am afraid I react rather strongly to any such suggestion. I cannot conceive it; I shall fight any such idea of leaving this principle of non-alignment so

taken on this question just a year ago by the Prime Minister when he was speaking on these very Grants for his Ministry last year, on April 1. May I, Sir, with your permission quote one or two sentences from what he said then? He said:

"We have tried to avoid, in so far as we can, taking any steps which may create unbridgeable chasms between these two countries. We have to look as I said in this dynamics of history not only to the present but to the future; and the future of two countries who are neighbours to each other like India and China, two countries with vast populations, is of the highest importance to both these countries and to the world.

"So we have tried to steer a middle course between our strong resentment and the steps we actually take in this connection, and not allow ourselves merely in anger to do something which may create further problems and difficulties."

Now, Sir, this is what the Prime Minister said last year, and I think this is the only possible and sane approach which can be taken. We have to remember that this is the one case of a dispute in which we are unfortunately having to deal with a country which has been illegally excluded from membership of the United Nations....

Therefore, when we are involved in a border dispute with a neighbouring country, which is at the same time not a member of the United Nations—which has not got that privilege which Pakistan has or which Portugal had—then there are only two alternatives left.

But I will just remind you of the approach which was

far as we are concerned. And leaving it when? When the world recognises its importance, when the world thinks more and more of it as a solution of its ills, when in fact on the purely practical and limited ground it is considered more useful—leave out morals and ethics apart....

"What does alignment mean? Alignment means joining up with other military powers for military purposes, where, whatever people may say, decisions are made, military decisions are made by those who have big military forces. May be, one can affect them slightly here and there by bringing pressure, but essentially those decisions are made by the big military forces.

It means adopting a military outlook, adopting the method of deciding things by military methods, and then follows the arms race and all that. We also keep an army. We increase the army and air force when the need arises. We are not pacifists as I have said many times. But I hope we have not got the military mind which interprets events only through military ways, of joining a group.

Because, when we talk of non-alignment, we do not say that we will not be aligned with countries for friendly

purposes. In hundred and one things we get aligned with other countries. But we are not going to be aligned for military purposes. That is the main thing.

Now, military purpose means our giving up our whole soul, all that we have stood for, all that we think of, and handing over our future to others because they have promised to defend us and because they have got bigger armies, and, may be, atom bombs, etc.

The whole idea is horrible to me. It is intolerable to think of. I would rather India sink and die than it should continue in that fashion as a camp follower of some other nation.

ON ECM The fact to be remembered is that the European common market may be good—I do not know; it is not for me to judge—for United Kingdom. It is not good for us. It will do us some harm. More important than that this is a first step in a particular direction, the direction being a certain measure of growing political solidarity between those countries. I do not know what this will lead to. But, I fear it will not lead to anything good.

which, whenever it is suggested, the other friends on this side say, "No, we never advocated war"; and the only other approach I submit by and large, is the approach which the Government of India has been following; that is, an approach of trying to bring about some sort of bi-partite settlement while at the same time strengthening our own defence preparation. What is the other way, I do not understand....

And therefore I would like the Prime Minister to tell us, apart from what we know already, whether the Government is applying its mind to any possible steps, however remote or slender they may seem at the moment as practical possibilities; in this direction.

I am provoked to ask this question simply because I find the Prime Minister himself, in his monthly Press Conference on March 21 last, was asked a number of questions, and he has stated there that, in his opinion, if both parties would agree mutually to some sort of arbitration, then that could not be ruled out.

I am not supporting this view, because it is not at all clear to me what is meant by it. But the Prime Minister has said something in his official press conference.

Of course, arbitration presumes that there will be agreement between the two contending parties on the terms and conditions of the dispute. But nevertheless the point is that an idea has been mooted, has been thrown out.

I do not know what sort of reception it has had elsewhere or whether there is any proposal to follow it up at all. So we would like to be enlightened about this to some extent.

One is to go to war

# East Pak Students

\* FROM PAGE 7

demands would be favourably considered.

It was only after this that the Engineering students withdrew the strike and the students sat for examination from the 17th. The University students had to quit their hostels and disperse because of the closing down of the institution.

The struggle came to an end here.

This heroic and prolonged battle of the students of East Pakistan was in fact a continuation of the battle for democracy and autonomy of the East Pakistani people which began in 1948. This struggle had been suppressed again and again in the past. It was suppressed once again by the military regime. But just as the repression of the past could not wipe out the democratic forces and could not liquidate the struggle for good, similarly, the suppression of the struggle by the mili-

tary regime, too will be only a temporary phenomenon. Ayub Khan is politically finished in East Pakistan. The struggle of the students has left a big impact on the public mind. The myth of the military terror has been torn to pieces. The democratic forces have become convinced that popular struggles can take place even under a military regime and that if the people stand united no dictator can stem the tide of popular upsurge.

Further, the sentiments of the people for autonomy and democracy have gone deeper. The experience of this struggle has further radicalised the people. The sentiment for full autonomy of East Pakistan has been further strengthened. The objective basis for another struggle in the future has become stronger.

The people of East Pakistan will never rest content without fullest autonomous rights and democracy. The student movement has proved it beyond doubt.

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## NEW AGE

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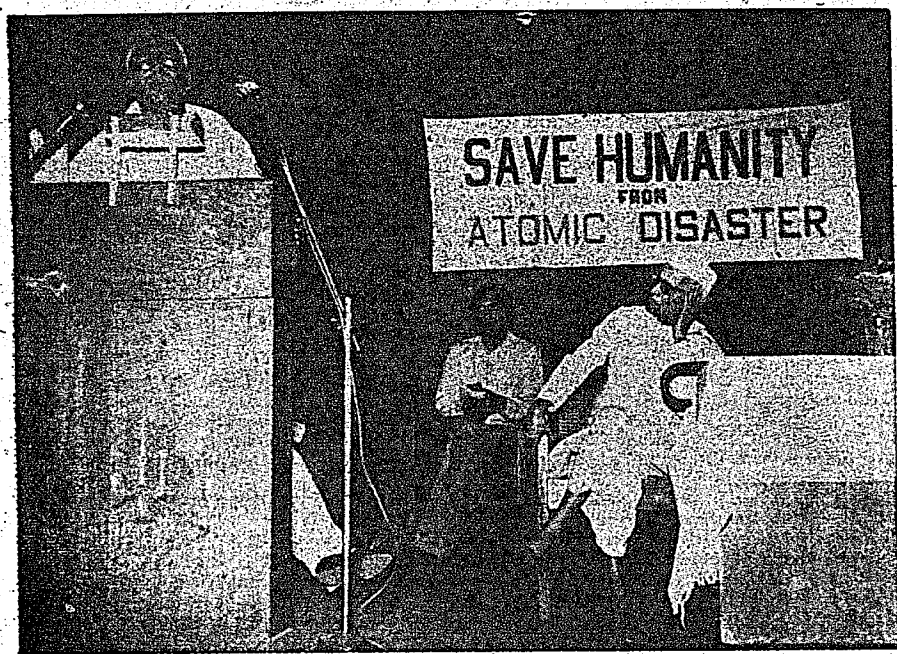
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MAY 20, 1962



# PUNJAB URGES DISARMAMENT



Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi speaking as Governor Gadgil looks on.

FOR the first time in the history of the new capital city of Punjab, Chandigarh had such a broad-based gathering assembled as the one that came together at the Punjab Convention for Disarmament and Peace held on May 8.

It was presided over by Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, prominent Hindi literature and Head of the Hindi Department of the Punjab University.

Governor of Punjab, N. V. Gadgil, inaugurated the Convention and prominent among the 150 delegates who attended were Giani Zail Singh, Comrade Ram Kishan and Tayyab Hussain, State ministers, Shanno Devi, Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, the leader and deputy leader of the opposition, Ch. Devi Lal and Babu Bachan Singh, the leader and Secretary of the Assembly Communist Group respectively; Harnam Singh Chamak and Shamsheer Singh Joshi, General Secretary of the Pradesh Congress, Ch. Amar Singh MLC, Gurdial Singh Dhillon, former Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, and Gian Singh Rarewala, former Irrigation and Power Minister, D. D. Khanna, MLC, prominent members of the High Court Bar, Anand Sarup, C. L. Lakh-

anpal, Devi Singh Tiveta, Harbhagwan Singh and Ajit Singh Bains.

Sarla Devi MLA, Lekhawati Jain, MLC and Khurshid Ahmed MLA, spoke in support of the resolution which was moved by Jagjit Singh Anand, general secretary, Punjab Peace Committee, and was unanimously adopted. It says:

"This convention of legislators and publicmen of Punjab expresses its deep concern at the protracted and inconclusive talks about disarmament at Geneva as this is resulting in continued armament race.

"In this connection, the convention expresses its disapproval of the recent resumption of atomic tests during the pendency of the disarmament talks and calls upon the concerned government to discontinue them forthwith.

"The convention also calls upon all atomic powers to observe a moratorium on atomic tests till the settlement of the disarmament talks.

"This convention expresses its appreciation of the role of the Indian Government and of other neutral powers at these talks and appeals to the big powers to work out an agreement on the basis of these proposals."

## No Justification For Policy Of Fleecing The Common Man

\* FROM CENTRE PAGES

down floor prices for agricultural raw materials before the sowing season.

The Asoka Mehta Committee suggested the establishment of a Price Stabilisation Committee. We go on clamouring for the fixation of minimum price of jute and cotton before the sowing season, so that there may be a stable supply of raw materials at proper prices. But this is never acquiesced in. That is why we say that uncompetitiveness of prices cannot always be put down to workers' wages.

And yet what does Nandani say? He says that real wages of workers have gone down. So, let us not put ourselves on our back by saying that we have done well by labour. Foreign exporting houses and big business firms will really gain by this export drawing back which has been permitted. Without state-trading, and this incentive of increase in foreign exchange earning for planned development will remain a chimera.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has in the meantime submitted an intelligent memorandum. Like Oliver Twist they are never tired of asking for more. They ask: What is the use of this drawback? We should be permitted to have liberalisation of currency retention. In short they say: We should be permitted to earn as much profit as we like and sell to whomsoever we like; in other words, allow us to indulge in as much profiteering as we can; please do not touch us.

Now, Sir, the last point which I would like to make is regarding a point which the Finance Minister himself made. He asked: How shall we have development? He has put it in a rather attractive form. He said that even with the increase in the size of our

Plans, we are unable to accommodate all the legitimate aspirations of our people, for more schools and roads, for more power and drinking water, for more transport and employment opportunities. These are no doubt sentiments which find an echo in the hearts of all our people. But can we not ask: Why is it impossible to nationalise banks which would give double edge of putting huge resources of Rs. 1,657.16 crores of deposits as well as the power of controlling prices by controlling power of hypothecation. We saw how helpless the Reserve Bank of India was in checking the selective credit control applied to foodgrains. We were often told that money was taken out in the name of foodgrains, but actually speculation was carried on in the name of foodgrains. What about the secret vault resources? Apart from gold and bullion we are told that actual notes and currencies, black moneys, are escaping taxation. They are not of a small order. It is widely known that a good part of the difference between bank deposits and money supply with the public, which is almost about Rs. 1,000 crores, is black money, speculative money, money which neither the Forward Markets Commission nor the Government have ever cared to assess far less to control.

### Is This Planned Economy?

Is this a planned economy where neither bank advances are controlled for planned development, nor does it use all the invisible sources of money for public good and national regeneration? And we find from the Capital that Shri Morarji Desai in Bombay has been properly pressurised to tell the big business that "we are not go-

ing to nationalise banks." Not only that, I do not know whether he has said "at the moment"; but as far as I can make out, it is a blank cheque that they will not be nationalised, even at a future date may be.

Why was it impossible to use the L.I.C. funds totalling Rs. 560.38 crores? These are long-term deposits and are eminently suited for planned development. Why should these nationalised funds be used to maintain the buoyancy of the share market which to a socialist should have no part to play in our economy, not even capital formation, because it works on the basis of speculation, scares, artificial shortages and cornerings.

What about the purse of Rulers? If others are asked to tighten the belt, why not first ask those who have enough room to spare between the belt and their opulent body? They should be asked to make sacrifices.

Therefore, to pose the question of lack of resources in such an innocent way as to give the impression that all resources have been tapped and the only thing left is to fleece the common man who is already stumbling under the heavy burden of rising prices and reduced real wages, is not honest, far less is it the sign of a socialist conscience.

We want development. But if increased production and income is to create greater inequalities, then there is no need to go into long-winded theories of the futility of "equalisation at the lowest level" or "dispersal of poverty" as the Prime Minister said.

If the process of the so-called levelling up leads to greater disparities and the crushing down of the lower rungs of the society including the middle classes who form the bulk of our people, we need not be apologetic about levelling down.

## OUR PRESIDENT

\* FROM PAGE 2

midnight hour ringing in the dawn of Independence.

After Independence, one of Radhakrishnan's outstanding contributions at home was the Chairmanship of the University Education Commission, which worked out the blueprint for higher education in Free India. Abroad, the philosopher-patriot took up a new role, as our Ambassador in Moscow during a very important period, 1949-1952.

Perhaps no diplomatic assignment since Independence was more delicate and difficult, and yet under his stewardship was laid the foundation of Indo-Soviet amity which continues to be one of the pillars of our successful foreign policy.

On his return from Moscow in 1952, a position of higher responsibility awaited him. The nation unanimously elected him the Vice-President of the Republic. Radhakrishnan brought to this august office a tradition of great dignity and universal respect.

Presiding over the Rajya Sabha, he laid down conventions which will remain the abiding features of our Parliamentary system. Every section of this House of Elders from the Treasury to the Opposition Benches, ungrudgingly recognised his sense of fair play and decorum.

His numerous tours abroad as our Vice-President have not only strengthened the ties of friendship with distant nations but have helped to spread the policy of Panch Sheel. From Washington to Moscow, from Paris to Peking, this world statesman has conveyed the message of peace and mutual understanding. "One of those great bridge-builders so urgently required in our age"—that was what the great German thinker Jung called Radhakrishnan.

A world-mind of the noblest type, he has never hesitated to stand up for what he has felt to be right. The use of the atom bomb was condemned by him at a time when it was not fashionable to do so. Despite the bitter barriers of mutual hatred that marks the map of the present-day world Radhakrishnan boldly says: "It is wrong to assume that our world is the only possible civilised world and beyond its frontier is barbarism. If we are patient and restrained, I am not without hope that peaceful adjustments and approximations may take place between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds."

No wonder that he is today regarded as one of the best exponents of Jawaharlal Nehru's foreign policy.

But for 73-year old Radhakrishnan it has never been a mere matter of policy but the basis of his entire philosophy: "Man is yet in his infancy and has a long period ahead of him on this planet. He will work out a higher integration and produce world-minded men and women."

With his wisdom and learning, his tolerance and statesmanship, this many-splendoured genius today stands as a symbol of the nation's greatness and of India's moral challenge to a trouble-tossed world.

Bertrand Russell's tribute on this significant election echoes the sentiments of great minds all over the world: "It is an honour to philosophy that Dr. Radhakrishnan should be President of a great country such as the Republic of India, and, as a philosopher, take special pleasure in this. Plato aspired for philosophers to become Kings and it is a tribute to India that it should make a philosopher her President."—(IPA SERVICE)

## Mighty Support For Indonesia

★ From Masood Ali Khan

Moscow, May 14:

The Indonesian Government delegation headed by Dr. Subandrio, the Deputy First Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia left Moscow for home on Wednesday.

THE delegation which included Lieutenant General Hidajat and other military advisers successfully concluded talks with the Soviet Government and signed a highly important agreement which further consolidates Soviet-Indonesian friendship and is going to prove the most decisive preparatory step for the liberation of West Irian from the Dutch colonial yoke.

The Soviet help given to Indonesia under the new agreement makes the liberation of West Irian and the reunification of its population with the people of Indonesia a certainty it is believed here.

Kosygin speaking at a reception in honour of the Indonesian guests declared: "Our Government and the entire Soviet people fully and entirely support the demand of the Indonesian people for the return of West Irian to Indonesia as has been made clear by the Soviet Government more than once at previous occasions. We wholeheartedly wish the Indonesian people success in their just cause and are confident that the time is not far off when the national flag of the Republic of Indonesia will proudly wave over the entire Indonesian land."

The Soviet Union has once again proved in practice that it is always ready to support the cause of liberation of colonies, gives valuable and concrete help to fight imperialism and stands firmly on the side of those fighting for freedom. We know how in the case of Goa the Soviet Union unhesitatingly supported the cause of India and felled all imperialist plots of intervention.

In the same way the Soviet people stand with the people of Indonesia and their valuable and large help is going to make the liberation of West Irian possible.

An atmosphere of confidence and optimism prevailed at all the functions connected with the Indonesian visit and 15 Indonesian guests expressed their sincere and wholehearted gratitude to the Soviet people for their need and sympathy and support for their just cause.

Subandrio speaking at the reception declared that the Soviet Union had given in the past and was giving now all help for the realisation of Indonesian aspirations. The Soviet Government, he said had shown realism and understanding and the Indonesian people were deeply thankful for this valuable help.

Indonesia today stood before the important task of liberating all its territory from colonial yoke. It was not that Indonesia wanted to increase its territory or population as her territory was big and rich in natural wealth and compared to Indonesia's 100 million the 700 thousand population of West Irian was small.

"But we are determined to finish with colonialism and we are against it all over the world and against all its forms. We believe that stable peace and prosperity in the world are possible only after the liquidation of colonialism everywhere," Subandrio said. He declared that Indonesia will not use the help for any aggressive aims but for liberation and for the establishment of peace on all her territory. The imperialist world, their

press and radio raises a howl over Soviet help to the people fighting for liberation. They want to confuse the issue of aggression and liberation by obliterating vital distinctions. Hence Goan action becomes aggression and Suez attack defence of liberties.

In this connection I would like to recall Khrushchov's statement dealing with this question in a recent interview given to the American publisher Cowles:

"We are against aggressive wars but we recognise the lawfulness and even the necessity of defensive and national liberation wars. When a nation is oppressed by colonialists and takes up arms to achieve liberation it is entitled to this right. Sooner or later it will rise to fight for its liberation if the colonialists offer resistance as was the case with Algeria for instance.

"People must rise and fight. Indeed, what other alternative do they have? The United Nations Assembly has taken a decision that all colonial nations be granted independence but the colonialists refuse to fulfil this decision. What must the oppressed people do: Put up with the rule of the big club and suffer silently? No, they no longer wish to put up with slavery and they rise up in arms against the aggressors. "And they are perfectly right. Only in this way, will they be able to secure freedom and independence.

"This is the kind of wars we regard as wars of liberation and we are in sympathy with such wars. In other words, we regard as just the type of war that was waged by the Americans against the British when the former fought for their liberation."

Here the Soviet attitude towards, we regard as just the struggle and the anti-colonial wars of liberation is vividly and clearly explained. That is why the Soviet Union gave help to the Algerian fighters, that is why she stood by India on Goa and helps Indonesia to liberate West Irian.

This is anti-imperialism in deeds and not in words alone. The Soviet people are always on the side of freedom and against all oppressors.

## Greetings To Radhakrishnan

Moscow, May 13:

On behalf of the Soviet people and Government, Nikita Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, heartily congratulated Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his election as President of India.

The following is the full text of their message:

His Excellency  
Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan,  
President of India,  
DELHI.

On the occasion of your election as President of India, accept, Your Excellency, the heartiest congratulations, on behalf of the Soviet people, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR, and also on our own behalf.

The Soviet people know well and deeply respect you as an outstanding statesman and philosopher, who is exerting efforts for the strengthening of India's independence and her progress, and is making a great contribution to the development of Soviet-Indian friendship and co-operation. Your constant efforts aimed at the establishment of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of all countries are also well known.

Allow us to express our confidence that your presidency will be conducive to the further development and strengthening of friendly relations and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, relations which have become a good example of peaceful co-existence, and which conform to the vital interests of our countries and the strengthening of world peace.

We wish you, Mr. President, the best of health and every success in your activities at this new high post.

N. KHRUSHCHOV  
May 12, 1962.

L. BREZHNEV

## U. P. Kisan Sabha

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government to exempt from all taxes, all uneconomic holdings. The Falkur resolution of the Congress had defined an uneconomic holding to be below 6 1/4 acres; but the Kisan Council has asked the government to exempt from taxes at least the holdings of three acres and less.

All these resolutions and demands taken together in fact constitute a stirring call to reorientate the government's policies in favour of kisans and the common people and that foundations may be laid for a better economy and progress of the state. In a way there was also the minimum needs of the state's kisans and if they are not met, struggles would become inevitable.

The Council demanded the nationalisation of the Sugar industry, immediate payment of the arrears to the cane growers and fixation of the price of sugarcane at Rs. 2 per maund.

The Kisan Sabha in U.P. is rather weak, this year's total membership is only about 22,000, hence the Council devoted serious attention to the organisational problems of the organisation. In this, it was greatly assisted by the presence in its midst of A. K. Gopalan, MP, President of All-India Kisan Sabha and Jagjit Singh Yallpur, General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha.

The discussion which was initiated by Pratap Tandon, General Secretary of U.P. Kisan Sabha, proved to be

both very lively and useful. Besides the representatives of about 24 districts, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Jai Bahadur Singh, MP, Sarju Pandey, MP (President of the U.P. Kisan Sabha), Shankar Dayal Tewary, etc. also participated in it.

Gopalan stressed the importance of educational and cultural work and Ahmad for broadening the organisation by including persons of all persuasions who were prepared to stand by the basic demands of the kisans. He further asked for not making the Kisan Sabha too political.

After this discussion, the Council decided to enrol at least one lakh members of the Kisan Sabha in the state.

Through other resolutions, the Council condemned the American nuclear tests and congratulated the Algerian people on their success. The resolution asked the Indian government to recognise the Algerian Provisional government.

By another resolution, the Council mourned the deaths of Bankim Mukherjee, Srinivas Rao and Ajoy Ghosh.

The Council passed a special resolution about Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana, a great scholar and ex-President of the All-India Kisan Sabha. The resolution expressed grave concern over the deteriorating health of the great scholar-patriot and asked the Central Government and specially the Governments of Bihar and U.P. to make all arrangements for his treatment and maintenance.

Sarju Pande, MP, President of U.P. Kisan Sabha, presided over the Council meeting.

## Cuba Will Forge Ahead

HAVANA, May 13

A plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations of Cuba was held a few days ago in Matanzas province to discuss the state of affairs in the Party in the Province. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba and First Secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, wound up the discussions at the plenary meeting.

Castro said among other things that the national leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations after a long and thorough discussion had drawn the conclusion that it was necessary to explain to the people the situation obtaining in the Party.

"We have made many mistakes," he said. "But it cannot be said that these mistakes fatally affected the revolution. In spite of

the mistakes the cause of the revolution made successful progress and is making progress."

Castro emphasised that these mistakes were exploited by the counter-revolutionary elements to undermine the people's faith in the leaders of the revolution.

In his speech Fidel Castro once again criticised the wrong method of leadership on the part of Ernani Escalante, the former Organizational Secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, who implanted sectarianism and was therefore dismissed from his post and removed from the national leadership of the Party.

"By correctly applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, we can correct the mistakes and shall be able to fight against sectarianism and similar phenomena," Castro continued.

"For this it is necessary to improve the quality of revolutionary work among the masses."

Fidel Castro expressed confidence that the revolution would not stray from its path. "We must firmly believe that in a year's time we shall be stronger and much better off than today," he declared.

"It is fortunate for us, for all revolutionaries, that all these mistakes are being overcome in time, and we shall follow the right Marxist-Leninist road of collective leadership and close ties with the masses."

In conclusion, Fidel Castro pointed out that it was now necessary to overcome and correct the mistakes in time so that the Integrated Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution, which is now being established, could become an example for all the peoples of Latin America.—TASS



# RESUME TALKS IN LAOS

## \* FROM FRONT PAGE

tripartite negotiations. They even staged the farce of the "suspension" of the U.S. economic assistance to the Phoumi Nosavan group. However, the result was that the Phoumi Nosavan group became more stubborn and even wanted to tear up all the agreements reached by the three princes.

In the face of all these criminal actions of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, many people had discarded their illusions about U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys were now spreading rumours and slander that foreign Communist troops had intruded into Laos and made anti-Communist outcries. All this only further revealed that they were creating a pretext for rekindling a war of aggression in Laos, Kayson added.

He went on to review the great victories won by the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people in the past year. He said that the U.S.-Phoumi clique had become more isolated. The liberated areas had become more consolidated daily. The patriotic armed forces had been tempered.

Despite the feverish attempts of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to undermine the national unity of Laos, particularly to sow discord between the Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian Government, the anti-imperialist national united front of Laos was becoming more consolidated and expanding daily. The union between the Royal Government and the Neo Lao Haksat was maintained and strengthened. Many people who were compelled by circumstances to stay in the Savannakhet group were leaning towards the Neo Lao Haksat and the Royal Government, towards the realisation of peace, neutrality and national harmony.

Kayson said that in the past year more than two thousand officers and men of the rebel troops and policemen crossed over to the Royal Government and people. Many battalions and companies of the rebel troops stood up against the U.S.-Phoumi clique.

### Disastrous U. S. Defeat

He said that the U.S.-Phoumi clique had met with a disastrous defeat in the past year. The patriotic armed forces had repelled the enemy's attacks on the liberated areas, wiping out more than 700 rebels, capturing or wounding more than 3,000. They had defended and consolidated three-fifths of the nation's territory. The people in the enemy-controlled areas had repeatedly defeated the enemy's "mopping up" operations. Recently, many rebel units which were ordered to carry out "mopping up" operations had to abandon their posts and fled.

The ever-growing resistance among the rebels was a harbinger of the danger of an internal collapse of the rebel troops.

In the liberated areas, he said, the people's livelihood had become more and more stable. The people were energetically taking part in production, many schools were restored or newly built. A mass campaign to eliminate illiteracy was proceeding. Phomvihhan then listed the current tasks of the Laotian people. He said, "firstly, they should hold aloft the banner of peace, neutrality, and national harmony; mobilize the people throughout the country to persist in the struggle and strive for a satisfactory result in the tripartite talks.

"At present the Laotian people demand that the three princes hold talks for the formation of a coalition government on the basis of the Zurich and Hin Hop agreements, that the U.S. stop military assistance to the Phoumi Nosavan group, withdraw U.S. military advisers and the aggressive troops of the U.S. and its lackeys from Laos; that the U.S.-Phoumi clique halt their attacks on and invasion of the liberated areas, put an end to the harassment of the liberated areas by airdropping bandits, cease to carry out "mopping up" operations against the people.

Another leader of the Neo Lao Haksat Noubak Phoumsavan, Central Committee member of the Party and head of its delegation on the Na Mon talks, in an interview made it clear that the Neo Lao Haksat Party, which always cherished the desire for peace, was at all times ready to continue negotiations for the formation of a coalition government with Prince Souvanna Phouma as the Premier, on the basis of the agreements reached in Zurich, Hin Hop and Geneva, thereby to achieve genuine peace and neutrality in Laos.

He pointed out that in the past year since the three sides of Laos began political and military talks in Na Mon on May 14 last year, the Neo Lao Haksat Party and the Royal Laotian Government had made considerable efforts in line with their consistent desire for peace.

But under U.S. imperialism's instigation, the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique had persisted in dragging out and obstructing the talks, even tearing up one agreement after another before the ink on them had dried, and raising all sorts of unreasonable demands to undermine the efforts to form a coalition government.

U.S. imperialists refused to take their defeat in Laos lying down and actively helped Phoumi Nosavan to carry out the armament drive and war preparations right from the day of the announcement of the ceasefire.

Large numbers of troops from Thailand, South Vietnam and the Philippines and the remnant brigands of the Chiang Kai-shek clique had invaded Laos and, under the command of 1,500 U.S. officers, launched frenzied attacks on the liberated areas.

In the Nam Tha area in particular, the Phoumi rebel troops, with 56 companies and under the direct command of many U.S. officers



Prince Souphannovong, leader of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, decorates two young fighters.

including a colonel, had launched successive attacks on the liberated areas over a period of several months and occupied large tracts of land. This had compelled the patriotic armed forces and the people to rise to defend themselves and hit back at the enemy. The rebel troops had fled from Nam Tha and Huoi Say and the patriotic forces had

taken over these places in order to safeguard the people.

He stressed that the development of the situation in Laos in the past year since the Na Mon talks showed that U.S. imperialism and the Phoumi-Boun Oum clique had no desire to settle the question by peaceful means.

They adopted double tactics and alternately resorted to

talks at the conference table and fighting on the battlefield to achieve their aim of wiping out the Laotian patriotic forces. But their attempts ended in failure.

The latest attempt of organising direct intervention by means of 5,000 newly landed U.S. troops in Thailand and the already deployed 5,000 in South Vietnam too will certainly fail.

## PRIME MINISTER & ALGERIA

The Prime Minister's categorical rejection of the popular demand voiced by several members of different parties in Parliament for the de jure recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government will come as a rude shock, to people of our country as well as to India's friends abroad. It will be profoundly regretted. Most certainly it will not bring any credit to the Government of India.

SIX months before the signing of the Evian Agreement when the Belgrade Conference met the Algerians were told that de jure recognition by India would be actively considered and could not be really far off. Two months after the French have themselves had to recognise the fact that the real representatives of the people of Algeria were none else than the GPRA and had to sign the cease-fire agreement with them, Prime Minister Nehru comes forward to announce with great assurance and aplomb that now the question is no longer worth considering! Strange logic, indeed.

Obviously, the GPRA has a different estimate of the Algerian situation than the one Pandit Nehru has. They feel that it is a crucial period that lies between now and the July referendum. This not merely from the point of view of liquidation of OAS terrorism but also from the point of view of securing a full and honest implementation of the Evian agreement in all its aspects.

The GPRA does not have the same faith in the goodness of de Gaulle and his Government

valuable support to the struggling people of Algeria.

by

Ziaul Haq

as our Prime Minister represents he has. It is obviously to strengthen its hands in dealing with them that the GPRA wants India to recognise it right now.

And it was for that purpose—not for any empty ideological craving—that the Soviet Union disregarded de Gaulle's objections and went ahead with the recognition.

Pandit Nehru referring to the Soviet recognition says they have done nothing more. Every one including Pandit Nehru himself knows that the Soviet Union had been doing much more to help Algeria long before it announced the de jure recognition of the GPRA. The very fact that the Soviet Union decided to go ahead with recognition in disregard of French Government's objections is a warning to all those who would sabotage or delay the implementation of the Evian agreement. It is additional, timely and

After all, India's joining the 34 governments which already recognise the GPRA would not have placed us in such terrible isolation. Complications with the French Government, if any, would not last beyond July. Meanwhile we would have demonstrated solidarity with Algeria, given some tangible help to that much tortured nation, and disarmed some malicious propagandists who keep on poisoning the Afro-Asian atmosphere against us.

Still it cannot be that the last word on this subject has been said. The last word rests with the people of India. Just as they forced the Government to march our troops and liberate Goa, they will have to build up irresistible pressure before which Government's fear of de Gaulle and the Western camp gives way.

India must extend de jure recognition to Algeria—much before July! That will enable us to walk proudly among the ranks of Afro-Asian nations!